This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

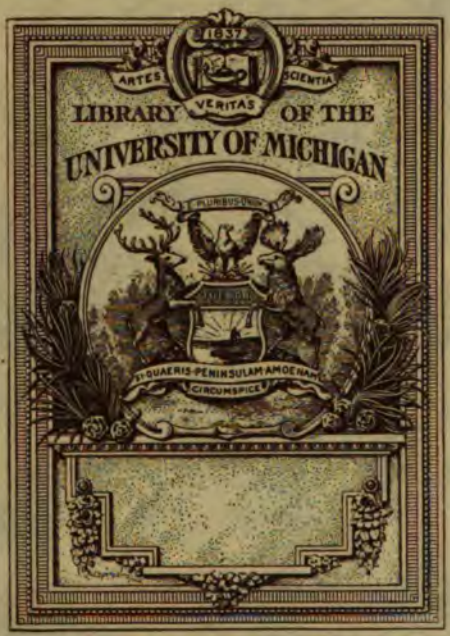
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

A 694,272

Google



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW

FOR

OCTOBER 1899 : JANUARY 1900

VOLUME XLIX.

LONDON
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
SPOTTISWOODE & CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE, E.C.
1900

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Rivington on the Roman 'Primacy,' 430–451	1
The Philosopher as Patriot	42
Dr. Briggs's Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture	69
West African Problems	98
The Dean of Christ Church on Hooker and the Puritans	116
Professor Earle on Dante's Earthly Paradise	129
Mrs. Oliphant's Life and Letters	140
The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning	153
'Authority and Archæology'	167
Dean Liddell	190
Galton's Message and Position of the Church of England	201
The Decision on Incense and the Hearing on Reservation	210
The Testament of our Lord	273
The Prayer Book as a Rule of Life	292
Professor Gardner on the Basis and Origin of Christian Belief	305
Christian Mysticism	333
Undercurrents of Church Life in the Eighteenth Century	360
Dr. Van Dyke on an Age of Doubt and a World of Sin	369
A Roman Apologist and his Translator	380
Mediæval Ceremonial	399
Robert Grosseteste	412
The Education Question from a Churchman's Point of View	426
The Loan of Consecrated Churches in India	441
Recent Pronouncements	468
Short Notices	233, 483
Index	537

Digitized by Google

177231

Digitized by Google

THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº XCVII. *October* 1899.

Art. I.—RIVINGTON ON THE ROMAN 'PRIMACY,' 430–451.

The Roman Primacy, A.D. 430–451. By the Rev. Luke Rivington, M.A., D.D., formerly Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. (London, 1899.)

This volume had not long been published when the newspapers announced the almost sudden death of the author. *Requiescat in Christo.* The event does not relieve us of the necessity of criticizing his last contribution to the cause of Papalism; but we shall remember, throughout, the special consideration due to a name that has become a memory, the name of one who has passed out of the arena of controversy

'To where, beyond these voices, there is peace.'

His literary services had been recompensed by Leo XIII. with the degree of Doctor in Divinity; and it is the more regrettable that he should have stamped his very title-page with the character of ambiguity. What is meant by 'the Roman Primacy'? The term is notoriously elastic, therefore indefinite, therefore misleading. An arguer does not promote, but rather hinders, a just perception of issues involved, if he summarizes his thesis in a word which opponents may use in diverse senses—one may say, in this case, which suits his opponents' thesis considerably better than his own. Dr. Rivington shows repeatedly in this book that he is well

Digitized by Google

aware—indeed, he could not possibly be unaware—of the fact that Anglicans acknowledge *a* 'primacy' in St. Peter, and *a* 'primacy' in the Roman See of primitive times. But the point to be emphasized is that, while there are primacies and primacies, while a 'princeps senatus' has a secular 'primacy' in one sense, and a Diocletian in another, while Athens of old had by right a 'hegemony,' but was resisted when she asserted a 'dominion,' the polity which a Roman writer pleads for, as *jure divino* essential to Church life, is a primacy of a dominant and practically absolute kind. Why, then, should he not frankly entitle his book 'The Papal Monarchy in 430–451'?

But this brings us to the consideration of his reiterated disclaimer of the notion of an 'autocratic' power in the Pope. He says that on becoming a Roman Catholic, he 'never submitted, nor was asked to submit, to any "ecclesiastical absolutism;"' and again he says that the 'Catholic' thesis does not regard the Pope as absolute, and that 'no one who accepts the Vatican decrees claims for him such a position,' &c. Yet he gives us ample means of estimating the worth of such softening explanations. He tells us that although the Pope is 'morally bound to rule the Church in accordance with' Church laws (p. xii), and 'must act in harmony with' them, so as to allow 'a real . . . authority in the Episcopate' (p. 308), those laws have 'no coactive force' against him if he chooses to govern otherwise.[1] That is to say, the

[1] In p. 240 he cites 'a writer who received the special approbation of Pius IX.' as saying that 'the power of the episcopal body was not intended by Christ to *control* the government of the supreme ruler.' In *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter* our author had illustrated the relation of the Pope to Church laws by observing that a king was bound to respect the laws, 'not because they were superior to him, but because he was bound to set an example'; and on this Dr. Bright had remarked (*The Roman See in the Early Church*, &c. p. 208) that Lingard had blamed Richard II. for 'placing himself above the control of the law.' The Anglican writer (specially attacked in this volume) is now charged with omitting to quote Lingard's context, which shows that he was dealing with Richard's 'attempt to overthrow the constitution' (p. 13). Just so; and Dr. Bright had summarized this in the words (cited by Dr. Rivington), 'It was part of Richard's despotic policy.' But the point is that Richard, as king of England, had relations with a 'constitution' which, if not systematically formulated, included at any rate, as Macaulay says, 'three great principles which limited' the royal power, and by means of which the king could be brought, as Richard was at last most effectively brought, under 'the control of the law.' But the Pope's power, as things now stand, is exempt from all 'constitutional' restraints. Dr. Bright drew no 'parallel between the British government and the constitution of the Church'; he simply deprecated any parallel between the Papacy and 'kingship as understood by Englishmen.' And when our

Digitized by Google

members of his Church, bishops, clergy, and laity, are, under its constitution, simply incapable of constraining him to do his duty as here set forth. If he thinks fit to ignore the opinion of his bishops, or to set aside any number of canons for reasons satisfactory to himself, the vast Latin communion has no remedy; 'he is responsible to God only and his conscience' (p. xii). He cannot be called to account, or arrested in his course of misgovernment, or deposed, as the Council of Constance deposed John XXIII. In short, he is master, and the Church subject to him is helpless. Can anything be more futile than to say that a constitution which allows such a state of things is *not* a system of 'absolutism'? Is not the differentiating characteristic of absolutism precisely this, that the subjects must depend for good government solely on the personal goodness of the sovereign for the time being; that no checks external to his own will, or, if we prefer so to word it, his own 'sense of duty,' are provided by the system for the prevention of despotic action on his part?[1] Is Nicholas II., *qua* Tsar, *not* an autocrat because he is religious and amiable? True, a sovereign thus uncontrolled may be practically restrained by a network of officialism, and the Italian proverb sardonically recognizes the 'black Pope' (the Jesuit authorities) as stronger than the 'white Pope;'[2] but we are concerned with the idea or principle of the papal polity, and we say that it is essentially despotic.[3] Dr. Rivington, to be sure, is not wholly

author now says that an English sovereign is still, in a sense, above the law, in that he 'cannot be indicted for its violation,' he forgets that this inviolability is correlative to the transfer of governing power from the Crown to a Ministry representing a majority of the House of Commons.

[1] 'There exists no law wherever a living ruler, an executive head, claims and exercises, and is allowed to possess, a power of annulling or a power of dispensing with the law . . . By absolutism we in England mean the supremacy of a personal will to law, for the purpose of putting aside or changing law . . . Now *that* power is precisely what the Pope possesses' in and over his Church—Gladstone, *Vaticanism*, p. 99. Dr. Rivington ventures to assert that 'the constitution of the Roman empire did not of itself involve despotism.' Under Diocletian it certainly did (Gibbon, ii. 93 *sqq.*), and such power was distinctly ascribed to Valentinian II. by his high officials (Ambrose, *Ep.* 20. 19).

[2] For recent instances see Canon MacColl's *The Reformation Settlement*, pp. 521–36. 'There interferes,' says Scott, 'some check of one kind or other in the most despotic government' (*A Legend of Montrose*, ch. xii.).

[3] One of the most high-handed acts in the papal history was extorted from Pius VII. by Napoleon I. That unfortunate Pontiff was very loath to stretch his authority to the extent of suppressing all the existing French sees in order to a readjustment of the hierarchy; but, with whatever reluctance, he did it by the Bull *Qui Christi* in 1801. The

Digitized by Google

consistent in his use of language. In one passage of his preface he speaks in a subdued tone, that might be called Gallican: 'What we might expect to find in history' (*i.e.* the history of the Church) 'is a certain peculiarly authoritative guardianship of the canons exercised by the supreme Pontiff,' &c. But this comes in after he has denied, as it were *ore rotundo*, the existence of any control on the Pope's conduct *ab extra*; and, some pages earlier, he has contended that if the Church recognized an 'ecclesiastical monarchy' of 'divine institution' in 430–51, she must have done so from the beginning (p. ix); on which view all evidence to the contrary is peremptorily ruled out of court. 'Primacy,' then, with him means confessedly 'monarchy,' and such a monarchy as he has described; for he holds, as he *must* hold, that the papal 'primatus' is a 'full and supreme power of jurisdiction' which is 'ordinaria [1] et immediata' over all churches, pastors,

prelates, says Mr. Jervis in *The Gallican Church and the Revolution*, were thereby formally 'deprived of all canonical jurisdiction' (p. 377). Doubtless Dr. Rivington regards those few French bishops who denounced the arrangements made between Pope and Emperor, and those clerics and laics who with them formed the 'petite église,' as involved in rebellion and in schism. Yet he refers Dr. Bright to Lyndwood, and says that he held 'that there were cases in which the Pope might be rightly resisted' (p. xiv). We are not surprised to find that the modern controversialist refrains from saying that he agrees with the old canonist on a point of such delicacy, or from pointing out cases in which such resistance would be 'right.'

[1] See the terms of the Vatican decree 'De Vi et Ratione Primatus Romani Pontificis,' which, as Mr. Gladstone said four years after its promulgation, has been somewhat cast into the shade, among Anglicans, through the special attention bestowed on the decree 'De Romani Pontificis Infallibili Magisterio.' Dr. Rivington explains 'ordinaria' as 'attached to the (papal) office' (p. xii). We do not pretend to be experts in the interpretation of the technical terms of Roman Church law; but we should have thought that the context of the decree gave a much more distinct sense to the word 'ordinaria.' It seems to us to say in effect, that while every bishop has an ordinary jurisdiction (of course derived from the Pope) in his own sphere, the Pope himself has this jurisdiction in fulness throughout all dioceses, and over all bishops, so that he is the one universal 'ordinary,' or 'ordinarius ordinariorum,' and can act 'immediately,' *i.e.* not necessarily through the several bishops, in the affairs of every diocese or parish; and his intervention can never be an interference; his rights are all-pervading, and may become all-absorbing. In Dean Church's 'Notes on the Constitutional System of the Gallican Church,' included in the *Ecclesiastical Courts Commission Report* of 1883, we find that 'the claim of the Pope to judge in the first instance, or *omisso medio*, was always resisted,' on the ground that, if it were admitted, 'the Pope would be *the universal bishop of the Church*, and the other bishops (who hold their power immediately from Jesus Christ) could only be regarded as *his vicars*.' Ultramontanes, no doubt, regard the words which we put in parenthesis as heretical.

Digitized by Google

and faithful, and the exercise of which may be questioned by none. We are told, indeed, that to represent the bishops of the Roman Church as, 'in effect, no more than his vicars,' is contrary to the 'terms' of a passage in the decree, which describes the bishops as successors of the Apostles, and 'real pastors governing their respective flocks'; and that the relation of the Pope to 'apostolic vicars differs enormously' from his relation to diocesan bishops (p. x). But if at any moment, and for any reason that he thinks sufficient, the Pope can overrule the action of diocesan bishops by virtue of his supreme and irresistible 'immediata jurisdictio,' these bishops are, in effect, wholly dependent on his will in the exercise of their diocesan authority; he can, we believe, withhold 'faculties' which are necessary for their diocesan action;[1] he can require them to resign, and deprive them if they decline compliance. Is a subordinate in this position much better off than a mere deputy? Further, the decree from which we are quoting expressly anathematizes those who would reduce the Pope's jurisdiction to a mere 'officium inspectionis vel directionis,' or restrict it to matters of 'faith and practice,' to the exclusion of matters of 'discipline and government,' or assign to him only 'potiores partes, non vero totam plenitudinem, hujus supremæ potestatis.'[2] It is necessary to keep these terms well in mind, so that the reader may remember what the author has to maintain—namely, this Vatican doctrine of papal supremacy; nothing more, indeed, but nothing less. If the evidence which he adduces from the period in question proves less than this—and Anglicans hold that it proves very much less indeed—then he has proved, for his own purpose, nothing.

And now as to his account of the Third General Council: we are happy to be at one with him on the strictly fundamental character of the doctrinal issue then raised. We say with him that Nestorianism did really 'cut at the root of the Christian faith';[3] and the line taken in this Review on the 'Kenotic' question will show that we consider it to be, for English Christians in general, a greater danger than its Eutychian opposite. But let us look at the first appearance made by Celestine, Bishop of Rome from 422 to 432, in this momentous contest. Remember what, on Dr. Rivington's

[1] See Quirinus, *Letters from Rome*, E. Tr. p. 64.

[2] This stringent form of the decree was due to Pius IX.'s own command. French bishops said that it involved 'absolute papal monarchy'—'a change of the constitution of the Church.'

[3] So Dr. Salmon says it was 'practically equivalent to a denial of our Lord's Divinity' (*Infallibility of the Church*, p. 303).

Digitized by Google

principles, was his position. He had, in the most unqualified sense, the care of all the Churches; he was the universal Apostle, the Vicar of Christ, acknowledged as such by all Christians; he was, by every right, as much at home in the Church affairs of Constantinople or Antioch as in those of his own Lateran basilica, not to say of Tusculum or of Portus; he was also charged with the task of instructing the whole Church as to what was, and what was not, to be taught and believed, and in the discharge of that function he was invested with infallibility.[1] In the spring of 429, about six months after the outbreak of the controversy, he received copies of some of Nestorius's sermons; he gathered the neighbouring bishops about him, and informed Cyril of Alexandria that they had been 'greatly scandalized' by what they had there read: could such discourses be really the work of the Bishop of Constantinople? Cyril did not answer this question; and one does not see how, on papalist grounds, he can be acquitted of a strange neglect of loyal duty. But some time later, Nestorius wrote to Celestine, professedly asking for information about the Pelagians, and also referring to the Christological question; and soon afterwards he sent to Rome a good many of his own sermons. There is not a word in the letter to indicate that he regarded Celestine as his judge; he writes simply as brother to brother; and Celestine took no further action until Cyril wrote to him[2] in the summer of 430. He begins by saying that 'the long-standing customs of the Churches' persuade him to communicate to Celestine such matters as are now in question; he writes, then, under a sense of obligation. But the point of this sentence is best seen by a reference to the traditional relations between the Alexandrian See and the Roman, involving a certain, though somewhat indefinite, dependence of the Church 'of St. Mark' on the Church 'of SS. Peter and Paul.' Julius I. makes the most of this relation, when rebuk-

[1] We are well aware that the decree on infallibility falls short of what such extreme papalists as Dr. Ward, not to say Pius IX. himself, had wished for; but on the other hand, its terms will include papal utterances not explicitly addressed to the 'Catholic' world. There must, however, be an implied intention to address it. The decree claims to represent 'a tradition received from the very outset of Christianity.' On the large scope assigned by many Romanists to 'speaking *ex cathedra*,' see *Church Quarterly Review*, xxv. 352.

[2] Mansi, iv. 1012. This was about five months after he had written, with the approval of his own synod, that second letter to Nestorius which has received fuller 'œcumenical' sanction than the third letter, or even than the letter to John of Antioch. If he regarded Celestine as the appointed oracle of truth, why did he not consult him before thus writing?

Digitized by Google

ing the Arianising Easterns for their persecution of St. Athanasius[1]; and now Cyril, being naturally anxious to enlist Rome on his side against Constantinople, lays stress on it, describes the mischief caused by Nestorius's teaching, and asks Celestine to 'be pleased to formulate his opinion'[2] on this question. Should he, Cyril, continue to be in ecclesiastical fellowship with Nestorius, or denounce him as heretical? Having already, in the main body of his letter, given Celestine a pretty distinct 'lead' as to the answer which he expected, he can well afford to say in effect, 'Tell me what you think I ought to do, and I will do it.' Celestine was willing enough to comply. He held a synod, and delivered an address of which a fragment still remains; and the result was a synodical letter (August 11, 430), expressing great satisfaction on account of the doctrinal unanimity between Alexandria and Rome, and also a Christianlike hope that Nestorius might even yet be reclaimed from his errors; but if not, 'then let him know that he can no longer retain communion with us.' Then came the critical words to this effect: 'The authority of our See having been associated with yours' (lit. 'with you'),[3] you yourself, acting authori-

[1] Cf. Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* c. 35. Tillemont refers to 'the obligation of all bishops to communicate their needs to each other,' xiv. 345.

[2] Τυπῶσαι τὸ δοκοῦν, no doubt, suggests a direction carrying some regulative authority; but the question is, how much? It is natural for Dr. Rivington, with his dominant preconception, to assume that all such terms, when used in relation to the Pope, should be taken in the most absolute sense which they can bear, although in p. 66 he says that 'the meaning of "sententia" varies from "decision" to "opinion."' But the document by no means suggests that when Cyril thus wrote he contemplated what, in one word, we may call Ultramontanism, that he regarded all bishops everywhere as subjects of the single bishop of Rome. That Cyril's genuine language, however stringently interpreted, cannot be brought up to that mark, and is *pro tanto* unsatisfactory to Papalists, is proved by Aquinas's treatise 'Contra errores Græcorum.' The Angelic Doctor was fairly taken in by certain alleged extracts (in a Latin version) from Cyril, *e.g.* 'As Christ received from the Father . . . the fullest power, so He committed it in all its fulness to Peter and his successors;' 'That we may remain as members in one head, the apostolic throne of the Roman Pontiffs, *a quo nostrum est quærere quid credere et quid tenere debemus* . . . Ipsius [*i.e.* this throne] solius est reprehendere . . . statuere, solvere, disponere, et loco Illius ligare qui psum ædificavit,' &c. Another choice bit is a so-called 'canon of Chalcedon,' that every incriminated bishop may appeal to the bishop of Old Rome, 'et ipsi *soli* libera potestate loco Dei sit jus discernendi,' &c. Does the reader want an explanation of these quotations? They are exercises of the same craft which long before had interpolated the text of St. Cyprian *De Unitate*: they are impudent *forgeries in the interest of Rome.*

[3] Dr. Rivington tries to make out a difference between 'you' and 'yours,' so as to suppress all recognition of any authority in Cyril's own

Digitized by Google

tatively as our representative, will carry out this sentence,' to this effect that 'unless, within ten days from the date of this monition' (meaning, from his reception of the monition), 'Nestorius condemns in writing his heterodox assertions, and positively declares that he holds this faith which the Church of the Romans, and your Holiness's Church, and Christians in general, hold as to the nativity of Christ our God,[1] he must understand that he must in every sense be separated from our body.' Celestine adds that he is writing also to the Bishops of Antioch, Thessalonica, Jerusalem, and Philippi, so as to make known what he calls 'our sentence, or rather the divine sentence of our Christ,' words which involve no 'assumption of infallibility' as Dr. Rivington assumes, but simply mean that Christ's own teaching condemns the heresy in question.[2] In a long letter to Nestorius himself, Celestine warns him that unless he retracts, he must 'know that he is cast out of all communion with the Catholic Church;' and again, at the end of a letter to the Constantinopolitan clergy, 'is excommunicated from the whole Catholic Church.' Again, writing to John of Antioch, Celestine says that Nestorius must either accept the terms proposed, or 'know that he is excluded from the assembly of bishops.' Does this language mean that Celestine claimed to hold in his sole hands the keys of Catholic communion? Dr. Rivington, of course, understands it thus; but the contexts show that Celestine is throughout assuming that all the Churches will agree with the Roman and Alexandrian on the merits of the case, and will treat Nestorius as a violator of the general and received doctrinal tradition.[3]

see. But *συναφθείσης* excludes this interpretation: an authority associated or combined implies an authority with which it is associated. Celestine supposes that Cyril will speak with his own authority for his own Church, and with delegated authority for the Roman.

[1] In the scrap that remains of Celestine's address to the Roman Council he approves the term 'Theotocos,' as supported by a hymn which he remembers Ambrose to have made the people sing at Christmas, and by the language of Hilary, and of his own predecessor Damasus. But he does not ascribe to Damasus's words any unique or supreme authority. We must distinguish the Celestinian fragment from the preceding 'memorandum,' given by Cyril to his own envoy, Posidonius. Mansi, iv. 548.

[2] So in his letter to John: 'or rather, by Christ Himself,' &c. He had already said, 'the faith which, in accordance with the Apostles' teaching,' &c.

[3] Thus, to Nestorius: 'Among many things which you impiously assert, and which the universal Church rejects.' . . . 'Count up the heretics who in old time introduced such questionings into the Church.' Here he mentions Paul of Samosata, and adds that all the 'inventors

Digitized by Google

But a letter of Cyril's to John is somewhat embarrassing to Papal arguers. He says that 'the synod of the Romans' has published a formulated conclusion, to which 'those must needs conform who intend to retain the communion of the whole West.' Dr. Rivington contends that as this 'synod' was not a representative of the whole Western episcopate, it could have no authority for Cyril or for John, except as the mere 'instrument' of a purely Papal judgment. But although Cyril was not likely to be punctilious, at such a crisis, as to the exact relation between this synod at Rome and the Western bishops in general, it is remarkable that he lays repeated stress on a plurality,[1] and never mentions the individual Roman bishop—although he does so in a parallel letter to Juvenal of Jerusalem, in which, while speaking of 'the formulated direction prescribed,' he urges (not obedience to Rome as such, but) 'unanimity' in zeal for Christian souls. John himself, writing to Nestorius, mentions Celestine as having 'prescribed' a certain term of days, but speaks in the same breath of a 'letter from the most holy bishop Celestine' and 'letters from the most pious bishop Cyril;' and his plea, also, dwells (not on any special claim on Rome's part, but) on the serious risk of a new breach with 'the West, and Egypt, and perhaps Macedonia.' Why so, if Antioch knew itself to be ecclesiastically subject to Rome?

We need not pause over Cyril's by no means precipitate action in regard to the instructions of Celestine, or the immediate results of the despatch of his 'third letter to Nestorius,' with its appended Anathematisms. Before this ultimatum of Rome and Alexandria was delivered at Constantinople, Theodosius II. had taken (on November 19) a step which cut across their programme: he had summoned a General Council to meet in Ephesus at the Pentecost of

of evil teaching have been expelled by the same rigorous sentence from their Churches.' (Paul was excommunicated, not by Rome, but by the great Council of Antioch.) 'Unless you proclaim as to Christ our God what the Roman, and the Alexandrian, and the whole Catholic Church hold, and the holy Church in great Constantinople held nobly up to your time.' In the letter to the clergy, when Nestorius is addressed: 'according to the mind of the Roman, and the Alexandrian, and the whole Catholic Church.'

[1] 'We shall follow the decisions given by them, *for* we fear to lose the communion of so great a number.' Here παρ' αὐτῶν, followed by the Latin, must be the right reading, for παρ' αὐτοῦ, which Dr. Rivington insists upon, would in that sentence refer to 'Juvenal bishop of Ælia,' (a point which Dr. Rivington appears to have overlooked). A little above παρ' αὐτοῦ is right, as referring to Rufus of Thessalonica. The second παρ' αὐτοῦ in the Greek text is an iteration. Mansi, iv. 1052.

Digitized by Google

431.[1] That the right to summon such an assembly belonged to the Roman bishop never entered the mind of this devout Emperor. It is true that he had, as yet, no official knowledge of the correspondence between Cyril and Celestine; but of course he knew what was in preparation, and he resolved, in Tillemont's phrase, to 'arrest its effect.'[2] The result of his action was to suspend the Roman-Alexandrian resolution. Celestine never protested that 'Rome had spoken, and the cause was settled;' Cyril never demanded that Celestine's 'formulated' judgment should be respected by an orthodox emperor. And when the Council met, on June 22, Nestorius was still regarded as a bishop in the Church, not as a deposed heretic, so that even if, according to 'Church principles in A.D. 431' (p. 117), the Roman bishop in his sole person had 'right to depose a bishop of Constantinople,' that 'right' was superseded by the assembling of an Œcumenical Synod. And this brings us to a point of some interest.[3] Did Cyril, when presiding in the Council, act in virtue of the commission of delegation given him by Celestine in the preceding August? That commission was necessarily ex-

[1] Some orthodox monks had asked for such a Council in 429; it was now granted at the instance of Nestorius.

[2] Dr. Rivington criticizes Dr. Bright as following Tillemont in the remark, 'L'empereur . . . défend absolument *de rien faire de nouveau* jusqu'à l'assemblée et au jugement du concile' (*Mém.* xiv. 364). Μηδεμιᾶς . . . καινοτομίας ἰδίᾳ παρά τινων γενομένης, in the circular of summons, refers, he thinks, not generally to any new proceedings, but to 'doctrinal innovations' either on the side of Nestorius or of Cyril, but particularly on that of Cyril. Καινοτομία, doubtless, often has this limited sense, but does not require it; and the context does not suggest it here. Theodosius means, 'Let no one take any course which would defeat my purpose of having the question thoroughly considered and settled in Council by the bishops,' whom in a letter to Cyril he calls 'its judges, those who preside over the priesthood everywhere' (Mansi, iv. 1112). Not a word about any special judicial right belonging to the see of Rome.

[3] Dr. Rivington for once (p. 31) relies on Milman (*Lat. Christ.* i. 205, ed. 3) *versus* Tillemont. 'As Dean Milman says, "The bishop of Constantinople was already a condemned heretic."' But in this quotation the words 'to them' (Cyril and Celestine) are omitted, so that the impression is given that the Church at large, and all the bishops when they came to Ephesus, took the view thus summarized. We are here concerned only with what related to the papal question; but we may say that Dr. Rivington's resentment at any censure of Cyril's conduct in regard to the opening of the Council before John's arrival, or to kindred points, exhibits a partisanship too thoroughgoing to be compatible with historical judgment. To hold that Cyril, in the heat of his zeal for orthodoxy, did anything wrong, is apparently to follow his 'enemies' (p. 7, cp. p. 59). This respect of persons seems to us demoralizing. Cp. *Church Quarterly Review*, xv. 268.

Digitized by Google

hausted when Cyril's letter was delivered to Nestorius on December 7. For it has respect simply to that proceeding; as Bossuet says, Celestine had then 'no thought' of a General Council; and the notion that a commission to do a certain thing can be held to be in force after the thing is done, with a view to another thing which the giver and receiver had not then contemplated, would seem absurd to any modern man of business. But had Celestine given Cyril any *new* commission? Dr. Rivington says that his letter of May 7 to Cyril shows that he 'considered Cyril to be already in charge of the whole matter, which would now be concluded in conjunction with the Council' (p. 37).[1] Supposing this letter to have reached Cyril in time, it still contains no express delegation; but it assumes that Cyril will carry the matter through, and treats the 'preceding decision' as still valid if Nestorius cannot be won back. It looks as if he was forgetting what the summoning of a General Council had involved, and trying to regard himself and Cyril as having extended the terms allowed to Nestorius. This, however, was against the reason of the case; he could not 'have it both ways.' But the more stress is laid on Celestine's letter, the more do the proceedings in the first session conflict with it. For in that session, after Nestorius had set at nought three citations, he was still spoken of, not only by bishop after bishop, but by Cyril himself,[2] and while his own letter to Cyril was being denounced, in the ordinary episcopal style as 'the most religious bishop'; so that the 'preceding decision' which, on Celestine's showing, should have taken effect on the previous December 17, was not held operative on the morning of June 22, while the Synod went through all the forms of a trial before pronouncing its own sentence. A Council that held it operative would not, and ought not, to have spent a long summer day over these forms.[3] It

[1] In p. 61 we are roundly informed that 'Cyril acted as legate of Celestine.' The Acts say that he held the place of the absent Celestine, but confine the term 'legate' to the Roman envoys.

[2] 'This holy and great synod has heard what I wrote to the most pious Nestorius in defence of the right faith' (Mansi, iv. 1137). Observe that whereas this 'second letter to Nestorius' was among the documents sent by Cyril to Celestine in July 430, and thereupon approved by Celestine, Cyril asks the Council, after hearing it read, to 'say whether he had written rightly and unexceptionably . . . or not' (*ib.* 1140). Bossuet naturally lays stress on this.

[3] Dr. Rivington, wishing to minimize the investigation, calls it 'very summary.' This is hardly respectful either to the Synod or to Cyril. Anyhow, it was professedly a serious business. But it is explained that they were not 'embarking on a theological investigation of the doctrine.'

Digitized by Google

would have simply inquired whether Nestorius had retracted, and on finding that he had not, would forthwith have recorded its assent to the Roman 'decision.' But now let us look at Dr. Rivington's interpretation of their sentence. A General Council, he holds, is under a 'moral necessity' of accepting a previous papal judgment, as already, 'of itself,' infallible *because* papal. But in doing so, he insists, its members are not mere instruments for registering the papal decision; they are, in a real sense, 'judges.' In what sense? In that of ascertaining and 'unfolding' the grounds on which it is based, and the 'motives' by which the Pope was probably 'guided,' and of making its promulgation the more 'striking' (p. 42). A singular mode of acting as 'judges'! And imagine an emperor commanding the bishops to undertake long and toilsome journeys merely to produce a dramatic impression! One would expect that some expression or indication of this conception of conciliar duty would be found in the minutes—say, in the several pronouncements against Nestorius's letter; but in the case before us there is none. Nor can it escape observation that this Vaticanist gloss has a significant bearing on the case of the First Œcumenical Council. Under what unfavourable conditions did that august assembly take up its task! How grievous the disadvantage of having before it no papal judgment on the tremendous Arian question, and being obliged to feel its own way without the light of an *ex cathedra* pronouncement by Pope Sylvester! But to return; the sentence was pronounced at the close of the proceedings; and in it the bishops say that as Nestorius had disregarded their citations, they had been 'under the necessity of proceeding to an examination of his impious language: and we, having on the ground of his letters, writings, and words recently spoken in this very metropolis, convicted him of holding and propounding what is impious—having been (and as) placed under urgent necessity[1] both by the canons, and on the

Certainly not as if the question were properly a new one. Taking the Creed as a standard, they used certain documents by way of illustration: among these Celestine's letter to Nestorius is read between Cyril's second and third, and patristic extracts follow. Observe, too, that Cyril's third letter, sent in pursuance of Celestine's instructions, is not said in the Acts to have been expressly approved by the Council. The appended Anathematisms, no doubt, presented a difficulty; we know that they needed repeated 'explanations.'

[1] The adverb *ἀναγκαίως* is used both here and in the former sentence, to express the idea of unavoidableness. The Council's words in the third citation, 'If you do not appear, the Synod *ἀνάγκην ἕξει* to decide in your case in accordance with the canons of the fathers,' do not refer

Digitized by Google

ground of the letter of our most holy father[1] and fellow-minister, Celestine, bishop of the Church of the Romans, with frequent tears proceed to this dismal sentence: Our Lord Jesus Christ, therefore, whom he has blasphemed, decides through this most holy Synod that the said Nestorius is alien from the episcopal dignity, and from every priestly [*i.e.* episcopal] assembly.'

Dr. Rivington insists on the pointed reference to Celestine's letter, and argues that a mention of the canons could only refer to Nestorius's contumacy, and that, therefore, the letter was *the* ground on which they treated him as heretical. Had it been so, the previously mentioned examination need not have been held, and would not have been emphasized.[2] And to say that 'no canon had dealt with his dogmatic error' is to miss the point. There were rules enough and precedents enough for condemning a persistent assertion of gross heresy. But why, it will be asked, should they thus lay stress on a letter not addressed to them, and which they had not, in fact, obeyed?[3] Let it be remembered that they did regard the See

simply to the Roman-Alexandrian 'estimate' of Nestorius's language, as Dr. Rivington seems to mean in p. 44, but to the general imputation of heresy as well; see the opening speech of the Alexandrian secretary, Peter, in Mansi, iv. 1128.

[1] This title Dr. Rivington exhibits with initial capitals (so, too, in p. 368), and assumes it to refer to Celestine as Pope in the present sense of the term, or spiritual sovereign of all bishops. But in the speeches of bishops Cyril is called 'our most holy' or 'most pious father' more than fifty times. Mansi, iv. 1140 *sqq.*

[2] The preposition relating to the canons is, as Dr. Rivington says, ἀπὸ, while ἐκ is used in reference to Nestorius's language and to Celestine's letter. Dr. Rivington says, 'No one places the papal letter here *above* the canons; it remains, then, that they are co-ordinated' (p. 58). If we are to argue from prepositions, their identity in the case just mentioned 'co-ordinates' the synodical examination with the letter. Κατεπειχθέντες, which our author calls a participle containing the idea of 'tremendous force,' is applied, he admits, both to the canons and to the letter. Observe that in the notice of the deposition sent to Nestorius, and the similar notice sent to his clergy, the act is ascribed simply to the 'Synod,' and, in another sent to the clergy and laity of Constantinople, to 'the divinely inspired judgment of the holy fathers and bishops.' Imagine an Ultramontane 'Council' speaking thus!

[3] Bossuet, as quoted by Dr. Rivington, undoubtedly ascribes to the letter a 'judiciary force,' so that 'the Council' could not but confirm it because it was 'fundamentally just, and valable dans sa forme comme étant émanée d'une puissance légitime,' *Œuvres*, xxx. 528. But, as his biographer says, 'he was at the same period of his life engaged on the *Defensio Cleri Gallicani*' (*Hist. de Bossuet*, iii. 252), and there he affirms that Celestine's letter to Cyril was *not* 'ultimum atque irreformabile judicium'; it was 'suspended by the assembling of a General Council, examined, and confirmed, 'novo et irretractabili judicio'; and while acknowledging 'sedis apostolicæ legitimam potestatem et primatum,'

Digitized by Google

of Rome as ranking first in the Episcopate,[1] did ascribe to it not only a peculiar dignity, but also a proportionate interest in the maintenance of the faith and of Church order. What was the precise scope of its legitimate action and influence —how far might it go, what directions it might give, what degree of deference was due to it—these were questions which the bishops had not thought out, and which were naturally postponed to the exigences of an immediate crisis. They wanted all the support that Rome could give in the impending contest with their Emperor and his own Archbishop, as well as with a number of Easterns opposed to the Alexandrian type of theology, and jealous of Alexandrian self-assertion. It was well said long ago,[2] 'When a great system works in harmony, are confidence and words of honour so strange towards those who, in whatever sense, with greater power or with less, stand at its head?' But does such confidence, do such words of honour, 'prove that the power so trusted and honoured is supposed incapable of failure, or of usurpation'?

We come to the session in which the Roman legates were present.[3] They brought a letter from Celestine to the Council, which fully and eloquently recognized that all bishops, himself included, had a common interest in the Apostolic commission, and in the duties which it involved in regard to the faith,[4] and spoke of the Council as an Apostolic assembly,

the Synod 'illius judicium non probat, nisi per legitimam cognitionem et iteratum examen' (Lib. vi. c. 11). We are not much impressed by the Ultramontane Mansi's contention as adduced by our author (p. 88).

[1] The unhistoric notion that St. Peter had been actually the first bishop of Rome, which was clearly unknown to Irenæus (for he begins the episcopal series there with Linus), had before this time established itself, very much through the influence of Jerome. It is curious to see how modern Roman writers explain it away while trying to retain the advantage of it. No doubt the connexion of both Peter and Paul with the Roman Church did much to build up her 'primacy of honour and influence'; but its original basis was the grandeur of the 'Urbs' itself, as the centre of the Roman world.

[2] *Christian Remembrancer*, January 1851, p. 78.

[3] Even after they had arrived, Cyril claimed to represent Celestine (Mansi, iv. 1305). At Chalcedon a bishop said that Cyril was the 'head' of the Ephesian Synod (Mansi, vii. 20).

[4] 'Hæc ad omnes in commune Domini sacerdotes' (*i.e.* bishops) 'prædicationis cura pervenit. Advertere debet vestra fraternitas . . . quia accepimus generale mandatum. . . . Agendum est igitur labore communi, ut . . . per *apostolicam successionem* hucusque detenta servemus. . . . Lugeat hoc' (the new heresy) 'nobiscum in commune omne collegium.' Dr. Rivington does not repeat the extraordinary gloss which in *The Primitive Church*, &c., p. 339, made Celestine imply that he was to the bishops what St. Paul was to Timothy! He now gives the sense

Digitized by Google

assured as such of a Divine presence 'in the midst' of it. It is at the close of the letter that Celestine briefly refers to what he has previously 'ordained,' and 'doubts not that the Council will assent to it, since what is being done seems, (or 'whatever you may decide on would seem') 'to be decreed for the safety of the Church universal.' A leading prelate, Firmus, the Primate of Pontus, declared that Celestine had already given a sentence (or judicial opinion) and a formal regulation, which 'the Council had put into execution by drawing up a canonical and Apostolical judgment.' In the latter adjective he is clearly echoing the language of Celestine, just read, about the Apostolic office of all bishops;[1] by the former he could not mean a judgment which fulfilled the condition of conforming to that of Rome, for no such condition was imposed by any canon that has come down to us, and Rome would not have allowed such a canon to perish.[2] His words about 'putting into execution' what Celestine had formulated, could not imply that the Council's only duty had been to give an intelligent assent (not being free to withhold assent) to the Pope's sovereign decree; for, as Hefele

fairly, save that he insists that 'in commune' does not mean 'equally' (p. 73). Surely the *onus* is on him to show that it does not. It certainly seems to have this sense in several passages in the Acts of the Fifth General Council (Mansi, ix. 197, 347, 369). And was Celestine to 'mourn' more than the rest? And what of 'common land,' or of 'community of goods'? As for 'common prayer,' the different positions of the 'clergyman' and the congregation, to which he refers, do not affect their equality of interest in the prayers thus offered; the officiant's function is not vicarious, but (in a true sense) representative. And so far as Apostolic 'solicitude' is concerned, Celestine here recognizes no difference whatever between himself and other bishops; whereas, according to our author, Celestine, in his action of the year preceding, was 'exercising his apostolate over the whole Church' (p. 17). With Celestine's language compare St. Augustine's to Boniface I., *C. duas Epp. Pelag.* i. 2.

[1] The Roman Catholic *Weekly Register* for May 13, 1899, says that the condemnation was called apostolical, 'not (*pace* Dr. Rivington) as being that of the Pope, but as that of the Council.' Repeatedly does our author treat Firmus as the mouthpiece of the Synod (pp. 70, 78), and so makes the Synod 'distinctly and emphatically claim to have executed the sentence of Pope Celestine,' whereas Firmus was only a leading member. As a sample of minute carping, we may observe that Dr. Bright is blamed for omitting, in a brief reference to the speech of Theodotus, the presence of the legates, and making him say that Celestine's letter showed his zeal, whereas Theodotus says, '*you* showed.' Dr. Bright was condensing, not translating; and the legates were present as bearers of the letter.

[2] Socrates's assertion (quoted in p. 86) seems to grow out of his misconstruction of Julius I.'s words in Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* 35; cf. Soc. ii. 8, 17. By the way, Dr. Rivington says, 'The Greek historian *had* said that it was not lawful to make canons . . . contrary to the judgment of the bishop of Rome.' But Socrates's History was not published until at least eight years after the Council.

Digitized by Google

remarks, the Council in its first session had 'practically taken a different view, and introduced a fresh examination in order to prove Nestorius to be heretical.' True, Hefele adds that the Council now, 'partly by silence, partly expressly,' gave their adhesion to what he calls 'the papal view;' although Celestine's own words, already quoted, point in a different direction. But first, it is impossible to suppose that the bishops were implicitly owning that the 'fresh examination' of the case had been irrelevant, and in fact *ultra vires*; next, they had already told Theodosius that they had been 'under the necessity of discussing the subject of the faith';[1] thirdly, when in the same letter they 'commend' Celestine as having 'anticipated' them in giving sentence against Nestorius, they clearly do not, as our author thinks, 'date' the condemnation from that event, for they say just before, 'therefore *we* performed a canonical deposition of him'; fourthly, in writing to Celestine, they refer indeed to his having 'justly condemned' Nestorius, but they lay chief stress on their own proceeding, their citations, and their examination of Cyril's and of Nestorius's language, as leading up to the 'just sentence of deposition' which *they* had pronounced, with the effect of 'overthrowing an impious heresy.'[2] But what of the language held by the legate Philip, in speeches to the Synod, on the dignity of Rome? Obviously a legate would think himself bound to magnify his master's position, and cannot, any more than his master, be considered an independent witness.[3] But then Dr. Rivington sings *Io Triumphe* at what he considers the endorsement of that language by the Synod as a body. Now what does Philip say? First, he says that they 'know that Peter is the head of the whole faith, or even of the Apostles'; and in the subsequent session, that 'everybody in all ages has known that Peter, being *princeps* and head of the Apostles, and pillar of the faith, and foundation of the Catholic Church,[4] received from

[1] Mansi, iv. 1237 (*ἀναγκαίως*). Dr. Rivington (p. 88) refers to Mansi as quoting the remark of Baluze that 'if Baronius had seen Celestine's *commonitorium* to the legates' (see it in Mansi, iv. 556), 'he would have been able to say still more confidently that the legates were sent, *not* that the case of Nestorius should be subjected to a fresh examination, but to see that the sentence already passed was executed.' On this showing, then, the Council did that very thing which Celestine had wished to prevent.

[2] Mansi, iv. 1332. They address 'Celestine, bishop.'

[3] 'We can but smile when Romish divines, who have undertaken to adduce evidence in proof of the papal claims, tender to us the assertions of Popes, or of papal legates, or of Roman presbyters' (Salmon, *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 404).

[4] We need not say that here Philip (doubtless knowing no better)

Digitized by Google

Christ the keys of the kingdom, with power to loose and bind sins, and that up to this time and always he lives and exercises judgment in his successors,' including Celestine as now 'holding his place.' Here then, we are told, is 'plain teaching concerning Papal Supremacy,' not stated '*as an obiter dictum*, but made the pivot upon which the whole action of the legates hinged.' So we have now got beyond 'primacy'; but is this 'teaching' the whole Roman doctrine? It says nothing, for instance, on the crucial point, whether spiritual jurisdiction is derived to all bishops from the See of Peter alone. Dr. Rivington, we presume, holds that Peter alone *possessed* the keys, and that the other Apostles had to go to him for the use of them when they required it—and he certainly holds that the like relation obtains between the Pope and all the bishops who are bishops 'by the grace' of his See. If Philip meant to impress this view on his hearers, why did he not express it? The Eastern Church, we know, has never accepted it;[1] and now as to the attitude of the Council in regard to Philip's words. No protest was made, says Dr. Rivington; and he infers that 'silence gave consent.' This is a precarious form of the argument *ex silentio*. To assume that public men in that age mentally committed themselves to every assertion made by persons of dignity whose support was valuable for their object, and whose words they heard without reclamation, is to apply a strict modern standard of honour and candour to social conditions which made diplomatic reserve a part of that 'economy' which was a standing resource in Greek life. But Dr. Rivington urges that Philip's language was explicitly approved by the Council. Let us see. The main part of his speech is laudatory of the action of the Council in citing Nestorius, and of its sentence as regular, and as representing a virtually œcumenical resolution: '*therefore* let Nestorius know that he is alien from the communion of the priesthood of the Catholic Church,' as if he was not properly alien from it before. The other legates made shorter speeches, professing to be sent as Celestine's 'agents' and to follow his regulations, but referring also to the synodical procedure. Then Cyril says that the legates who 'repre-

assumes an interpretation of Matt. xvi. 18 for which no *consensus patrum* could be adduced. Dr. Rivington repeatedly (pp. 141, 169, 319) quotes these words in such a way as to suggest that they were adopted by the Council: 'At the Council of Ephesus East and West had agreed in the position that,' &c. 'The East to a man believed that,' &c.

[1] It is just in Dr. Rivington's manner to say, 'As regards universal jurisdiction, *we have seen* that the Ephesine fathers admitted this in the Apostolic See' (p. 112).

Digitized by Google

sent the Apostolical See *and the whole synod of the West*'[1] have carried out what Celestine had already prescribed, and have assented to the decision of the Synod against Nestorius; let them therefore sign the minutes, in token of canonical agreement with us all.'[2] One of the legates replies, that 'in accordance with the synodical acts, they cannot but do so.' And then the Council says, 'Since the legates have spoken ἀκολούθως,[3] let them make good their own promise by signing': which they do, one of them professing to 'assent on all points to the just *judgment of this holy and Œcumenical Synod.*'

In regard to the condemnation of John of Antioch, Dr. Rivington holds that it was the legates' presence which made it regular for the Council, had it so pleased, to depose John. Yet he adds that 'they would have had that right, if assembled for the purpose of dealing with it [? him], without the legates,' *i.e.* as members apart from their head (p. 102). We must observe that in the Council's letter to Celestine the reference to the legates as 'sitting with us' is simply brought in to enhance the audacity of John in excommunicating occupants of 'the greater Sees,' which must include Ephesus, because John's synod directed its sentence against Cyril *and* Memnon.

Next, as to the prohibition of any other Creed than the Nicene, in connexion with an utterance from Rome. We agree with Dr. Rivington on the verbal purport of that prohibition; we believe that 'any other' (ἑτέραν) must be taken literally; but we must observe that the Creed in question was the original Nicene, not (as our author says by a strange oversight) the (so-called) 'Constantinopolitan recension.'[4]

[1] Philip had noticed this point, but Cyril lays stress on it.

[2] 'The legates *require* that the report of the Acts should be submitted to their inspection' (Rivington, p. 78). Turn to the original: 'We *ask* that you will cause us to be informed as to what has been formally ruled (τετύπωται) by your blessedness' (the Council). Or: 'Although it may be superfluous, we ask that the minutes which have been read in your synod may be again read to us.' The bishop of Ephesus then says, 'Nothing hinders compliance with the request of,' &c.

[3] This adverb, as before in the session, means 'suitably,' and here refers to the acceptance of the synod's judgment, which was what the synod expected. Dr. Rivington tries to bring in a reference to the 'Petrine' opening of Philip's speech by italicising Cyril's and the Council's references to Philip (pp. 83, 85). But clearly they mention Philip after his colleagues as a presbyter, who yet has his place with them; so in the letter to Celestine, 'Arcadius, and Projectus, and with them the most pious presbyter Philip' (Mansi, iv. 1336).

[4] Dr. Rivington says (p. 106) that in the sixth session 'the Creed in its Constantinopolitan form' was 'made the only Creed for use in the reconciliation of heretics.' We are amazed at this statement. It would

Digitized by Google

But Dr. Rivington tries hard to find a dogmatic 'decree' of Celestine himself as included in that 'right definition of the faith' (p. 107) which Cyril and Memnon say that the Council was assembled to 'confirm by a common decision.'[1] Where is there such a decree? Neither in Celestine's letter to Nestorius, nor in his letter to the Church of Constantinople, do we find more of doctrinal statement than the mention of 'Christ our God,' or of His 'virginal birth' and 'His Godhead.' There is at the end of the latter a warning addressed to Nestorius, entitled in the Acts 'definition,' but a 'definition' in the sense of a prescribed condition: 'unless you do so and so, you will incur such and such penalties.' As to the few quotations made by Celestine in his own synod, they were not presented as a test to Nestorius, nor brought before the Council at Ephesus. In short, the 'establishment of the right definition of the faith' consisted in the 'comparison' of Cyril's teaching with the Creed as a standard,'[2] which took place quite early in the first session, and some time before the reading of Celestine's letter to Nestorius.

Before leaving this Council, we may notice the singularly close parallelism between some of its language in the decree in the case of Cyprus *v.* Antioch, and certain words in a letter of the African bishops written to Celestine seven years before, at the end of the case of Apiarius:

Africa.	*Ephesus.*
'Lest we should seem to be introducing into the Church of Christ... *fumosum typhum sæculi.*'	'Lest under the guise of priestly (= episcopal) action there should creep in the vanity (τῦφος) of secular authority.'

The Africans in their remonstrance were alluding to a recent apprehension that clerical agents sent to enforce a papal order might procure the support of the civil and mili-

have been strange if the Council had then departed from Cyril's line by recognizing that 'form' of its Creed (see Cyril, *Ep.* 3 to Nestorius, 3; *Adv. Nest.* i. 8), or, indeed, from their own (see the references in the first session to the Creed of 'the 318'); but, in fact, it was the *original* Nicene Creed which, at the opening of this session, was read, and declared to be 'sufficient' (Mansi, iv. 344). It was the Fourth Council which placed the 'Constantinopolitan' form beside the Nicene (Mansi, vii. 112).

[1] Mansi, iv. 1308.

[2] *Ibid.* iv. 1237 (the first letter of the Council to Theodosius). Dr. Rivington appeals to Photius and Eulogius for the statement that the phrases 'Theotocos' and 'Hypostatic Union' were dogmatically sanctioned at Ephesus. These writers mean that the acceptance of Cyril's teaching involved this sanction. The second phrase does not occur in Celestine's words, although its idea does. Had this speech been a 'decree' for the whole Church, would it not have been preserved entire?

Digitized by Google

tary powers. The Council is thinking of the possible intrusion of some bishops into territories not originally belonging to their Sees. No doubt the immediate occasion was the claim made by the See of Antioch over the Church of Cyprus; but Dr. Rivington is equally certain that the passage alludes to Juvenal's 'attempt in this very Council to encroach on the province of Antioch.[1] He descants in an edifying manner on the 'lust of power, and attempts to extend their jurisdiction, on the part of the more important Sees in the East.' Certainly 'the danger of worldly pride in ambitious projects,' wherever present, would suggest protests and safeguards. Of course it was wholly absent from the powerful See of Rome; 'successors of' the Fisherman would not yield to such a mundane temptation; there can be no significance in the secular grandeur which, as surrounding Damasus, provoked grave criticism on the part of a pagan historian,[2] and sarcasms on the part not only of the pagan Prætextatus, but even of the great St. Basil;[3] and Socrates had no warrant for saying, in reference to Celestine himself, that 'the Roman See, like the Alexandrian, had begun to transgress the limits of episcopal action, and advance' to what he brands as δυναστεία![4] The coincidence between the two passages, however it may be explained, is at least remarkable; and for us its interest lies in the fact that the Third Council was led to insert in its records what would stand in after-times as a witness against the spirit of Papal domination. Only fourteen years elapsed before it received a signal illustration in that edict which Leo the Great, unhappily for his true fame, procured from the young Valentinian III. (in fact, from his regent-mother) for the subjection of the Gallic Church to the Roman See, *à propos* of the case of Hilary of Arles.[5]

[1] Yet a bishop of *Jerusalem*, aiming at what Leo calls the 'principatus' or primacy of Palestine, could make out a specially fair case. By 'province,' of course, Dr. Rivington means patriarchate, which is rather a different matter.

[2] Ammianus, xxvii. 3. 14.

[3] A few years after Basil had pictured Damasus as 'sitting aloft with his head in the air, and thinking that arrogance was dignity,' and had complained of 'the Western superciliousness' (*Epp.* 215, 239), a Council of Milan gravely and gently disclaimed the 'ambition' and high-handedness attributed by Easterns to Westerns (St. Ambrose, *Epp.* 13, 14). But Damasus had a much better side, of which Basil knew nothing. See his inscriptions, and Jerome, *Ep.* 35.

[4] Soc. vii. 11. 'In dominationem,' Valesius. Socrates is referring to Celestine's oppression of the Novatians in Rome itself.

[5] The 'Constitutio Valentiniani,' reckoned as Leon. *Ep.* 11, July 8, 445. Leo wished, as we shall see, to dominate the East by means of a General Council in Italy.

Digitized by Google

Dr. Rivington makes capital out of two letters written by Celestine in the March of 432. In one he tells the bishops who had sat in the late Council that St. Peter's solicitude is universal, and says that the Apostolic See has always looked into many [subordinate] points of similar cases; in the other, he tells the clergy and people of Constantinople that while Nestorius was misleading his flock Peter had come to their aid: quite in the papal *modus loquendi.* But when our author asserts that in the second letter Celestine 'treats his own sentence and its execution by the Council as one' (p. 117), we must answer that this is just what he does *not* do. He describes, somewhat rhetorically, his action in the August of 430, takes credit for not having acted precipitately, and then proceeds, in effect, thus: Afterwards, Nestorius 'challenged an inquiry by bishops'—became 'petitor synodi'; but when the synod met he dared not face it, and thus, 'tandem in sacerdotibus suis Sanctus, sicut semper, Spiritus vivens, unus *in omnibus*, statuit quod omnibus subveniret.'[1] No words could more distinctly ascribe the final settlement to the General Council; and Dr. Rivington overlooks them.

We must now say something about the 'Latrocinium' chapter in this story. At the very close of Flavian's local synod Eutyches muttered an appeal to 'the synods of Rome, Egypt, and Jerusalem.' Why, on papal principles, did he not openly, and before the proceedings were ended, appeal to Leo as 'monarch' of the Church? A papalist who is satisfied with Flavian's second letter to Leo, as sufficiently dutiful to the 'monarch,' would seem to be thankful for rather small mercies. No doubt Flavian writes deferentially, as to the 'first' bishop in Christendom, highest in rank and influence; but he assumes that his synod's decision was all right, was 'canonical,' and requests Leo to 'decide with' it accordingly.[2] If, after the outrages at the Latrocinium, Flavian, in a recently discovered letter to Leo (on which Dr. Rivington lays stress), emphasized Leo's dignity as successor or the 'princeps' of the Apostles,[3] we cannot wonder that, in his extreme need of

[1] Mansi, v. 276.

[2] Συμψηφίσασθαι (*suffragari* in the Latin version) does not suggest the idea of a supreme judge validating the sentence of an inferior; nor can that sense be here imposed on it by the fact that in another context the verb is used of 'Almighty God' (p. 138)!

[3] Doubtless the term 'princeps,' in the imperial times, was used for the Emperor; but this sense stands fifth in the series of senses of the word in Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary.* When it is utilised by Romanists, it commits them to the theory that St. Peter was the sovereign of St. Paul or St. John. Elsewhere the 'principatus in episcopatu divinæ fidei,' ascribed to Leo by Marcian (*Ep.* 73) is glossed as 'sove-

Digitized by Google

help, he should do all he could to obtain it from the chief Patriarch in the hierarchy, whose seat he, like all others in his time, believed to have been actually occupied by St. Peter; and he took care to associate with Leo, in this appeal, 'the universal synod that was under him,' *i.e.* a synod that could really represent the West.[1] Leo had already, in a letter to the Council which had been imperially summoned to meet at Ephesus—a step which, he wrote to Flavian, was 'manifestly unnecessary,' but to which he had to accommodate himself—assumed that the Emperor's motive had been to obtain an interpretation of St. Peter's confession through St. Peter's own See, *i.e.* from Leo himself; and even Dr. Rivington, with all his enthusiasm for 'the lion,' seems troubled with a surmise that this was, perhaps, a little too strong.[2] But it must be plainly said that Leo, with all his excellence as theologian and Christian preacher, was so far from being 'the most accurate of men' on all subjects, that he seems to have known no scruple where the claims of his own See were even indirectly concerned.[3] He brings them in at every turn, and harps on them with a sort of feverish insistence. He prompted Valentinian's unverifiable assertion that a 'sacred synod,' in addition to 'St. Peter's merit' *and* 'the dignity of the Roman City,' had established the primacy of his see,[4] in order that'—or 'with the result that'—'no one should presumptuously attempt anything *illicitum præter auctoritatem sedis istius*,' implying that such attempt would be of itself 'unlawful'; which, if the

reignty over others in regard to the faith' (p. 200). It simply means that Leo, as holding the see which ranked first, had a corresponding pre-eminence of interest in the guardianship of the faith, and a right to be first addressed (as the next clause has it) when that faith was concerned.

[1] Dr. Rivington contracts the synod referred to into a mere 'cabinet council' of the 'ecclesiastical monarch' (as throughout he regards the Pope), by which the West could therefore be bound (p. 172). This notion does not appear either in Cyril's words already referred to, or in Flavian's appeal. And see St. Ambrose (*Ep.* 13. 4, 7) on the rights of 'Westerns' in general.

[2] In p. 140 he thinks Leo must have had some 'foundation for the statement'; on p. 168 he says it was 'an *interpretatio benigna* of the Emperor's desire for a Council' (!)

[3] Thus he ventures to tell not only Anatolius (*Ep.* 106) but Pulcheria (*Ep.* 105) that the canon of Constantinople had for many years been ineffective; on which Tillemont remarks, 'He could have known but little of what took place in the East' (xv. 701). But when he meant 'It *ought* to have been ineffective,' he took the liberty of saying that it *was* so—on the chance of not being contradicted; in which case the assertion might be '*not* ineffective' for the future.

[4] Pope Gelasius (*Ep. to Anastasius*) refers to a '*series of canons* of the Fathers' as 'establishing the authority of the Apostolic See.' It was convenient thus to deal in generalities.

Digitized by Google

allusion is to an incorrect Latin version of the sixth Nicene canon, or even to three Sardican canons, is a gloss which goes 'far and away' beyond the original. But on the Sardican canons we must say a word or two. Rome, in a dispute with the African Church, had claimed an appellate jurisdiction in the case of priests, as sanctioned by Nicæa; the African bishops had ascertained by inquiry in the East that the claim was unsupported by the genuine Nicene canons, and proof of this had been sent to Rome in 419. Yet, thirty years later, Leo told Theodosius that the Nicene canons implied this jurisdiction![1] A man who could thus deal with facts and evidence could hardly be a safe witness in his own cause. To say that in his Petrine-Papal view he did *not* substantially go beyond the general tone of patristic teaching is to maintain what any *catena* on that subject would confute;[2] and to

[1] *Epp.* 43. 3; 44. 3. Dr. Rivington says that this (p. 185) 'may point to matters on which *the Nicene fathers agreed*, but which were not embodied in definite canons until the Council of Sardica met and the necessity for such promulgation of *Nicene principles* had been shown by the Athanasian conflicts.' This is a typical sample of the 'assert and assume' method. Is there the slightest warrant, in the Nicene documents or in the history of the Nicene Council, for suggesting that its members 'agreed upon,' or that its 'principles' involved, a system of appeal to Rome? Absolutely none; all that we know excludes such a notion. Our author cannot build so much as this even on the unsafe ground of the Roman reading of one Nicene canon—as to which more presently. But he goes further, and remarks that Leo's 'emphatic assertion that "the decisions of the canons at Nicæa," of which the canons of Sardica to which he referred formed part, had been "established throughout the world," shows that the African troubles about these Sardican canons had ended well, and the Church had set her seal on the term 'Nicene' being applied to those canons.' So, if Leo makes an assertion, it is 'the Church' that speaks through him! And what will our author's Roman Catholic readers, including, as the preface says, some who are not scholars, understand by 'the African troubles'? Later on Dr. Rivington speaks with a bold simplicity of 'the Constantinopolitan development of the original Nicene Creed, which we now call the Nicene Creed simply, just as the Sardian [*qu.* Sardican] canons were *always* called Nicene' (p. 287)!

[2] Dr. Rivington refers to two former Popes, saying that Leo 'in the whole conduct of the Eutychian controversy did not go one whit beyond St. Julius,' who 'claimed,' on the ground of 'a Petrine tradition, that a bishop of Alexandria must be judged from Rome'; and that Innocent had said as much as Leo without being thought by St. Augustine to innovate (p. 190). Now, first, we want other than papal testimony for papal claims. Next, the synodical letter of Julius, to which, as contained in Athanasius's great *Apology*, our author refers us, shows that he expressly distinguished the special case of an Alexandrian bishop from that of bishops in general, saying in regard to the latter, 'Word should have been written to us all, that so a just decision might come *from all*.' And Innocent I. (in the received Roman fashion) had strained the African expressions about the *auctoritas* of his see to mean more than they implied, as if they recognized in him a final authority. St. Augustine

Digitized by Google

plead that a man so good in many respects could not be ambitious from an official standpoint, could not be infected by the love of power for power's sake, is to contradict a whole array of too significant experiences, and to ignore the complexity of human motive-forces, and the peculiar intensity of passion when 'obliged to act under a religious disguise.'[1] The truth is that the spirit of old Rome—the instinct *regere imperio populos*—had entered, as it were, into Leo's blood. Some other great ecclesiastics have been by nature 'rulers of men'; but in them the imperious tendency has been met and restrained by a large measure of qualities which, to say the least, are not conspicuous in Leo's public conduct—by considerate equity, 'gentleness, sympathy, and experience of suffering'—the qualities which shine out in St. Athanasius.[2]

Dr. Rivington holds that Leo's successes in the Eutychian struggle could not have been achieved by a Bishop of Rome who was less than a Supreme Pontiff or ecclesiastical sovereign. We, on the contrary, hold that if such had been his acknowledged position, he would have escaped the checks which in fact he met with. On the Vatican hypothesis, he was known throughout East and West as the final authority in teaching and governing both bishops, clergy, and laity: for instance, he had, as supreme ordinary, a plenary jurisdiction in Egypt, which could override at his mere will the ordinary jurisdiction of the Alexandrian 'Pope.' If so—and if, as our author confidently infers from the uncontradicted words of a legate,[3] 'the East to a man believed' that Leo's exercise of jurisdiction was that of St. Peter himself (p. 169, cp. p. 141)—how could an Eastern Council of some 130 bishops allow Dioscorus to oust Leo's legates from the presidency, and simply to suppress his letter addressed to itself[4]—and this

and his colleagues were not called upon to notice this 'adroit' inference, when the matter in hand was to secure Rome's support of the doctrine of grace as against Pelagianism. They had already pointed out to Innocent what he ought to do—*i.e.* to 'anathematize the error.'

[1] Mozley, *Univ. Sermons*, p. 93. Cf. Liddon, *Univ. Sermons*, ii. 201. On p. 327 Dr. Rivington refers to 'human nature' in the bishops of Constantinople. Did it not exist also in the bishops of Rome?

[2] See Newman, *Historical Sketches*, iii. 339. Leo actually said that the execution of Priscillian had been of 'good service' to the Church (*Ep.* 15). Contrast him here with St. Martin.

[3] In p. 385, professing to show what 'the fathers' at Chalcedon did, he begins by quoting two legates.

[4] In p. 182 Dr. Rivington makes Leo say that if his letter had been read at Ephesus, 'the tumult would have been quieted by the manifestation which, inspired divinely (*divinitus inspiratam*), we have received,' &c. Surely some words have here dropped out; Leo wrote, 'manifestatione purissimæ *fidei* quam, divinitus,' &c. (*Ep.* 44. 1).

Digitized by Google

too before the scenes of terrorism had begun? Would an 'ecclesiastical monarch,' backed up by a Western emperor and his regent mother, have failed so completely with a pious Eastern emperor as Leo failed with Theodosius, when he entreated, after the Latrocinium, that a new Council might be held *in Italy*, so that, as Valentinian is made to say, Leo himself might be 'in a good position for judging about the faith and the bishops'?[1] A pretty broad hint, given through an imperial medium. We are told (p. 196) that in Theodosius's reply to Valentinian, 'the jurisdiction of the See of Peter is in no way denied,' though 'its exercise is in this instance eluded.' But there is not a word which acknowledges it as extending over the East; Leo is simply referred to as 'the most reverend patriarch' whose 'petition' to Valentinian was grounded on misinformation, and might be set aside as such. Of course it was the imperial writer who was here misinformed.

As Gibbon says, the stumbling of Theodosius's horse, in July 450, at once changed the whole situation. His sister Pulcheria, already Augusta, who was orthodox on the Eutychian question, became sole sovereign of the East, but, by espousing Marcian, gave her realm an Emperor. The new sovereigns took for granted that Leo still, as in their predecessor's reign, wished for a new Council. But Leo had grown cool on the subject. He learned that Marcian meant

[1] Leon. *Ep.* 55. Valentinian was still, as Gibbon says, in 'supine lethargy' under his mother's tutelage. In the latter part of 449 Leo had written in a 'suppliant' tone to Theodosius (*Epp.* 44, 54), and to Pulcheria (*Ep.* 45), and early in 450 had petitioned Valentinian, his wife, and his mother, to use their influence with Theodosius. Galla Placidia says that he could hardly speak for tears; whereupon Dr. Rivington reminds us of 'the tears of St. Paul' (p. 183). Imagine a comparison between Leo's temperament and that of the Apostle of supernatural sympathy! Dr. Rivington adopts the Ballerini's view that the Latin form of the Western imperial letters is an incorrect version from the Greek. This helps him to make Valentinian say that antiquity yielded to the Roman bishop 'the *episcopal rule over all*,' as the Greek has it, τὴν ἱερωσύνην, the Latin being 'principatum sacerdotii' (p. 192). But further, Dr. Rivington tries to make Theodosius a party to Valentinian's 'constitution' about papal authority. He assumes that the two Emperors would, 'as a matter of course,' be agreed in what ran in their joint names (p. 205). By no means, when Valentinian was legislating for the West, and addressing Aetius, his own Master of the Soldiery, on the affairs of the Church in Gaul. So Marcian's letters to Leo before and after the Council of Chalcedon, though dated at Constantinople, ran in Valentinian's name as well as his own. So Symmachus, as prefect of Rome, had addressed his 'report' to Theodosius I. and Arcadius *pro forma*, as well as to Valentinian II. in fact. Nor did Theodosius II. in 449-50 act as if he believed Leo to be what Valentinian's rescript had called him, 'the ruler of the *universitas*' of Christians.

Digitized by Google

to choose the place of the Council,[1] whereas he himself, as Marcian must have known through Pulcheria, had urged that it should be held in Italy. He took advantage of the fact that the West was now being disturbed by barbaric inroads to deprecate the holding of any Council;[2] but Marcian had made up his mind that a Council there should be, and not in Italy but in the East; and Leo, as in the summer of 449, made the best of an unwelcome situation.[3] Here, then, on our author's showing, we have the 'ecclesiastical monarch' entreating that his subjects may not be ordered by the temporal monarch to meet for despatch of ecclesiastical business at a given time; the temporal monarch holds to his purpose, and the ecclesiastical monarch, with unconcealed annoyance, has to give way. To be sure, he had compensations. Marcian and Pulcheria most naturally assumed that his influence would be prominent in a Council intended to vindicate that truth of which he himself, by his 'Tome' to Flavian, had been the great champion, and that the bishops, when assembled, would keep to the doctrinal lines which he had traced.[4] And as the antecedents of Anatolius, the new Bishop of Constantinople, had been not a little suspicious, and Leo's countenance was for him peculiarly important, it was all the easier for Leo to take a somewhat authoritative tone towards him, and to associate him with his own envoys for the arrangement of terms on which bishops who in the Latrocinium had yielded to Dioscorus might be admitted to Catholic communion.[5] Of the reception of his 'Tome' we will speak further on. When the Council met at Chalcedon,

[1] So Marcian wrote to him, *Ep.* 76, November 22, 450. Leo's next letter (April 13, 451) is extremely brief (*Ep.* 78), and not until June 9 does he state his objection to an immediate Council, and that with some positiveness (*Ep.* 83). He did not then know that Marcian had already summoned the bishops (May 17).

[2] *Ep.* 83. As Dr. Rivington says, 'Attila was on the war-path.' See Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii. 118. Still, if 'the West was always sufficiently represented at a Council by the papal legates' (Rivington, p. 202: on what ground is this asserted?), that difficulty could have been easily got over. Leo, indeed, does not make this claim for his legates; he implies that such a Council ought to include '*plurimi episcopi* even from distant provinces' (*Ep.* 94, and cp. *Ep.* 89).

[3] *Epp.* 89, 90, 91, 94 (June and July). Fifty years later, Pope Gelasius had the audacity to write, 'Sedes apostolica . . . ut synodus Chalcedonensis fieret, *sola decrevit*' (Mansi, viii. 55).

[4] 'Te auctore,' *Ep.* 73; so in *Ep.* 76 he hopes that the bishops' will, 'sua dispositione,' set forth what may profit Christianity, as Leo, in accordance with ecclesiastical rules, 'definivit.' If it were worth while, one might observe that 'dispositio' is used in imperial determinations, (*Ep.* 33. 1; 90. 1).

[5] Anatolius was to act with Leo's legates in this affair (*Ep.* 80. 2).

Digitized by Google

a question arose as to the position of Dioscorus. The Roman legates, to whom the first place among the bishops was conceded,[1] had been instructed to insist that he should not sit as a member of the Council; and they went so far as to demand that he should not even remain in the church; 'they would go out unless he was sent out.'[2] They had to give up this point, but the commissioners ruled that Dioscorus should sit in the middle, as being accused—which was in accordance with an intelligible principle, for the Council was, by hypothesis, a body of judges.[3]

Presently came a scene with Theodoret. We must look back nearly two years; he had appealed to Leo—as two other letters of his show, to Leo as presiding in a synod of Western bishops—against the sentence passed upon him at the Latrocinium. We gladly recognize Dr. Rivington's 'free' admission that as 'he was in distress, and disposed to lean on any arm that was likely to support him, this may be thought to discount somewhat his expressions of loyalty to Rome.'[4] But 'loyalty' is too strong a word. He ascribes

[1] Leo had said that it was 'befitting' that Paschasinus, bishop of Lilybæum, should 'preside over the synod in his stead,' *Ep.* 89.

[2] The Roman recklessness of assertion was here exhibited by one of the legates, who said that Dioscorus had dared to hold a synod without the sanction of the Apostolic see, '*which had never been done*, nor was it lawful to be done.' Evidently the legate had never heard of St. Cyprian's synods, nor of the Alexandrian of 362. And he forgot that Leo had not only sent the Tome to be read at that synod, but had actually addressed *Ep.* 33 'sanctæ synodo quæ apud Ephesum convenit.'

[3] It is a pure assumption that the commissioners were here simply bowing to a papal order, or, as it is not very gracefully worded further on, that Dioscorus was 'put in the dock by the order of the Bishop of Rome' (p. 256). As for the legate's talk about Rome being 'the head of all Churches,' the phrase is too vague to have any argumentative value. Dr. Rivington (p. 254), understands the fourth of certain brief speeches by the imperial commissioners in Mansi vi. 581 to be addressed, not to the legate Lucentius, as Hefele unhesitatingly takes it, but to Dioscorus, so that it would mean, 'If you come here in the character of a judge, you cannot, of course, plead as one on trial; but you *have* so to plead: *ergo* you must not sit as a judge.' *Q.E.D.* All this in a single sentence of two brief clauses! Now the preceding speeches had been addressed to legates; would the commissioners abruptly address Dioscorus, who had not yet said a word? The legates were insisting upon a decision of Leo's *re* Dioscorus; they were, thus far, claiming to judge him, and yet pleading like counsel against him. Clearly δικαζόμενος might apply to a pleader for the prosecution as well as for the defence. (Again we observe that Dr. Rivington mistakes Dr. Bright's summary for a translation.) In fact 'the most reverend bishop Dioscorus' appears in column after column as criticizing, bringing out points, and, as Dr. Rivington puts it, 'throwing the blame on others,' as well as defending himself.

[4] He begins by saying that 'Paul went to the great Peter' to consult him as to the question raised at Antioch. When commenting on

Digitized by Google

to Leo a 'primacy'[1] founded on the civil greatness of Rome, the faith which 'specially adorned' its Church, and the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul. Why did he take *this* as 'the apex of your advantages,' instead of what the Papalist argument requires—Rome's privilege as the seat of an ecclesiastical monarchy? He does not say that its See is infallible, but offers to abide by its decision, intimating at the same time that if it went against him, he should 'await the just judgment of God our Saviour.' Leo's reply is unfortunately lost; but it is clear that on reading the papers forwarded by Theodoret, he pronounced that in this, as in other cases, the Latrocinium sentence was unjust, and that, therefore, Theodoret ought to be reinstated in his See.[2] Accordingly Theodoret was introduced, on the double ground of Leo's decision and of a special imperial order. Instantly a minority of the bishops—Egyptian, Palestinian, Illyrian—shouted fiercely against Theodoret: the majority, as we should say, cheered him; but the commissioners, true to their judicial instincts, ruled that he, too, should sit 'in the middle,' without prejudice to any right on his part to urge points against others, or on theirs to attack him;[3] and this especially since

Gal. ii. 2, he is truer to the facts, and says that Paul and Barnabas went up to see 'the great Apostles.'

[1] In a companion letter he says (*Ep.* 116) that the Roman see has a ἡγεμονία over the Churches throughout the world. Dr. Rivington contends that ἡγεμονία may well be = ἀρχή. The sense must be settled by the context. In *Ep.* 113 Theodoret speaks of the city of Rome as having νῦν κρατοῦσαν ἡγεμονίαν, and giving τοῖς ἀρχομένοις a share in her title. Here, no doubt, the word does mean sovereignty; but when Theodoret says that the chief of many proofs of the Roman see's ἡγεμονία is its historical freedom from heretical taint, this would clearly be no proof at all of its 'sovereignty,' as Dr. Rivington translates the word, nor would it imply the infallibility of each of its occupants. Theodoret uses ἡγεμονία for the (Eastern) empire (*H.E.* v. 6), and for a province (*ibid.* v. 28); but he ascribes to a 'comes privatarum rerum' the ἡγεμονία over the Emperor's personal property (*ibid.* iii. 8); on 2 Tim. ii. 22, he hopes to be hereafter, in heaven, under the ἡγεμονία of Paul and Timothy; in *Orat.* 7 *de Provid.* he refers to bishops as having ἡγεμονία over the priests, and here, of course, 'to those who believe in episcopacy' (see p. 369) the word has the sense of 'rule.' But what kind of 'rule'? We know from Isidore of Pelusium (Lib. iii. *Ep.* 216) that the episcopate was not then regarded as an ἀρχὴ ἀνεξέταστος (which is precisely the present Roman theory of the papacy).

[2] This is the sense of 'Leo restored to him the episcopate,' Mansi, vi. 589; cp. *ib.* vii. 189.

[3] In Mansi, vi. 592, the first part of this sentence is clearer in the Latin than in the Greek; the last words, in both, point to any discussion that might hereafter be started on either side, for or against Theodoret. Dr. Rivington sets aside the received Latin where it speaks of 'accusations'; but the whole drift of the passage means that at the proper time

Digitized by Google

the Bishop of Antioch appeared to testify to his orthodoxy; so that Leo's decision was not deemed conclusive. To say, then, that Theodore 'took his seat in the Council' as a member, but in the middle as being an accuser (p. 226), is by the hypothesis self-contradictory.[1]

While the proceedings against Dioscorus were going on, the memorials were read as coming from certain Alexandrians —three clerics and a layman—against him. They were addressed to Leo and the Council—Leo being styled 'œcumenical archbishop' or 'œcumenical patriarch.' It is this which Gregory the Great mistook for an offering, on the Council's part, of the title 'universal bishop' to Leo. Of course it is quite unreasonable to make the Council responsible for such a mode of address to its virtual president. Dr. Rivington pleads that the petitioners 'in the same breath' called the Council œcumenical. Certainly they did; it was the established phrase. Dr. Rivington says, 'To call Leo

Theodoret should not only have full right to accuse his opponents, but should be open to be accused in turn (as our author himself puts it, 'in promising the Egyptians that they should be allowed to have their say with Theodoret afterwards,' p. 227); so Hefele, that neither he nor his opponents should have 'the right of speech and reply till later.' The Latin is plainer: Theodoret is free to accuse, and open to being accused. Theodoret indeed appears in the Acts of the second session as bishop of Cyrrhos, and as such accepts the Tome in the fourth, though this was strictly irregular, for he was not as yet synodically approved, nor as yet properly a member of the synod. Dr. Rivington says that his presence was objected to only by a 'tiny knot of sympathizers with Dioscorus.' Anyhow, the objectors got their way; for, as the Fifth General Council repeatedly insists (Mansi, ix. 76, 297), the synod did not properly recognize Theodoret until he had anathematized Nestorius. Great weight was given to Leo's decision in his favour, but it was not treated as *per se* conclusive. The legates no more gave the Council's judgment in his case than in that of Dioscorus; for after them the bishops present gave their own, and the commissioners referred to 'the judgment of the holy Council' (Mansi, vii. 192). Observe that after the legates, Anatolius, and Maximus, have spoken, Juvenal assents to the sentence given by Anatolius, and two other bishops of great sees to what has been 'settled by the fathers who have spoken their minds.'

[1] Dr. Rivington argues that to admit him as a competent accuser was to acknowledge his orthodoxy, according to what is called the sixth canon of Constantinople (*i.e.* of the adjourned Council in 382; p. 227). It was, indeed, to acknowledge it provisionally, and the special circumstances might make this the right course. But still this did not carry with it a final determination in his favour. And on Dr. Rivington's own showing, a canon of Constantinople ought to have had no weight; not being confirmed by the 'Holy See,' it was simply invalid. And yet the legates had approved of Anatolius's holding the second place next to themselves, whereupon the bishop of Cyzicus remarked, 'Because you know the canons,' *i.e.* those of 381 (Mansi, vi. 608). Did the legates' 'silence' at this point 'commit' them to a recognition of the Council of Constantinople?

Digitized by Google

"œcumenical patriarch" involved a doctrine.' What doctrine? Apparently that of the Vatican Council already described, a doctrine which goes far beyond the claims made by Gregory, who not only denounced the adoption of the title by John of Constantinople, but refused it, in any form, for himself.[1] As for those poor Alexandrians, it is absurd to credit them with a serious 'doctrinal' intention. They wanted to gain Leo's favour, and it cost them nothing to lay a 'magnific title' at the feet of his representatives.

But as to the close of the case of Dioscorus. After he had finally refused, in the third session, to appear and meet the charges against him, Paschasinus, as presiding legate, repeatedly asked the Council to express its mind: 'Do you command us to pronounce sentence?' and repeatedly came the answer, 'We agree; carry out the rules' against contumacy. One bishop then observed, that as Dioscorus had abused his presidential power at Ephesus, the legates should now use theirs,[2] as being assured that the Council would vote (or decide) with them. Then after Paschasinus had again asked, 'What is your pleasure?' and Maximus of Antioch had said, 'We will vote according to your mind,' the legates pronounced,[3] in Leo's name as acting 'through them and the

[1] Cp. Greg. *Epp.* v. 18, 20, 43, viii. 30. Dr. Rivington claims Cyril as having called Celestine 'archbishop of the whole world,' but the 'homily' in which this occurs (Cyril, *Opp.* v. par. 2, p. 384) is on internal grounds highly suspicious. Cyril's usual phrase is 'bishop of the Roman Church;' in one passage (Mansi, iv. 1281) he echoes the legate's phrase, 'bishop of the Apostolic see,' but adds 'τῆς Ῥωμαίων.' Paschasinus, no doubt, spoke of Leo as 'archbishop of all the Churches,' or, as the Latin has it, 'Pope of the universal Church' (Mansi, vii. 9); but what then? Later, he even called Leo 'the *bishop* of the whole Church!' (*ibid.* vii. 189). Dr. Rivington returns to this point in p. 320, and suggests that John meant by his use of the term that all other bishops were but his legates, and that Gregory protested because he had 'detected' this meaning. John was not so foolish as thus to insult his Eastern colleagues; and, after all, he was only using a title which Justinian had assigned to his predecessors. The forger who deceived Thomas Aquinas professed to 'read in (the Acts of) the Council of Chalcedon quod *tota synodus* clamavit Leoni papæ, "Leo . . . *icumenaycos*, id est universalis, patriarcha . . . vivat."'

[2] The κῦρος which Dioscorus is here said to have had belonged to him as president of the Latrocinium Council.

[3] Compare the pronouncement as given in the Acts with that which follows Leo's *Ep.* 103. The latter accentuates the dignity of Leo as 'caput universalis ecclesiæ,' and of St. Peter as 'cælestis regni janitor'; but it also emphasizes the function of the synod as now called upon to pass against Dioscorus 'canonicam justitia suadente sententiam.' Neither version makes Dioscorus's excommunication of Leo the climax of his offences; both mention after it his disregard of citations and his communicating with persons lawfully deposed. The notices sent to him and to his clergy lay chief stress on the former of these two points.

Digitized by Google

Council,' and 'with' the authority of St. Peter, that Dioscorus was deposed: 'therefore let the synod vote on his case in accordance with the canons.'[1] Now comes the question: When Paschasinus ceased to speak, was Dioscorus *ipso facto* and once for all deposed? So Dr. Rivington contends; he says that the Council had 'promised to accept the legates' sentence,' and the legates had assumed that 'as a matter of course' they would do so, and simply 'proclaim their adhesion' to it. But what the Council had said was, that they were of one mind with the legates, and would vote, or decide, *with* them.[2] So they speak, bishop after bishop: many taking care to join Anatolius's name with Leo's; others attributing the sentence, which they severally make their own, to the 'fathers' or chief prelates; many repeatedly describing their own action as that of 'judging' or 'giving sentence,' terms on which, as thus used, our author has to force a non-natural sense in order to bring them into line with the theory of an 'uncontrolled' papal monarchy. According to him, the action of the bishops differed in kind from that of the legates: the legates alone, properly speaking, judged; the bishops 'judged' only in the sense of giving an intelligent 'adhesion' to their judgment;[3] they were not, in fact, morally free to do otherwise. A candid Roman reviewer of Dr. Rivington observes that 'the bishops at Ephesus or Chalcedon would not themselves have formulated in their age such a description of a Council.'[4]

And now as to the Tome, the world-famous '28th Letter' of Leo, sent to Flavian for use at the Council which became the Latrocinium, and there suppressed, or withheld, by Dios-

[1] 'Decernat'; the Greek has ψηφίσεται. Maximus's phrase was, 'We become σύμψηφοι with you.'

[2] In the subsequent 'signatures' two legates say that they 'define' (ὥρισα) 'together *with* the Council.' Evagrius, after giving the legates' sentence, goes on, 'which being confirmed (κυρωθέντων) by Anatolius, and the rest of the bishops' (ii. 18).

[3] It is added that the bishops only 'say exactly what would be expected in accordance with the doctrine of papal infallibility' (p. 247). Does that doctrine take judicial acts into its scope? Not as formulated in 1870; although Dr. Pusey quotes the papal encyclical of 1864 as insisting on obedience, on pain of mortal sin, to *all* the Pope's judgments (*Eirenicon*, i. 304), which seems to imply their infallibility.

[4] *Weekly Register*, *l.c.* The astounding parallel in *The Primitive Church*, &c. (p. 377), between a Council's relation to a Pope, as 'swelling out his sentence by proclaiming' it, and the relations of Christians to Christ according to Col. i. 24 is repeated in *The Roman Primacy* (p. 148). It reminds one too much of the idolatrous extravagances relating to Pius IX., which Mr. Wilfrid Ward quotes in his volume on *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival* (p. 246).

Digitized by Google

corus. Its date is June 13, 449. It is, we believe, regarded by Ultramontanes as a typical instance of an *ex cathedra* pronouncement or doctrine, although it nowhere professes to be addressed to the whole Church,[1] or obligatory *ab initio* and *proprio vigore* on all Christians. Dr. Rivington's eagerness in claiming for it this character leads him somewhat to under-estimate its intrinsic excellence as a balanced statement of truth. Its theological merits, together with the *prestige* of its author's character and dignity, fully account for the 'acceptance' which it received. To infer from this acceptance that it was believed to be infallible '*qua* Leo's' involves a most glaring *non sequitur*. We want proof of the existence of such a belief; and the iteration of mere assertions or assumptions has argumentatively the value of a cipher, or rather it tells distinctly against the cause with which it is associated. Take Leo's last letter to Theodosius:[2] he urges that Anatolius should consider what the 'Fathers' have uniformly taught as to the Incarnation, should 'observe the agreement of Cyril's letter with the mind of those earlier teachers, and also should go through the Acts of the Council of Ephesus: and let him *not disdain also* to turn over my letter, which he will find to be in all points accordant with the pious belief of the Fathers.' Is this the language of a Supreme Teacher of all Christians, imposing a work of his own as 'an infallible test of orthodoxy'?[3] Or what is more natural, in the circumstances, than that Flavian's own Church of Constantinople, and 'very many bishops' in connexion with it, and that Antiochene

[1] See Dr. Ward, quoted in Dr. MacColl's *Reformation Settlement*, p. 506.

[2] *Ep.* 69. Compare *Ep.* 120, written as late as June 453: 'What the Lord had formerly defined by our instrumentality He confirmed "universæ fraternitatis irretractabili assensu," &c., and "apostolicæ sedis epistola universalis sanctæ synodi assensu firmata."' Here the final authorization is distinctly attributed to the Episcopate in general. What 'cannot be reviewed' is the act of 'the whole episcopal brotherhood.' Yet Dr. Rivington goes on (p. 389) to speak of 'the definition by the See of Peter, which was of God . . . and *was therefore irreformable*,' in order to bring the words into line with the Vatican decree. That definition (in the Tome) was said to be from 'the Lord,' because it was true to New Testament doctrine, which is the Lord's. So in the same letter, c. 4, that in the Tome 'tanta divinæ auctoritatis testimonia noverimus esse congesta,' &c.

[3] Dr. Rivington infers (p. 206) that it had been 'already used as an infallible test of orthodoxy.' He sticks in this word 'infallible' at any point he chooses: the assumption costs him no difficulty. Again he says that Leo placed the Tome 'side by side' with other standards of faith. So far as Leo's context goes, he places it a little lower than the teaching of the 'Fathers,' which are not supposed to form an infallible standard.

Digitized by Google

patriarchate [1] which was likely, on the whole, to be specially antagonistic to Monophysitism, should welcome the Tome as a godsend, and applaud Leo as the man who had loyally used his great opportunities by saying the right word in a crisis perilous to the faith? So, when at Chalcedon the Commissioners proposed that the Council should frame an 'exposition' [2] of the faith, while many bishops (evidently fearing that some advantage might be given to Nestorianisers) protested against what they erroneously imagined to be a proposal to alter the Creed, others said that they had adopted the formulary put forth by Leo, *i.e.* the Tome. The Nicene Creed was then read, and Leo's name was joined with Cyril's as having taught in accordance with it: the 'Constantinopolitan' recension of the Creed was next recited, and followed by Cyril's second letter to Nestorius and his letter to John of Antioch. After these the Tome itself was read, and similarly greeted with acclamations, among which are the words, 'Peter uttered this through Leo': that is, Leo has truly interpreted St. Peter's confession. A few difficulties being raised by certain prelates as to passages in the Tome which they thought to savour of Nestorianism, some language of Cyril's was cited in explanation, but time was allowed for further inquiry. In the fourth session the commissioners refer to Leo's letter, and ask whether the Council

[1] *Ep.* 88. 3, dated 24 June 451.

[2] Dr. Rivington has three pages (pp. 261–263) and a long note (p. 292) on 'the word *exposition*,' the drift of which is to elevate Leo's Tome, as such and from the first, to a rank with the Creed. The reference to 'expositions' (Mansi, vi. 953) he considers to include the Tome. No doubt *ecthesis* is applicable to formularies which are not Creeds. But although the objection urged against a new definition, 'on the ground of the Ephesine rule' (against any 'other' Creed), comes after 'the earlier exclamations,' it is precisely what explains them. For that rule excluded no new exposition *not* professing to be a Creed. The first outcry, 'We will not, we dare not, make a new exposition,' must be read with the second, 'It is not permissible to make another.' Dr. Rivington assumes this last phrase to mean, We have no right to do so, being already committed to 'the authoritative decision of Leo.' But οὐκ ἐξὸν is a plain verbal reference to the prohibitory rule of Ephesus, ἑτέραν πίστιν μηδενὶ ἐξεῖναι προσφέρειν (Mansi, iv. 1361). So far, then, as this objection goes, 'exposition' could only mean a Creed. Therefore it could not include the Tome. Dr. Rivington argues that if, as they profess to believe, the Tome truly interpreted the Creed, 'it is obvious that they could not add to it.' Is it so 'obvious' that a sound comment on a text is incapable of expansion? Dr. Rivington having misunderstood the purport of the exclamation coming after Cecropius's first speech, fails to see what is significant in the second, although he quotes it fairly (p. 265). Cecropius *ranks Leo with six 'Fathers'* who had 'confirmed' (*i.e.* illustrated and enforced) the faith of Nicæa. Among these Celestine of Rome comes between Cyril and Hilary.

Digitized by Google

considers the Creed in both forms to agree with it—a phrase which here, as the context shows, must needs mean, whether it is thought to agree with the Creed ;[1] and then the legates speak. What an opportunity for proclaiming before that august assemblage that, apart from all comparison with pre-existing standards, a dogmatic letter emanating from the See of St. Peter was, as such, an infallible pronouncement, which could gain no authority from 'the consent of the Church'![2] Alas! the legates miss the occasion: they are content to say that the letter is one in faith with the teaching of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus.[3] And the bishops, one after another, affirm this identity. Repeatedly do they ground their acceptance (whether given previously or at the Council) of the Tome on personal examination in the light of preceding authorities.[4] But this will be best brought out by

[1] Mansi, vii. 9.

[2] It is known that the words 'non autem ex consensu ecclesiæ' were inserted in the Vatican decree, two days before it was passed, for the more complete discomfiture of the minority. Dr. Rivington seems to go rather 'near the edge' when (in p. 380) he says that the Tome was 'irreformable,' on the sole ground of its 'œcumenical acceptance' by 'the Church diffused, before the Council met,' 'were there no other reason.'

[3] In the text of p. 276 Dr. Rivington says that 'Paschasinus' here 'asserted, in the language of the time, the infallibility of the Holy See.' In a footnote he somewhat 'climbs down.' Paschasinus's words 'do *seem* to involve a belief in that infallibility.' If so, it is closely 'wrapt up.' What the legates say is: 'It is clear, and none can doubt'—what? That the letter is infallible? No, but that Leo's belief agrees with that of the three Councils: *therefore* his letter stating his belief represents those Councils' belief, and no other. The premise is not, 'Leo cannot err,' but, 'You all know Leo to be orthodox.' There is a slight change of construction in regard to the Ephesian 'definition,' but it does not affect the sense.

[4] 'Not one bishop rests it upon the simple authority of the See of Rome' (*Chr. Remembr.* April 1855, p. 438). In his *Waymarks in Church History* (p. 229) Dr. Bright had quoted the words of Pope Vigilius to the effect that the fathers at Chalcedon grounded their assent to the Tome on its agreement with the teaching of Nicæa, Constantinople, and 'beati Cyrilli' at Ephesus. No, says our author: Vigilius was referring merely 'to the comparison made in the house of Anatolius,' for the sake of removing difficulties felt by a 'a few bishops,' and to the declarations in the fourth session that all the bishops in their perusal of 'the Tome' 'had certified its conformity with the doctrines of the previous councils' (p. 390). Vigilius's words will not bear this gloss; see them in Mansi, ix. 473. He does not mention the private explanations given; and he does say that our fathers 'in Chalcedonensi synodo residentes' spoke 'de confirmatione Leonis epistolæ,' which they 'believed ought to be received *ita si eam assererent convenire*,' on condition that—on the understanding that—they could maintain it to agree, &c. Of course the bishops did more than 'certify,' &c. They said that *having ascertained* its agreement they accepted it, *i.e.* accepted it *because* of what they had 'ascertained.' Dr. Rivington vainly tries to ignore the *causal* import of this ascertainment, as professedly the ground of acceptance.

Digitized by Google

comparing their language (in only a very few instances, for brevity's sake) with the language of the bishops at the Ephesian Council, which elevated Cyril's letter to the rank of a Catholic standard. Thus—

On Cyril's letter, as agreeing with the Creed—(Mansi, iv. 1140 *sqq.*) [1]	*On Leo's letter, as agreeing with the Creed and with the decisions of Ephesus*—(Mansi, vii. 12 *sqq.*)
'Since I see [repeatedly] . . .	'I see [repeatedly] . . .
I find, or have found [repeatedly] . . .	I have found [repeatedly] . . .
It has been made clear . . .	Leo is shown . . .
I perceive . . .	As far as I can perceive . . .
I have ascertained . . .	We have proved [*i.e.* by testing] . . .
Having understood . . .'	I am fully persuaded [repeatedly] . . .' [2]

The language of conviction, formed on inquiry, as being the basis of adhesion, is as strong in the latter case as in the former. It looks as if the Chalcedonian expressions were actually suggested by the Ephesian. That bishops, not being Eutychians, should accept so valuable an anti-Eutychian formulary as the Tome, was assuredly no wonder: the question of real interest is—Did they, or did they not, accept it on papalist grounds? Their own words, taken naturally as they stand, leave no doubt about the answer: and our author himself, in the course of an elaborate note on the Tome, seems to find the 'bed' too narrow for the 'stretching':

'The question of Papal infallibility was not before the bishops . . . . *Whether any positive evidence results from all this or not* in favour of Papal infallibility' [here the italics are ours], 'one thing is certain, viz. that there is nothing in the acceptance of the Tome by the bishops which *conflicts with*' [here the italics are his] 'a conviction that the See of Peter was the divinely constituted interpreter of the faith of Peter' (pp. 387, 393).[3]

[1] The idea of agreement is variously expressed in both cases: *e.g.* 'it agrees, or harmonizes—it is in no way discordant with—it differs in words only—it contains the same faith under different terms (*Eph.*); it agrees in sense—it makes for the same point—it says what is in harmony with—it differs not in meaning' (*Chalc.*).

[2] It is rather *too* bold to say that 'it was of the last importance to send some of these bishops forth not merely to say, "The Tome *must* be right because it emanated from the Holy See," but, "We can prove it to be right"' &c. (p. 277). 'Not *merely*!' They never say so at all. To represent Anglicans as supposing the bishops to mean, 'We have found *to our surprise*,' is very poor work. The deputies of an absent bishop testify that he read the Tome, found it to agree, &c., and signed it (Mansi, vii. 23).

[3] We need not dwell on the persistent and ultimately successful

Digitized by Google

On these last words we will say a word or two presently; but does not the sentence land our author's argument in a bathos?

At last we come to the twenty-eighth canon.[1] Dr. Rivington leads up to it by a fair account of the 'gradual' but 'natural advance' of the See of the Eastern capital to a position of quasi-patriarchal authority, not granted to it by the canon which in 381 assigned it precedency next after the See of 'Old Rome.' He suggests that at the end of October Constantinople had some advantage in the absence of the prelates of certain important Sees. However, it is undisputed that Aetius, archdeacon of Constantinople, requested the Roman legates to take part in a discussion (which the commissioners had provided for beforehand) on matters affecting his own Church; and that they, having had this fair warning, declined on the ground that they had no instructions from Leo to that effect, and thereupon quitted the assembly. The commissioners also withdrew, after directing the Council to take up the subject. The canon was then read and passed: its effect was to erect Constantinople into a patriarchal see.[2]

pressure put by the legates on the great body of bishops to adopt in the 'Definition' formulary the distinct phrase '*in* two natures' instead of the indistinct phrase '*of* two natures.' The legates did well, and (as our author says) 'saved the situation.' But two things are observable: first, the 'State' had to be brought in, and even an imperial order was not sufficient to silence objectors; and next, the question, 'Will you follow Leo or Dioscorus?' referred to the previous acceptance of Leo's Tome, which carried with it the substitution of 'in' for 'of' (Leo, *Ep.* 28. 3); so that the appeal to consistency was irresistible.

[1] The point at issue in regard to the compact between Maximus of Antioch and Juvenal of Jerusalem is whether the salvo, 'if Leo should approve,' is genuine. It is not in the Greek Acts, but the Ballerini contend that a Latin MS. which contains it is 'melioris et accuratioris originis' than the Latin version which omits it. To us it seems suspicious; and one would think that if the legates knew of it, they must have quoted it in the Council, instead of urging merely the 'advantageousness of peace.' If it is genuine, the consent of 'St. Peter's Roman see' might have been thought specially important in a matter affecting his 'Antiochene.'

[2] It recited the third canon of Constantinople as having 'assigned to the see of New Rome privileges equal to those which the fathers had rendered,' or 'awarded, to that of Old Rome;' it explained this by saying that as the *city* of New Rome had the same privileges with that of Old Rome, it was but right that the *sees* of those cities should be in a similar relation, and 'that the see of New Rome should be magnified in Church matters like that of Old Rome, and rank as second after it.' (Cp. Anatolius in Leon. *Ep.* 101. 4.) Then came the provision that the bishop of Constantinople should ordain (consecrate) the metropolitans (not the suffragans) in the dioceses (aggregates of provinces) of 'Pontus, Asia, and Thrace,' and in districts outside the empire.

Digitized by Google

Next day the legates reappeared, and protested against what had been done in their absence; and then it appeared that they *had* received instructions from Leo not to allow the (Nicene) rule as to the position of the chief Sees to be impaired by any 'precipitate line of action';[1] so that, having been ordered to prevent, as far as they could, a certain thing from being done, their mode of obeying was to stay away when they knew it was about to be done, and then come back and complain of those who had done it! A shabbier device is not easily conceivable. However, the commissioners direct the legates and the Constantinopolitan clergy to produce the canons on which they respectively rely. Paschasinus then reads a Latin version of the sixth Nicene canon, which, in its first part, contrasts as follows with the received Greek:

Greek.	*Latin.*
'Let the ancient customs prevail—those in Egypt and Libya and Pentapolis, so that the bishop of Alexandria may have authority over all, since this [*i.e.* the like] is usual also for the bishop who is at Rome. And similarly both at Antioch, and in the other provinces, let the privileges be preserved to the Churches.'	'That the Roman Church has always held the primacy [in Greek rendering, τὰ πρωτεῖα]. Let Egypt also hold [it], so that the bishop of Alexandria may have power [Greek, ἐξουσίαν] over all, since this is the custom also for the Roman bishop; and similarly also he who is constituted [bishop] at Antioch; and in the other provinces, let the Churches of greater cities have primacies' [the Greek rendering here agrees with the received text].

According to the Acts, Aetius produced the same canon in Greek, and with it an account of the legislation of the

[1] Dr. Rivington charges Dr. Bright (p. 349) with 'falsely accusing' the legates by describing their excuse as a 'falsehood': his ground is, that whereas Dr. Bright had made them say that they had no instructions about such a matter, their actual words are, that they had 'received no such orders.' Take it so, and what follows? If, when the excuse was given, Aetius could have produced to their faces what one of them read next day as the actual order, would they not have been convicted of such quibbling as amounted to a falsehood of specially mean type? They were ordered to oppose a certain proceeding. How could they oppose it, except by being present when it was about to be mooted? On this command they are then silent, in order to give a colour to their deliberate self-absenting; and then, when they return, they remark with an air of innocence, 'It is said that yesterday after your Excellencies (the commissioners) had gone out, and our Humility had followed, some things were put on the minutes which we think (or, affirm) to be contrary to the canons,' &c.

Digitized by Google

Constantinopolitan synod of 381.[1] Romanists contend that the reading of the Nicene canon in Greek has probably come into the text by error, because that canon would by no means encourage the aggrandisement of Constantinople; but, granting that the Constantinopolitans would not have volunteered to bring it forward, they might be moved to quote it when a version had just been read which had a very different exordium. Nor would it be deemed necessary to 'clamour' against the discrepancy this exhibited, when there was other work more immediately in hand. Dr. Rivington's attempt to claim Paschasinus's version as representing the original text will probably be thought too venturous by more cautious advocates of Papalism.[2] The characteristic assertion of the legates that adhesions which had been given to the new canon in their absence were the result of coercion was denied by prelates one after another; and ultimately the commissioners ruled that 'the primacy (or first place) and the pre-

[1] In what he then read, 'Asia, Pontus, and Thrace are' *not* 'placed under the jurisdiction of the imperial city' (p. 342). They are mentioned simply in the terms of the second canon of Constantinople. Dr. Rivington has confused this with the new Chalcedonian canon, which does, not very ingenuously, represent the jurisdiction now conferred on Constantinople over those districts as logically involved in the earlier grant of simple precedency.

[2] To non-Roman readers it will seem paradoxical. The first words, 'Quod ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum,' read like an insertion by some one who did not observe that the primary object of the canon-framers was to secure the authority of the Alexandrian see, and that the Roman was only referred to in the way of illustration as exercising a similar authority over some undefined districts; so that his exordium disturbs the drift of the sentence, and renders the third clause unnecessary. The 'primatus' of which the Latin exordium speaks undoubtedly involves a jurisdiction, but ought, according to construction, to be, not, as Dr. Rivington assumes, 'general,' but parallel to that which should continue to be held by Alexandria, as is indicated in the 'conflate' Prisca version. The suggestion that the present Greek represents an Arian mutilation implies that Arians thus engaged would have left the provision in favour of the see of Alexandria where they found it, whereas their enmity against Athanasius would have made this impossible. But in truth the version now identified by the researches of Mr. C. H. Turner with that brought home by Cæcilian of Carthage from the Nicene Council is decisive against the Paschasinian 'exordium.' It begins, 'Antiqua per Egyptum atque Pentapolim consuetudo servetur' &c. Its heading is, 'De primatibus qui ad quasdam pertinent civitates.' It explains the reference to 'the bishop of the city of Rome' by adding, 'ut in suburbicaria loca sollicitudinem gerat.' It is curious that Paschasinus's Latin implicitly favoured the very principle which he was concerned to oppose; for it read, 'in cæteris provinciis primatus habeant ecclesiæ *civitatum ampliorum*,' which would just suit the Church of the Eastern capital. The Greek form of his version agrees here with the received Greek.

Digitized by Google

eminent honour should be preserved, according to the canons,[1] for the archbishop of Old Rome, but that the archbishop of New Rome ought to enjoy *the same* privileges of honour'; the reason given in the new canon for such privileges—the imperial dignity of the two cities—being rather implied than expressed, and the substance of the canon, with some modifications, being added. The Council by acclamation accepted this 'just decree.' The legates entered a protest, but the commissioners adhered to their decision as 'approved by the whole Synod.'

But our Roman advocate insists on the Synod's letter to Leo. He has no respect for this 'knot of bishops' (among whom is Theodoret) when they pass the obnoxious canon; he even calls them 'adventurers'; but their letter lifts them, in his eyes, into some importance. He strains to the utmost such expressions as 'a beginner of blessings,' 'presiding over the Synod as a head over members,' 'entrusted by the Saviour with the guardianship of the Vine.' He grants that they use diplomatic 'ingenuity'; and to us it seems quite unreasonable to claim literal force for the sonorous phrases of Greek ecclesiastics, who had a point to gain from the president of the Synod, himself the bishop of Rome.[2] Anatolius

[1] If they were here referring to Paschasinus's version, they overlooked the point which its context makes clear, that 'primatus' is there used, not for precedency on the one hand, nor (*pace* Dr. Rivington) for a papal 'primacy' of universal 'jurisdiction' on the other, but for such jurisdiction as the chief sees had in their respective districts. The context of the commissioners' speech shows that *they* used πρωτεῖα in its primary and natural sense, for 'precedency,' as explained by the next words, καὶ τὴν ἐξαίρετον τιμὴν, a phrase equivalent to τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς in the third canon of Constantinople, which Dr. Rivington translates 'honorary precedence' or 'primacy of honour' (p. 321); see the Latin rendering of the speech, 'primatum . . . *eisdem* primatibus honoris,' and Zonaras on that canon, τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς, ἤτοι τὰ πρωτεῖα. So in the Chalcedonian canon under consideration: 'the fathers ἀποδεδώκασι to the see of Old Rome τὰ πρεσβεῖα, *because* that city was imperial' (Mansi, vii. 428).

[2] With the clause about 'the Vine' compare the language of the Fifth General Council, speaking distinctly *apart from the Pope*: 'We who have been entrusted with the duty ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Κυρίου' (Mansi, ix. 368: a quotation of Acts xx. 28 in one reading). One passage, on which Dr. Rivington much insists, he has misconstrued. He makes the bishops say that Leo was constituted 'interpreter of St. Peter's words' (*i.e.* of his confession of belief, Matt. xvi. 16) by our Lord's 'appointment,' by 'the precept of Him who gave the order to go and teach all nations' &c., Matt. xxviii. 19. But that 'precept' was addressed to *all* the Apostles: and in the Council's letter it is grammatically connected, *not* with Leo's position as 'interpreter,' but with 'the bringing down,' or transmission, of 'the faith' (as thus to be taught) 'even to our time'; which faith Leo has 'preserved, being,' or 'standing forth as, an

Digitized by Google

was probably the writer of the letter; and when we read in it that the resistance of the legates to the new canon was 'assuredly due to their wish that this advantage also [for Constantinople] should proceed from your forethought,' we may estimate the sincerity of such words by the downright language of Anatolius writing in his own person to Leo six weeks afterwards; 'your legates,' he says, 'not knowing what was your real intention, disturbed the Synod, and grossly insulted myself and the Church of Constantinople';[1] as Marcian puts it, they 'vehemently tried to prevent the enactment in the Synod of anything concerning that Church.'[2] Finally, the synodal letter requests Leo to 'honour their decision by his own vote' or 'sentence,' claims a 'divine approval' for what has been done,[3] and sends it to him for 'his assent and confirmation.'

No doubt Leo's persistent refusal to give what was thus asked for was ere long successful with the authorities of Constantinople.[4] But let us observe the line which he took. The last words of a legate at Chalcedon had intimated that 'the Pope of the universal Church might give his judgment either as to the injury done to his own see, or as to the subversion of the canons.' Leo, with a statesmanlike cleverness, chose the latter alternative. In several letters (which take a large licence of assertion and imputation[5]), he grounds his objection on the violation of 'Nicene canons' (meaning the sixth, as his legates had read it), and on the wrong done to the dignity of Alexandria and Antioch by the precedence claimed for Constantinople, and also to the rights of 'provincial primacies' and 'metropolitans'[6] by the juris-

interpreter of Peter's words for all: whence we too, employing you (Leo) as an originator of what was good, . . . displayed the inheritance of the truth to the Church's children.' Verbose enough, certainly: but in few words it means that Leo was raised up to inaugurate, by his Tome, the setting-forth of the right faith against Eutychianism; which, if we date the controversy from Flavian's Council, is true.

[1] *Ep.* 101. 5. [2] *Ep.* 100. 3.

[3] Dr. Rivington takes this to mean that they felt they could claim divine approval *because* they were dutifully asking for Leo's ratification (p. 372). But what they say is, 'In order that you may know that we have done nothing by way of favour or of animosity, but as guided by a divine approval, we signify to you,' &c.; as if to say, 'Our consciences are clear as to our motives. We can well afford to place our acts fully before you.'

[4] *Epp.* 115 (March 453) and 135 (May 454).

[5] *I.e.* as to 'ambition,' 'vanity,' and 'extortion of assents,' &c.

[6] *Epp.* 106. 2, 5; 129. 3. He uses 'primatus' so as to include metropolitan jurisdictions. It is true that he mentions the supposed Petrine relations of the sees of Alexandria and Antioch, *Ep.* 106. 5.

Digitized by Google

diction newly assigned to her. It would require not a little of *sancta simplicitas* to believe that this was Leo's impelling motive; he was manifestly fighting behind this convenient shield against the increasing aggrandisement of Constantinople, and its probable effect on 'the See of St. Peter.'[1] He was obliged to assume, for the purpose of his contention, that all the rulings of Nicæa were 'sacrosanct' and 'inviolable,' as being actually 'ordained by the Holy Spirit:'[2] although he ought to have known that this was virtually to disparage the great doctrinal work of the Council, and that, as a matter of principle, the hierarchical arrangements of one General Council might, under altered circumstances, be legitimately altered by another.[3] The argument, however, fell in with the traditional reverence of Easterns for 'the 318,' and induced Marcian first, and then, through him, Anatolius, to give up insisting on the new canon.[4] Yet Leo's success was, as Hefele admits, rather formal than real: the Greeks might 'even omit the canon from their collection,' but Constantinople did in fact retain the secondary precedency assigned to her in 381, and the patriarchal jurisdiction created for her in 451; and both the canons in question were reaffirmed two hundred and forty years later by the 'Trullan' Council.[5]

In this survey of Dr. Rivington's book many minor points have been necessarily omitted. On the controversial methods employed we make no further comment, except that in all of them one seems to read, 'The Pope has said it, *ergo* history must be found to attest it;' so that the author's whole view of events is coloured by a single preassumption. But one thing must be said by way of summary. He was concerned to show that in the years 430-451, the whole of Christendom knew itself to be subject to an 'ecclesiastical monarch' reigning by Divine right, having direct and plenary jurisdiction over all Churches, exempt from all control save that of his own conscience, and also endowed with a gift of official infallibility, which was wholly independent of any assent on the part of the Catholic body; in other words,

[1] So Gelasius, in Mansi, viii. 18, 53, 58, exhibits a natural and sensitive jealousy of Constantinople. See Salmon, *Infallibility of the Church*, p. 371.

[2] Cf. *Epp.* 104. 2, 3; 105. 3; 106. 2; 114. 2.

[3] Hefele says: 'According to Catholic' [*i.e.* Roman] 'doctrine,' infallibility can be claimed only for the decisions of Œcumenical Councils *in rebus fidei et morum*, not for purely disciplinary decrees' (*Councils*, i. 52, E.T.).

[4] *Epp.* 115. 1 (March 453), and 135. 1, 3 (May 454).

[5] Conc. Quinisext. c. 36. Rome did not indeed approve any Trullan canons that 'seemed opposed to decrees of Pontiffs' (see Hefele).

Digitized by Google

that the twofold doctrine of the Papacy, as defined by Pius IX. in the Vatican Council, was *substantially* held by all orthodox Christians, and acted on by the Third and Fourth Œcumenical Synods.[1] This, we say, was the thesis to which the author had committed himself, and which he undertook to establish by the evidence of history, with regard to a period fertile in documents. We leave our readers to answer this question : Has he succeeded—or has he failed?

ART. II.—THE PHILOSOPHER AS PATRIOT.

The Philosophical Theory of the State. By BERNARD BOSANQUET. (London, 1899.)

MR. BOSANQUET disclaims, in his preface, any originality, does but interpret for a new generation an old and a great tradition. The Greeks discovered it. It sprang full-grown from the brains of Plato and Aristotle. The one clothed it with poetry, the other embodied it in pithy and concise maxims. With them through the ages of despotism or other-worldliness it lay smothered in the dust of libraries, or went abroad only disguised in the garments of Religion. As the heavy hand of the Church was lifted from the life of peoples, as the new-born nations of Europe began to feel their growing vitality, to stir uneasily in their swaddling-clothes, Philosophy, too, recovered her freedom, and opened her wondering eyes on the new world that was forming, scarcely yet conscious of itself.

But Philosophy saw but dimly, feeling her way through perplexed labyrinthine mazes, till she sought at the feet of the old masters teaching and inspiration. Rousseau caught the first glimpse of the light; Hegel followed the light to its source, carried it forth in his hand, and 'set it on a candlestick' for the illumination of Prussia and the world. Green carried it to Oxford, the first of a line of British torch-bearers and prophets of whom Mr. Bosanquet is the last and not the least worthy.

The Philosophy is also in its way a Gospel, a Religion. Its students are disciples, its lecturers Evangelists. Justified by faith in the State, men are sanctified in parochial activities

[1] That the Vatican decrees exclude the idea of positive growth in this doctrine, see Bright, *Lessons from the Lives of Three Great Fathers*, p. xxiii.

Digitized by Google

and made perfect in civic devotion. The philosopher becomes an alderman, a councillor, a mayor; he founds and blesses institutions; he organizes charity, establishes missions, and preaches the Theory to the poor. The Theory, though rich in mystery for the wise, is, in truth, nothing if not a theory of life—practical, energetic, conceived, born, nursed, it may be, in the study, but formed by Nature to live out of doors.

It is this practical character that alone explains the passionate fervour of love and hate that blazed, and still traditionally blazes, round the persons of the Theory's first modern prophets. It is impossible even now to treat Rousseau with the cool, candid impartiality which is the fashionable instrument for emptying truth of all content, and exhibiting it as a lie. Still anger and fear rail at him, or a loving reverence, such as our author's, waits on his footsteps, and extracts the light of wisdom from the darkest of his utterances. Hegel, to us, is the name of a philosopher notorious for obscurity; naturally, therefore, a source and centre of those interminable wrangles which are to the layman Philosophy's only *raison d'être*, as they are her far-away, inexplicable Olympian delight.

But Hegel in his own generation was a name to conjure with or to curse; and, strangely enough, they that loved Rousseau hated Hegel, for the same Theory that in the one man's mouth made or justified the Revolution, in the other's put Revolution down, and was a crutch for the tottering tyranny of kings. In those days of disintegration the idea and the act, the thought and the deed, lay close to one another; there was no intricate, complex order of organization, through which the idea must slowly filtrate; the feet did not walk in it long after the brain had forgotten it; what the thought conceived at midnight was manifest before dawn in the guillotine or the gaol.

The peculiar hatred felt for Hegel by the Liberals of his time is worthy of our attention. It was the hatred felt by men for renegades and apostates. Philosophy—their sworn friend, 'their sister and brother and mother'—was in the enemy's camp. But it was more. Hegel was Ahitophel; but on the treachery of Ahitophel he grafted the methods of Tartuffe. He built despotism on the principles of Liberty. His premises were Hampden's, his conclusions Strafford's; blessing Freedom, he consoled and exasperated the prisoner and the captive in assuring them that prisons were Freedom's breath and gaols her open air.

Hegel was misunderstood. We may grant it. But the

Digitized by Google

causes of misunderstanding lay deep. Nearly all men misunderstood him—Liberals and Kings, Christians and Infidels. As many sects fought under his banner as there are parties in a French Chamber—Hegelians of the Right, Hegelians of the Centre, Hegelians of the Left. Political sects, too, they were, and religious, for an apparent or real identity of principle or interest made the cleavage of Religion almost coincident with the cleavage of politics. There must have been something very remarkable in the Philosophy or the Man for elements so contradictory, so antagonistic to unite in claiming it and him for their own. In Religion, for example, he talked like Athanasius; he endorsed the metaphysics of orthodoxy; 'the Son was of one substance with the Father;' 'Arianism was a crude solecism.' The Right had found their champion. The Left were in despair till they perceived that, though the Son were of one substance with the Father, the Father Himself was a Philosophical Abstraction, without parts or passions indeed, but without personality or orthodox substance.

So, again, the Theory of the State follows the lines of the Theory or Ideal of the Church; one by one the definitions and ideas of the Church are adopted, carried out, justified against the conceptions of heresy and Liberalism; it seemed as though the spirit of Hildebrand had possessed the soul of the professor to confound out of Philosophy's own mouth Philosophy's denials. But here, too, it soon became apparent that the orthodoxy was superficial; that the 'fair soul and fair body' of the Church was for Hegel a soul and a body that the Church had stolen, mutilated, disfigured—a soul and a body that he had come to claim for its right owner, to rid of Hebraic garments, to rid even of its supernatural and superfluous Head.

Hegel, therefore, if he was misunderstood, does not appear to have been misunderstood without cause. The minds of men do not run easily to a unity of contradictions. In their plain way they like the same word to stand always for the same notion; they are confused by a mind that is also not mind, by a liberty that is manifest in slavery. And, indeed, they will with difficulty believe that human thought, working on such conditions, with ever so clear an illumination of Philosophy, can really understand itself, will always suspect that to confuse others so persistently can only spring from being one's self confused.

No such storm as raged round Hegel rages in these latter days round Hegel's school of prophets. The Theory would

Digitized by Google

be practical if it could; but practical enthusiasm is running on other lines, and gives it little ear. Its influence is dynamic, silent; and for that reason 'may have a future.' There are forces that make for its adoption. The decay of religious faith and the need of a substitute for religion open the way for the deification of country and the glorification of patriotism. We may yet once more burn incense to Cæsar. To this Mr. Bosanquet summons us. 'True Patriotism is the everyday habit of looking on the commonwealth as our substantive purpose and the foundation of our lives' (p. 282).

In Mr. Bosanquet's book the reader will find many things that instruct, many things that delight, many things that he is sure, whoever he is, to endorse—acute criticisms, subtleties of interpretation, ethical passion. Indispensable, too, we should say, for the student—so clear, concise, and cut dry for the note-book or the examination—are the determinations. But there are also, as is proper in a prophet of Hegel, many things that are obscure, and many things that when plucked from obscurity will probably repel.

We doubt often, in reading, whether Mr. Bosanquet has in view an ideal or an actual State. He is precise enough. 'To depict what most people call an Ideal State is no more the object of political philosophy than it is the object, say, of Carpenter's Human Physiology to depict an "ideal" man or an angel' (p. 250); and 'The ugliest human being—a criminal, a sick man, or a cripple—is, all the same, a human being; the affirmative, his life, persists, in spite of the defect, and this affirmative is what we are concerned with here' (quoted from Hegel, p. 251).

But precision of statement does not always imply precision of treatment. An Ideal State is, of course, an ambiguity. It may be an Ideal for Ideal men, or the Best possible Polity for actual men, and an Ideal treatment may be repudiated when the latter alone is in view. If from a multitude of States one select two specimens as alone worthy of philosophical curiosity, that may not be an ideal treatment, but it is so near akin to it that the consequences are much the same. For if, *e.g.*, 'the very instrument of all political action is the simple device by which an orderly vote is taken, and the minority acquiesce in the will of the majority as though it were their own' (pp. 4–5), then in Russia, which is a State, there is no political action; it is not what it ought to be, and Athens or the United States is the ideal. If, too, a State is by Nature, it has a perfect Life, and what else is that but an Ideal? Or if the very root of all Political obligation

Digitized by Google

is that 'the Individual will his own nature as a rational being,' and the State is the embodiment and expression of that Real Will, is not that a condition *sine qua non* of the Being of a State? Or if the 'natural' limits of State action are discussed, and certain interferences justified, and others condemned on a theory of the Nature of the State, do we not travel into the region of what ought to be, and leave the region of what is?

Is not the very problem of political philosophy (p. 89) 'to find a form of association . . . . by which each uniting himself to all may nevertheless obey only himself and remain as free as before'—in other words, does it not start from an ideal? Aristotle was a political philosopher and made a collection of polities, distinguishing good from bad, and excluding some States as subversive of polities, not polities at all. Plato was a political philosopher, and so far from finding the essential moments of a State in actual States, specifically constructed an Ideal because in actuality they were not realized.

To 'philosophy' the actual and the ideal may be one. The thing that is by Nature is to its prophetic eye the thing that it is coming to be. But he that knows not the ways of philosophy stumbles when the unrealized is described as realized, when the Ideal and the Actual are brought to unity by methods that appear to him mockery of Fact. This, as we shall see, is no unnatural result of the Hegelian treatment.

But it is not so much from even the confusion of the Ideal with the Actual that the plain man suffers as from the confusion of two Ideals, which seem to him different, but which to the teacher appear identical, interchangeable. As often as the mind assents to the one the other is substituted, nor can he even enter into that pure atmosphere in which the sense of their difference is lost in the perception of their unity.

Here the two confusions melt into one; for it matters not whether man is born to be free and the freedom is realized, though he know it not, though only the philosopher know it, in chains; or whether he is born both to be free and not to be free, and the two are the same.

These difficulties arose for us in the very first pages of this volume, and troubled us there so long that we feared for the end of our journey: on p. 6 it is written:

'The fundamental idea of Greek political philosophy as we find it in Plato and Aristotle is that the human mind can only attain its full and proper life *in a community of minds, or more strictly in a*

Digitized by Google

community pervaded by a single mind uttering itself consistently though differently in the life and action of every member of the community.'

And there seemed to us to be here not one definition but two; for while the one set of words called up before us the image of political freedom, of taking counsel together, of debate, the orderly vote, the decision, of each mind willing its own will, the other set of words implies of necessity no such vision. It recalls Paraguay, the Caste kingdom, the hard Hildebrandine mediævalism. One can conceive that 'single mind' resident in the Czar, or in the complex organization, the laws, the institutions, the traditions of the State. One can conceive the 'pervaded' citizens reduced to organic unity, functioning each in their several place, plastic, submissive, with nothing left even of consciousness but a 'feel.'

And so again on p. 6: 'The whole is summed up in the famous expression of Aristotle, "Man is a creature formed for the life of the City State."'

We a little deprecate Mr. Bosanquet's rendering. The limitation of area, the limitation to the city is there, and it has significance. But its main significance is in the political liberty. That had in the Greek experience never been realized outside the city. The city was the scene in which personality was displayed, found the field of its activities, the satisfaction of its energies, came truly and at last to the possession of itself. Man was formed for the life *of a citizen* in the City State, was a political animal, was never truly himself but in a polity in which he bore a part, and whether he were Metic, mere sojourner for profit, or subject, or actual slave, not being of the polity, knew not and had not freedom.

The slave may be formed for the life of the City State in quite another sense; formed to hew its wood and draw its water. The City State is a distinct individuality, itself a living person, for whose life the life of a slave is food, fuel, tools; and what it is to the slave, it may become to the 'freeman,' if the freeman surrender to it, or be deprived of, his share in its personality; if it do not continue to be a life that he makes, as truly as a life that he lives by.

On the other hand, on p. 7:

'There is no sound political philosophy which is not an embodiment of Plato's conception. The central idea is this: that every class of persons in the community—the statesman, the soldier, the workman—has a certain distinctive type of mind which fits its members for their functions, and that the community essentially consists in the working of these types of mind in their connection

Digitized by Google

one with another, which connection constitutes their subordination to the common good.'

Here the idea of 'political liberty' is entirely absent. The personality of the State is in the foreground, the fair soul in the fair body. It is the Ideal of the Christian Organism, but without the Christian accuracy of reservation. Of that organism the mind is the mind of Christ; and the mind of Christ not merely pervades the body, but is in each of its members. Differentiation is not by distinctive types of mind, so that the soul is their sum or their relation, but by extension of the whole mind in certain directions. They rest upon an inherent whole nature which with its inherent 'rights' is inalienable. The ideal working of their organism is attained not by the natural organic methods of reducing cells to a unity, but by the ideal political graces, love, humility, together-mindedness, 'submitting themselves one to another.'

In the actual Christian Church there have been oscillations. Mediævalism was Platonic. Sacerdotalism, as, *e.g.*, Comte viewed it, has all the specific marks of Platonism, even to those 'bizarre accidents,' the cutting across and destroying, so far as might be, any other authorities or group bases than its own; the State, the family, the individual, each suffering alike. Emancipation swung the pendulum to individual liberty. Even in organization the idea of the cell aggregate became dominant. 'The demagogic sect' live by the cell aggregate, and if either Church or State be to it an organism, it is an organism of low type, in which the functions of the ruler are minimized and the individual left as much as possible to himself.

The same issues are raised by the question of End and Means. Does the State exist for the individual, or the individual for the State? Mr. Bosanquet will not away with this distinction.

'The conceptions of Society and the Individual are correlative conceptions throughout; at whatever level therefore we take the one, we are bound to construe the other as at the same level; so that to distinguish the one element from the other as superior from inferior, or as means to end, becomes a contradiction in terms' (p. 180).

Society is, however, an ambiguous term. If we take the less ambiguous term 'the State,' it is not clear that the conceptions are correlative; the relations to the State do not necessarily exhaust the relations of the Individual; moreover the State is made an end, the Individual a means to it, if for its well-being he must strip himself of his nature. That may

Digitized by Google

not be possible ideally, if the State by hypothesis is the satisfaction of man's nature. But the ideal does not appear to us actual. We set aside for the moment that which cannot be set aside—our relation to God, our conversation in heaven. But has the Frenchman never been sacrificed to La France? The obligation to die for one's country may entail no loss of nature, but what about the obligation to live for it? the obligation to serve it, obey it, stand by it, suffer for it or from it, fight for it *per fas et nefas*? Mr. Bosanquet contemplates the possibility of a revolution; yet it is difficult to find any lever for it 'if the advancements of the universal and its differences vary together, and are indeed one and the same thing? (p. 181.) If the Nation State be but an ethical idea, a faith, a purpose, a mission, a thing realizable but not realized, all these difficulties vanish; but if not, the individual will still question the actual: how am I provided for? Where in you are my liberties, my rights, my nature satisfied? Do I exist for you as a fact, and you for me by a quibble? Nor will he trust his well-being to the law of simultaneous progress, or fear to confront the identity in differences with a contradiction in terms.

If one cast a glance over the actual world there rise to view a great company of States. To determine the essential moments of a State on such a survey, to gather the one from the many, may be both a difficult and an illegitimate process. The definition varies with the standpoint. To international law Turkey and Switzerland, China and Holland, Russia and France are States; they are all equal, each as much a State as the other; their internal relations are indifferent; all that International Law requires is that there should be a permanent Government of some or any sort responsible for its subjects to other Governments. In this view Kentucky is not a State, nor Canada, nor Baroda, nor Saxony, nor the Transvaal. But if, on the other hand, we consider internal relations, we find sovereignty divisible and divided in innumerable degrees. There are partial and local autonomies that come under no rule. In China, *e.g.*, religion is a department of State; in India the State steadily ignores it. The exemptions from control are not derived from wisdom or policy or indifference, always revocable by the Supreme Power; they rest as often as not on the determined assertion or the recognition of natural rights; they rest also on traditional or hereditary or theoretical ideas of the functions of Government, which are, *e.g.*, one to the Rajput, and something quite other to the Finn or the Russian or the Swede.

Digitized by Google

The classification of all these varieties tends to the grouping of them in two principal divisions. There is a group which has for its watchwords Individual Liberty, Self-Government, Freedom, and starts philosophically from the nature of man; starts from the nature, too, of many social systems other than the State, that the State, a system of systems, must take in whole, to modify or destroy. There is a group again in which all these ideas fall into the background; the State is a unity completely organic; the rulers rule and rule absolutely; the subjects mind their several businesses; they have no voice and do not dream of having a voice in the government; there is no freedom, no sphere which the ruler leaves untouched, uncontrolled. In such a State there are, strictly speaking, no citizens; in content, acquiescence, and, when things are at their best, cordial assent to the wisdom of the rulers as wise, the subjects attain the nature not of man, but of the kind of man they are. Arrived at that nature, they may be said 'to unite in willing a certain type of life as a common good in which they find their own' (p. 285).

But across these two groups there cuts another division of 'good' and 'bad.' In the free States freedom may be a burlesque; under the paternal Government the subjects may be dumb beasts of burden working for its splendour, whose wills, if they stir at all, stir in wondering impotent rebellion.

The philosophical theory of the State may be said roughly to take the moments of the first group, freedom, the nature of man, as essential. Since the essential can never be absent, it must prove that these are present in the second group; and since, again, the theory is a theory of the actual, it must prove also that they exist in its corruption, so that the political prisoner journeying to Siberia may not only have an insight and feeling that it is good for him to go there, but may arrive at the supreme consolation that he did in fact virtually sentence himself, and rivet his own chains.

The philosophy does of necessity start with an ideal. 'Nature,' as the perfection and full growth of a thing, is itself an ideal, whether it be the nature of man, or the nature of the State; and the two natures imply two ideals even though they correspond, for the perfect harmony of a State life, a fair soul in a fair body, stands out as a more glorious, a more perfect thing than the perfect harmony of an individual life, even as the life of the human soul transcends in value the life of any of the systems of which it is a system, and is something more than their sum, a new thing in fact. But this

Digitized by Google

more glorious ideal seems unattainable, out of reach; for the nature of man, in any state of growth that we can prophesy as reachable, will not be reduced to harmony whole, will always make 'two states in one' by the imperfections of its will and the defects of its wisdom. Shall we abandon, then, our ideal city and make a city still ideal out of the harmony of less whole human natures, 'distinctive types that have learned temperance even though they have no wisdom, and are brave, with no will of their own, to obey a ruler's will; and shall we then, returning on our steps, prove the ideals still unaltered, still the same, since in truth that always is that ought to be, and the actual has always in it the essential moments of the perfect.

It is with this problem that our author continually strives. He presents us with, in fact, a series of essays on the Identity of Contradictories, of Mind and Not Mind, of Freedom and Slavery, of Self-Government and Despotism, of Free Will and No Will. Essays we called them. Ingenious and subtle running constructive criticisms rather they are, conversations, symposia, with friend and foe, with Hobbes and Bentham, with Mill, Spencer, Locke, Rousseau, with the great and little Germans, in which pearls are strewed everywhere by the wayside, and in which the journey's goal seems to have little or no relevance to the philosophy or the ideals, of which the sum, if one strip it of non-essentials, seems to be that it is good to be an Englishman, that England is worthy of our service, and that we would be better, happier, more ourselves, if we corresponded more fully to her claims.

However it is only in the light of his philosophy that Mr. Bosanquet arrives at this terminus; it would be disrespectful to him if we treated the philosophy as irrelevant; we must discuss it as well as we can who are not versed in the Hegelian logic.

Liberty to the old school, as it is to the evolutionists of to-day, was freedom from restraint. Its essence was self-assertion. Every interference with liberty was evil. Restraint was, as Bentham put it, pain; all law is restraint, as restraint pain, and as pain *per se* evil. This leads to curious consequences. For instance, to most of these thinkers morality is restraint pure and simple. It is the inhibition of individualistic impulses by social ones. It matters not, indeed, whether the restraining power be instinct, tradition, custom, or law, nor for what motive or in what way society exercises restraint. The significant fact is that in some way or other the individual comes to restrain himself, the external power

Digitized by Google

being at last only referred to in conscience as an objective law of right and wrong. Over a large field of the moral life we are conscious of this self-restraint; it still is needful; but the need of restraint fades away in another large field; the actions and feelings become as it were mechanical; they are not mechanical, because the will goes with them, only there is no longer any struggle. When we turn round on this process to survey it, the restraint of an outward law is no longer, if it ever were, regarded as moral. Morality begins when we control ourselves by the law of conscience; it is made perfect when the need of control has passed away. Freedom, liberty begins with the absence of external restraint; it is realized in the disappearance of restraint by the complete harmony of the will with the law. Freedom in its fullest sense is thus the result of a long course of pressure. *We are free because we have been forced to be free.* Nevertheless at a certain stage in our development any external pressure seems immoral, to be a violation of our nature; we must, if we are free, at least have consented to it ourselves on general considerations of advantage or disadvantage, of right or wrong. Even in individualists their liberty has a positive content. It is the assertion of a *status quo*, of a certain measure of fulness, and it is also a rejection not merely of any diminution of that fulness by process of law, but of any increase of it on the old lines. The old method was a method only now applicable to children, imbeciles, degenerates, backward races, no longer applicable to men as men. There is something that a man is or has now that he will not give up, that he will jealously guard, a freedom of regulating his own life, of managing his own concerns, of adjusting his own social relations. Simultaneously, coincidently with this sense of freedom arises an independent attitude toward all authorities; he no longer sees any rational basis in them unless he himself not only limit them, but give them some warrant of attorney; and though they may have grown by nature as he has, their nature at any rate must correspond to his. He will not submit to be pruned by force, even though the pruning tend to fruit-bearing, and though in bearing fruit he would find himself at last freer than before.

The same thoughts arise on the comparison of natural with civil liberty; the former is regarded often as a state of unrestraint, and the latter one which gives less liberty in extent, but more liberty in content; covering less space, but having more value. Natural liberty may, however, be the liberty of the savage, or the liberty of a golden age; or the

Digitized by Google

liberty of an age of innocence. The two last may differ as the perfection of a child from the perfection of manhood, and the liberty of the one grow into the liberty of the other unrestrained. Civil liberty would so know nothing of restraint through all its course, but be from first to last a harmony unconscious of itself. The natural liberty of the savage on the other hand is itself a bondage, and the bondage can only be broken by a bondage. We must serve sin or righteousness, God or the Devil. Liberty comes to be measured either as pure subjective feeling (the world is all restraint, and liberty dwells only where by habit, adaptation of nature to nature, we move within the limits set, not trying to upset them), or comes into consciousness only as restraint removed, desires no longer impeded. Or its measure is one of substantial values. How is life most hindered, by brigands, forests, mountains, bridgeless rivers, impassable bogs? or by police and the cost of police, roads and the cost of roads, knowledge and the pain of knowledge? On the comparison the sense of something lost by civilization as well as gained is common; 'the broad, free life of the spreading veldt.' True liberty then will be in the satisfaction of all natural desires of the perfect nature. Because God knows what this will be, the restraints of God are bearable; willingly we yield ourselves as slaves to righteousness, because the fruit we know is holiness and the end eternal life.

But we have no mind to let the State determine our true nature and its wants; we do not trust her wisdom. A principle of religion is no principle of politics. That freedom comes through forcible restraint, and that freedom is the fulness of a living energy, the satisfaction of a nature, that freedom is obedience to a law; are maxims all of them that Christians know, and maxims all of them that stolen from their proper sphere are tyrants' weapons. Man to be free on the earth must will his own will, govern himself, judge his own nature and his nature's needs, maxims in turn which the philosophy continually admits, continually even applies inconsequently in detail, and continually explains away, when these essential moments of a State are visibly lacking.

The paradox of political self-government may be stated as a theorem. Given to prove that a man governs himself when (*a*) he has a vote but is outvoted by a permanent hostile majority, (*b*) when he has no vote, no influence, and no infinitesimal means of influencing any public decision.

Of course there are many subsidiary cases, as, *e.g.*, was Aristotle right, was Cato right, was Rousseau right in identi-

Digitized by Google

fying self-government with the political liberty of active personalities continually busy in managing public affairs; or, in other words, is not self-government a mockery for the bulk of the citizens of a modern constitutional State? We quote from the *Daily Mail*, July 25, on this point:

'No: law is not for the like of you and me. They say we make the law, but that is sheer nonsense. The law is something apart and supernatural. We do not understand it, and it does not understand us. We respect it and fear it most consumingly. Out in Fleet Street the omnibuses and the eating-houses, and the people are all the raw material of the law if they only had the misery to know it. You buy a halfpenny newspaper for the cricket scores, and go out a walk with your intended bride; the law is controlling you all the time. Deviate a hair's breadth and they will have you—those heart-quaking beings with the strange language and no backs to their heads.'

And in fact we cannot see that Mr. Bosanquet himself requires much more:

'The English labourer . . . . to begin with is a law-abiding citizen. He keeps his hands off others and their belongings by the same rule by which he expects others to keep their hands off him and his belongings. He recognizes fairness of bargaining, and is prepared to treat others fairly, as he expects them to treat him. He is aware of his claims, that is to say, as depending on something in common between himself and others: and if he does not practically admit any such community "he is one of 'the dangerous classes' virtually outlawed by himself." "So far he is a loyal subject only"' (p. 293.)

Nor need he be anything more, though Mr. Bosanquet sketches an optional career as a member of a trades union, with 'that feeling for his State which is connected with the idea of home and fatherland' (p. 293). So he will have a 'fuller sense of a social good.' But the point at which we stand is whether he governs himself, can be said to make the law, whether he does so in fact or 'virtually,' *i.e.* in fiction; for we will call it fiction that a man in the dock, being sentenced to three months' hard labour, is in his true self the man on the bench who is sentencing him.

Yes, it is the two selves, Jekyll and Hyde, that the philosophy conjures with. We will not say the hostile majority in your true self. That smacks of collectivism, and collectivism, if unanimous, can only give the will of all, which is the sum of bad bribed particulars, not the general will, which is always good, sincere, and holy, and, like the Queen, can do no wrong. Where this general will definitely resides is not

Digitized by Google

so certain. It is found, however roughly, in the complex organization, the law built up through ages, the selected capacity, the institutions of the State. Somewhere in these the true self dwells. How it got there is another matter. There is a faint suspicion of its being after all a demagogic growth, grown up through ages of demagogic voting, yet each vote carrying with it the overruling of the spirit, and registering 'self at its best.' But this suspicion fades away. The self was in the growing law when ruling rulers made it; in king, and barons, in the old aristocracy, and the new, and the very squire was Hodge's self when Hodge was voteless. A great conception borrowed from the Church and parodied in borrowing, as parody they must who transfer from one sphere wholesale to another, and mingle things alien in the transfer. Obedience to the Church as to a person who cannot err, who is guided through the ages to all truth, whose laws and institutions embody her mind, whose dogmas are irrevocable, is in itself and in its own sphere a dogma definitely guarded, and, without the definitions, full of pitfalls. We cannot easily and indefinitely apply it to the State; and as a matter of fact we know that the mind of States so gathered is but a mixed affair. The law's an ass was Bumble's verdict, and as often as not the law's a devil; States reflect all sides of human nature. Nor, again, has the distinction of the two selves ever been dragged into the claim of the Church to obedience; her dogmas have had validity not as 'self-made' laws, but as laws of God: the 'two selves' belong to the psychology of repentance, of the struggle with sin—they appear both of them in the individual consciousness. The idea of the real self lying, as it were, wholly in the field of inattention; that field of inattention being a deep sea, up from which self floats into rulers, laws, philosophers, and institutions, but never into the actual man himself, or if ever into him, into him through them—such an idea, if it be made the foundation of a political philosophy, must carry with it the corollary that the false self may swim through the same waters, and that the True gazing out from the man's own eyes may recognize his own old foe sitting on Cæsar's throne.

That one should call one's self self-governed, because the government is wiser, better, than one's self is, does not what one's actual self would do if ruler, but what one's better self would do, seems at first sight a harmless mysticism, yet when it is just self-government that is the principle at stake, when self-government is the confessed basis of any real

Digitized by Google

State, an essential moment of the State as such, such mysticism is sophistry; and when the government is actually bad such mysticism is galling mockery; to suffer from King Bomba is enough, without having Bomba for one's self.

Self-governed is taken by the plain man for just its worth; he means by it his share and nothing more, and, limited though that share may be in the best of human conditions, the having of it is a different thing from the not having of it, and it is a mischievous philosophy that dreams away the difference with any logic.

'Sovereignty therefore resides in no one element. It is essentially the relation in which each factor of the constitution stands to the whole. That is to say, it resides only in the organized whole acting *quâ* organized whole. If, for example, we speak of the Sovereignty of the People in a sense opposed to the Sovereignty of the State, as if there were such a thing as the "people" over and above the organized means of expressing and adjusting the will of the community, we are saying what is, strictly speaking, meaningless' (p. 282).

A great truth. Yet if the organized whole be so organized that the rulers rule and the people 'stick to their last' cultivating temperance, to talk of the sovereignty of the people is meaningless, and worse than meaningless, for the organized whole being the Populus, the Czar, for example, is the Populus, and every *status quo* of tyranny is consecrated by a phrase. Tyranny may be well enough; tyranny in the clothes of Gracchus is unbearable.

The same monotonous circle is trodden over 'the Real Will.' 'The real or rational will is embodied in objects which have power to make a life worth living for the self that wills them' (p. 149). 'In the family at its best the will has an object which is real and stable, and which corresponds to a great part of its own possibilities and capacities. In willing this object it is, relatively speaking, willing itself' (p. 149). And so the Will that wills itself in the fullest sense is the Will that wills the State, for the State *is* 'by nature,' and is *ex hypothesi* the satisfaction of all our wants. 'Our nature as rational beings implies the imperative claim on us of a will which is thus real and thus rational. This is the ultimate root of all political obligation' (p. 149).

The tendency of such philosophy is to call any other will than the real will an impulse or a desire, so that a bad will becomes impossible; there is no such thing. 'We saw even in Mill how extreme cases bring out the necessity for assuming a real will at variance with the individual's desire' (p. 96).

Digitized by Google

Forcing a man off an untrustworthy bridge, keeping back the crowd to the boats with a revolver, are thus justified. The 'real will' of the crowd is realized, or what it is fair to presume their real will would be. The case reminds us of the old explanation of the child's answer in Baptism. His 'I will' is what his real will would be if he had one. There, again, the Church keeps clear of the possibility of mistake; the child *ex hypothesi* has no will, or no will grown to an energy of acting as will. But the treatment of adults as infantile or imbecile, or as having no will of their own, is a dangerous matter. The law draws a very clear distinction between sane and insane: for political philosophy to abolish the distinction, and to make exceptional cases the rule would be found in the long run impossible. Mr. Bosanquet reasons continually on the assumption that the unreal will, although it does not will the best, is still a will and therefore real. For example, the use of Force by the State, although inevitable and always the State's crowning prerogative, is alien and hateful to her. She is a moral Person, and Force is not ἴσα Θεῷ, is not her true nature; but to use force on physical things is not alien to her; only to use force on moral beings is alien; but it is the very essence of a moral being to have a will of its own, and, since compulsion is necessary to it, it is *ex hypothesi* not a will that wills its own true good.

The same result appears in his criticism of the 'Reformatory theory' of punishment; it is a theory, he says, that at bottom ignores the offender's personality, treats him as a being without a will.

But when we come to the theory of the State itself, with its to us imaginary paradoxes, it is just in the natural sense of a will willing itself that the co-operation of a man's own will is held essential ordinarily to political freedom. Cleon did not will his own or Athens's good, but what he willed he willed. This is one of the *momenta* of the State, considered as a polity, and if the free citizen wills only when he wills what is good, he may be deprived at any moment of his liberty by a man 'with a pistol,' willing for him his real will and leaving him freer than he was before.

We should not ourselves ever have adopted 'the consent of the will' as the root of political obligation, nor even any recognition by ourselves that Cæsar, though of human making, is a 'minister unto us for good.' Political obligation seems to us to rest partly on '*Spartam nactus es*,' but over and above that—nay, and in that—upon the Divine Authority. If the Divine Authority be repudiated we be-

Digitized by Google

lieve that no rational or philosophic ground for political obligation can be found at all. But if the principle of the 'demagogic sect'—viz. the consent of the individual will to the Law, and the co-operation of the individual will in all law-making—lie at the very foundation of political freedom, and if without political freedom there is no political obligation, then, it appears to us again mere sophistry to pretend to satisfy the principle by altering its terms.

Practically if we follow the consequences self-government disappears, for, on the theory, the Real Will swam away long ago with the True Self, and is where the True Self is. It took on there a new name, and is the General Will, an energy of the common mind, of the one fair large soul, which is always good and always tends by its own innermost nature to the best. So we come to Reformations by the General Will, though peoples in particular fought against them, expiring 'violently self-slain' in Pilgrimages of Grace, to the General Will now manifest in Henry VIII. destroying constitutions, and now in some Napoleon making fresh ones, or driving on through *coups d'état* to piece together, not without sharp amputation, poor Italy's *disjecta membra*, to give again poor Italy's fair soul a tenement and instrument.

Thus the common mind, the Nominalist's abstract term, spurning abstract life, and born as real, was resident at first in each, then sought or made a common brain for habitation, yet travelled up and down the neural system, transforming and possessing every nerve, till every nerve pulsed wisdom, storing up great oil-stores also in such fields of inattention as Encyclopædia Britannica, Record Offices, Law Libraries, and Hansards; but when the body, by some unkind fate or energies of wills not real, or alien impact, is threatened with paralysis, decay, or mutiny, she is not tied to brain or member, but, gathering up her forces wheresoever she pleases, speaks and acts in king, usurper, parliament, or mob, as suits her; nay, when the wreckage comes, if come it must, can wear again another body. Thus our own real will, though somewhere in the body politic while the body politic lasts, is somewhat difficult to corner and interrogate; yet she is always busy for our good; in loyalty to our country, whatever its constitution, we are safe; while she lasts she is the embodiment of all our needs, nor does it matter very much to us in what part of the body she for the moment is, so long as she is there. She, always wise, always good, goes on to her perfect destiny. But which City of God it is that Hegel found his dream in who shall say? The Church or Dea Roma, one of them, in-

Digitized by Google

spired him; will it fit the British Empire as edited for elementary schools, with portraits of Lord Rosebery?

Each fresh attempt to explain away political liberty, granting it as an *a priori* postulate, and retracting it by subtleties of logic, leads one, perhaps, to wonder why the theory ever hampered itself with the postulate at all. But, in fact, the force of the recurrent mysticisms is felt, as a religion is seen growing up in the very recurrence itself. Not political liberty itself belongs to the essence, but the ideal of political liberty; for without it the mysticisms have no basis, and without them the idea of a person, who is at once the incarnation of the general law and the expression of one's own true being, could never be developed with fulness and content enough for reverence and worship. That which is aimed at is an attitude of the citizen towards the State, such as is indicated by the thought of 'a life hid with Christ in God.' Conversely, the logical destruction of political liberty does not lead to its practical destruction. For as each new definition of the true freedom, the true self, the true will, emerges from the Theory, it emerges as a challenge to the individual to seek them, to realize them, to correspond, and it emerges with all the more force that the distinctions lie in the field of spiritual mystery, and are bathed, therefore, in the waters of religion.

Their whole tendency might be to intensify the sense of public duty; where political liberty existed to make the use of it more real, more conscientious, more effectively an energy of science; where political liberty did not exist its trend might still be to diffuse the temper out of which political liberty could grow, provided only there were men with ears to hear and understand. Otherwise it is a doctrine of pure fatalism, of political subservience. It is full of crannies, holes in the rock, for all kinds of hide-bound conservatisms to shelter in, and we doubt whether, for the bulk of men, it could ever be made available at all. Mr. Bosanquet and the late J. H. Green seem to us to be altogether off the mark in treating this unavailability as a question of poor or rich, educated or uneducated, virtuous or vicious; but minds capable of mysticism at all are not common. They occur in every class, and occur rarely in any class, and when they do occur weave their dreams round adequate concrete things and personalities. Yet the 'Widow of Windsor,' or Nelson, or the Flag might serve with all their stories at their back; the 'White Man's Burden' is a trumpet call; and the Theory possibly has the making of a Shorter

Digitized by Google

Catechism in it, round which the legends and the myths might gather, itself the unintelligible nucleus and explanation of all their visible glory.

The State comes on the scene 'by Nature' as a fact. We have doubted, in reading, whether 'by Nature' it may not also leave the stage, being a time growth with no eternity in it. The nearest approach to an intelligible definition of the State we find on p. 184:

> We have hitherto spoken of the State and Society as almost convertible terms. And in fact it is part of our argument that the influences of Society differ only in degree from the powers of the State, and that the explanation of both is ultimately the same. But it is also part of our argument that the State as such is a necessary factor in civilized life; and that no true ideal lies in the direction of minimizing its individuality or restricting its absolute power. *By the State, then, we mean Society as a unit, recognized as rightly exercising control over its members by absolute physical power.*

We pass over any other thoughts arising out of this passage to point out that in the definition 'limits of locality' have no place. Society might be œcumenical, the State a world-embracing one. The reasons why it cannot be so we find on pp. 183–4. The gist of them is that man is not everywhere man. The old distinction of Greek and barbarian, the difficulty that hampered the little republics of New England, in which to give the Indian a vote as a Christian and to leave him heathen were the two impossible alternatives; the difficulty felt by the United States of to-day, internally with her negroes, externally in grafting Imperialism on the constitution, stands in the way. In the phraseology of the theory 'no such identical experience can be presupposed in all mankind as is necessary to effective membership of a common society and exercise of a general will' (p. 329).

So England and India cannot constitute one effective self-governed community (p. 330). Here the theory talks like the plain man; but if the British Raj is India's true self, the expression of her real will, and gives her liberty by forcing her to be free, the objection breaks down. The British Raj, on the one hand, may treat the Indian as man by nature, with the citizenship before him as an attainable goal, and the Indian learn in finding his real self in the British Raj to become his real self himself. Mr. Bosanquet appears, however, to consider that the distinctive types of humanity are so essentially distinct that the distinction must be permanent; 'to every people its own life has seemed the crown of things, and the remainder only the remainder.' Differences may not

Digitized by Google

then mean defects, deformities, or even immaturities. He includes among these differences differences not only of white, black, and yellow, but of religion, 'Mussulman and infidel, Christian and heathen, Jew and Gentile.' *Actual States, however, include all these differences.* China holds together in one political experience multitudinous religions and races. In the United States the problem is acute; at any rate it has been dealt with in the bold confidence that the Union could assimilate all sorts and conditions of men. The distinctive types of Celt and Saxon, to say nothing of others, are a trouble to ourselves. Johannesburg and Pretoria will not fuse, where the incompatibility is the incompatibility of two civilizations.

If we turn our eyes back to Hellas, the city States were each 'two States in one.' The solid fact in Greek history is that the tie between oligarch and oligarch, democrat and democrat, was stronger than the tie between citizen and citizen. The difference was one of class, and class interests cut across city interests, constituted leagues, alliances, federations, overcoming even the distinction between Greek and barbarian. In our own time the same forces are at work. We have Semitism, and with Semitism, besides much else, the significant development of economic cosmopolitanism, with its leagues of capital with capital, of labour with labour. Socialism and Anarchism join hands with one another, and with every Fenianism or Nihilism that sees in society as a whole, or in any State section of it, no pure general will but a devil incarnate.

Religion, the Christian religion, has never been anything else but cosmopolitan. It has been said, with some shadow of truth, that the Nation State has risen on its decay. The struggle to turn it into 'the King's Religion' has been long and hard; but the King's religion whose toast is King and Church, not Church and King, is but a sterile hybrid.

Finally there is race. 'Where is the German Fatherland?' Race cleaves States in half, drives wedges into other States, settles in discrete clusters under any flag, serves the flag, perhaps, with gratitude and friendship, but finds itself 'at home.'

A division by mere locality can never be fundamental in determining the regulative and controlling power of all these interests that cut across locality. Locality goes for much, but it has been the coincidence of locality with the more lasting and deeper distinctions that has given the State its personality, and the personality, if need be, will follow them,

Digitized by Google

not it. The limits of State action are often considered as turning on the relation of society to the individual—in fact, they turn on the relation of the regulative and controlling power in any locality to many systems which are not merely systems within itself, but systems only an arc of whose circumference is within itself, and which have an independent life of their own which the State may let or hinder as well as help.

The State, in other words, is not a natural whole, except by the coincidence of Nature. If the principle of locality is kept when the coincidence no longer exists, regulation must tend to a minimum or choke the natural life. What the trader, Jew, German, Briton, or Indian, Outlander in general, wants in any locality is law and order on a reasonable basis, and otherwise 'his liberties.' It is nothing to him who supplies it; his allegiance is elsewhere. If the only effective way of getting law and order is to become a citizen where he is settled, he will become a citizen, but his real allegiance is unchanged.

The local principle often works most disastrously. In things economic, *e.g.*, interest and locality often run together; as often, or more often, they do not. The modern nation States are all protectionists to establish a forced coincidence. They build dams to turn the water of profit to their own locality, not even to their own people or race. Their flag, where it flies, proclaims the existence of a dam. Every State on this principle fights to hoist its own flag, and a free, world-circling stream is choked up to fill the local tanks.

Local varieties of religion are reasonable. Even religion need not wear a great coat in the tropics; but a variety of clothes is one thing, and for the State to lay hold of one's soul, and force it with loppings innumerable into its own, is another. Whatever the Church may be, it is not an 'adjustable system inside a system of systems whose whole is the State.'

The adjustment of the systems one with another by mutual give and take is an adjustment ultimately proper to wisdom and their nature, and the desire for a final arbitrator, a final court of appeal, a final forcible sword-bearer, is but one with the human desire for unity and the search for a soul above and beyond one's soul. The finality of the State is never final. The State with its sword is a makeshift, a very necessary makeshift too, and in a spoilt, makeshift world has a place 'by nature' to punish the evil-doer, who is also here by nature. But we would keep it in its

Digitized by Google

place, and wear, we too, our own swords, which, in a make-shift world, our nature forges for our use, and arms us with.

Is the principle of locality essential to the theory? Aristotle had it explicitly, 'formed for life in the city State,' but the limit, as we thought, was due in him to an experience and an Ideal of Liberty; the extension to the Nation State preserves in a way the limit with the same experience and Ideal. But locality does not count for so much in the Nation State, although, as a matter of fact, love for country lives for most men in the memories and associations of a District or neighbourhood, and is being lost for most men in the Indifference of great cities: Mr. Bosanquet sees that locality even works against the theory. 'The State and its ideal purposes are not clearly set above flesh and blood; a great legal system is not created; it is not conceived that man as man 'belongs neither to this place nor to Jerusalem' (may migrate, in fact, from S.W. to S.E. and still remain an Englishman). 'With the ideal unity of a modern nation such conceptions harmonize much more readily, and the neighbourhood can lend them flesh and blood without hiding them' (p. 310).

Plato has, perhaps, the principle of locality implicitly, for soldiers imply a state of war: but his theory is not local; his Republic is an organization of classes; its only limit of size is that it should not be too great for unity. An organism is too great for unity if the volume outruns its surface, if its parts are not accurately co-ordinated, sufficiently differentiated, if its integration is incomplete. There is no practical objection to extending Plato's State or any State to any world size if the organization can keep pace with the growth, which will depend, again, on the workable characters of the distinctive types.

In Hegel the State Proper is built on the Family and its extensions, the Bourgeois State and its extensions; neither of these is essentially local, and in the last fifty years even the sentiment of locality has disappeared from them for a great part of Christendom.

We notice how small a part is played by what we call local autonomies in the theory. The family, the class, the trades-union, take their place. On any theory of the State as a high organism this must be so. A local autonomy is in the very thought of it a disintegration of the State, a partition of its Soul. The United States is a collection of mutilated Souls, or the shadow of a single soul. Family life in

Digitized by Google

it varies from State to State, as, *e.g.*, in the Divorce or Marriage Laws.

So it is not merely India that makes it difficult to bring the British Empire under the theory. There are Canada, Australia, the Cape, each in their own way local unities; not constituting one economic unity, with us or one another; dealing differently each by itself with divorce and marriage; while at the Cape we have tentative formings of an Africander soul, and many distinctive types of no common experience; Zulus, Basutos, Indians, all seeking to be assimilated in one soul with Dutch and English, before that soul can find any true assimilation with ours.

The theory, in a word, with its simplicity, its rejection of so many types of humanity, its one Soul adjusting, regulating all life, hindering all hindrances, the sum of all hopes, the arbiter of all faiths, the decider of all interests, does not fit the great complex actuality. It is a theory for a Nation complete in itself, isolated in a corner of the world, born of one family, trained in one religion, whose citizens touch at no point the great world-sweeping currents, which even the breath of Heaven may not enter, till it have passed through the National Charcoal Filter; or it is a Theory for a World State, that has reduced all distinctive types to a unity, finding for them distinctive work in her service, but depriving them of their own life, which seemed to them the 'crown of things.'

If limits of locality are of her essence to begin with, limits of locality will be of that essence to the close. The absolute supremacy of the State within any local area must mean the overriding, the distortion, and finally the destruction of all non-local elements. Every manifestation of life is viewed as a State interest, and is manipulated for an adjustment to an end which is not its own. Constantine lays hold of Christ and turns him into a State functionary, and in turning Him into a State functionary empties Him of Himself. 'A universal language as a substitute for national languages would mean a dead level of intelligence unsuited to every actual national mind, the destruction of literature and poetry' (p. 330). So Mr. Bosanquet describes the effect of a World empire. What is it but the continuation of a process that the Nation State has already carried far, levelling all dialects? The soul of the Nation State is a hungry entity. It grows fat by swallowing other souls. Six great ones still hungry at the last remain, a number of little ones surviving through their jealousies or fears. One day the black snake will have the rattlesnake by the throat, never to let go till one of the

Digitized by Google

two is dead, and the survivor will smooth the fallen carefully out, tenderly smear him with the saliva of organization, lie down in front of him, and with gulp, gulp, gulp, bolting him whole, crawl away to digest him in peace, getting ready a new appetite for a new meal.

If the State be a whole adjusting all relations, so long as the relations can be rung round with a fence and circumscribed by an area, they may be manipulated as systems within a system, with a local habitat. But if the relations drive out beyond the fence, and the State is still to adjust them, she must drive out beyond the fence also. The whole world is her ultimate area. The whole world will be organised on the family basis. There will be ruling and subject races; Ham to serve, Japhet to organize, and Shem—well, Shem to become a philosopher. Economic Interests, the Bourgeois State, must, however independent, be reduced in the main to follow the family lines; it is really inconvenient that persons of no family should be millionaires. Let us come, perhaps, to a compromise: the wealth and the power and the wisdom for the white races, and the work for the black, and the brown, and the yellow. The Inferior white races may be foremen and overseers, and generally non-commissioned officers. Religion shall be the 'feeling' coincident with the whole, distinctive in each caste, but in each caste burning incense to Cæsar. Art will work to embody the soul for the concrete imagination; roughly, *i.e.*, to paint and to act, sing Empire songs, and furbish out great Jubilee shows. Philosophy will bind the scheme of things as they are with the scheme of things as they ought to be.

We are, perhaps, at first surprised at the theory repudiating this programme. The fact is that the theory has not the strength of its convictions. It is hampered throughout by the condition of providing for political liberty. Political Liberty, although sufficiently emptied of content by the philosophical definitions, still sits on its dreaming breast as a nightmare. For example (p. 330), it is still supposed that a world or State can only be formed by some such process as 'Englishmen attempting to make one effective self-governed community with the Indian population,' whereas, if the State is the embodiment of one's true self, the Raj, whatever it may be, is the true self of the Indian populations, and the great Queen, we should have thought, would have stood for such true self well enough. In India, moreover, strangely enough, the mass of the population have already been reduced by a Platonic system of sound political philosophy to a silent and

Digitized by Google

complete acquiescence in the self-government of the theoretical type. Raj may come and Raj may go, and the business of the Raj is to be the Raj, theirs to till, sow, reap, and on occasion starve.

Again, although Man to the Greek was a political animal, and political implied in that context actually and not philosophically self-governing, the Greek did not mean by Man all kinds of men, or even all kinds of Greek. There were lower Greeks even, that were fitted by nature in philosophy's eyes to be mechanics, farmers, and soldiers of the lower sort. And the Greek did not even dream that barbarians and slaves and sojourners not of the State family should have political liberty, and yet did not dream of a Polity without a slave substratum to hew its wood and draw its water. Whether the lower Greeks should be politically free, self-governing, was fought out in Greece with bitter passion. Contempt and hatred never in the world story blazed with more furious and more destructive fires than in the strife between Greek oligarch and democrat, and the Philosophers were not democrats. Thus, so far as the theory goes, a world Empire might be a self-governing Polity, even in the actual sense, so long as the ruling families were free.

We marvel, then, at first look that the theory does not go the length of its logic. The truth seems to be that the local State soul precisely by localizing humanity unfits it to cross the boundaries except as a conqueror and destroyer. It reduces its distinctive types to unity too soon; then, colliding with another set of distinctive types, its instinct is to extirpate, turning the world into a monstrous Dorsetshire, and when it cannot extirpate, it retires into its shell or 'treks' beyond the 'vaal.' Nor ought we to fail to notice how 'the distinctive type' theory generates, even within the borders, a kind of loathing and disgust for one another between the castes, as though mutilated humanity would at all costs avenge itself.

The theory of the Christian religion rests all its differentiation on the 'maximization' of the common humanity as its fundamental basis. The work of the Holy Spirit in specialization is built upon the work of the same Spirit in transforming the whole nature, and recognizes no distinctive 'crowns of life' that are not woven with the flowers of a common grace, manifold in its expression, but one in its being as it is one in its source. The Hegelian theory of Identity in Difference stereotypes too much for it the existing differences as final and exhaustive. In co-operative structure,

Digitized by Google

we are told, the screw and the nut into which it fastens are identical, each the expression of the one mind. That may be so. The ruler and the ruled, the owner and the slave, the employer and the hand, the upper classes and the substratum, and even the residuum, may take it for their fate, their joy, their despair; and the philosopher contemplating it may even get some touch of humility, compassion, and kindliness in considering his own identity with the unlettered boor.

But it is not hard to see the practical issue. Even Christianity with all her corrective principles has not escaped the taint of a State gospel preaching content to the poor, blessing the *status quo* of society, satisfying hunger and thirst with a phrase. It is not strange that the Liberalism that ostracized Christ should refuse to take Hegel to its bosom.

In the very interesting chapter in which Mr. Bosanquet treats of the relation of the Philosophy of Society to the sciences he tells us that each science represents a facet or point of view from which Society as a whole may be regarded. It has not escaped us that the whole theory as it is here presented may wear a different aspect to eyes that look through other spectacles than ours. It is a theory adjustable to the Christianity from which, indeed, it appears to us to have borrowed so largely. If it mean, for example, that a man just where he is set, in the condition of life to which God has called him, peer or peasant, squire, farmer, or labourer, philosopher or tradesman, has a career to live which at its best may call out all his manhood, and calling it out will realize for him his nature; if it mean that the family and the trade, the village, the township, the county, are but many opportunities set near him of saving himself in losing himself; if it mean that country also is a vocation, and that a man's country is his to preserve and serve, to love and ennoble; if it mean that he may do so and be all this just in his own place, not thrusting himself into another's; that the true value giving distinction is not in what condition or rank a man serve, but in the whether or how or in what mind he serve—all this we learned and were taught long ago, and in the faith of it have died beside all waters. The theory, then, is a theory of the actual, and the philosophy tells what is and has been.

But when we so learned it we learned it not so that any of these should be 'our substantive purpose and the foundation of our lives'; they were but activities and ends, in a temporal world, of lives that were themselves eternal, and

Digitized by Google

whose conversation was in heaven. So we brought always to things as they are a faith in what things ought to be; and were able to serve the Actual the better that we did not set her on the Eternal's throne, but feared God in honouring the king. Every Christian State derives its authority by explicit avowal from God and is subject to the Divine Law, which gives to Christian Patriotism its limits and its full content. It is not Liberty only that is enlarged by being made smaller. But the content of Christian Patriotism may survive for a time after it has been severed from its source. Ideals are carried on, ethical passions still throb with a reflex activity, though cut off from the brain, and the Theory, talking like a Christian, evidently feels like a Christian in many ways, and is Christian in the energies of its disciples. Thus in this volume, so rich in intellectual treasures, so warm with prophetic fervour, one understands that another, perhaps, may feel its essence and work in them, when we see only a great Idol through the mist. And as a matter of fact we are at one with the writer over a great part of the field he traverses. He is the exponent—as we believe he would admit—of views and principles that are the heritage of Christendom. He is the opponent and destructive critic of much anti-Christian philosophy. When, for example, he dwells upon Law as something more than a command with penalties, as being the expression of a wisdom, a will, a personality, or when he insists upon the essentially social nature of man, or when he tears to pieces the idea of Liberty as mere absence of restraint, or when he estimates the true value of economic conditions, displaying in their nakedness the fallacies of Buckle, he is speaking to a brief that Christian theology might have drawn.

Nay, in all those theories of the State being the True Self, the Real Will, of the 'being forced to be free,' he is but expressing a temper which, with certain conditions, Christendom instils and common sense endorses. There are moments, occasions, in which such theories are actual, in which they are realized in conscience, to whatever vile purposes they may be prostituted, or however unfit they may be for corner-stones of the building.

It is more pleasing, again, to hear men spoken of persistently as minds, even though it involve some pedantry, than to hear them persistently treated of as mere objects in Nature, neural systems, mechanisms, automatisms; more akin to Christian language, which calls a man a soul; and through all the sphere of human life it is good to be reminded that

Digitized by Google

human souls or minds give to all concrete things that men create and use their innermost reality.

But among all the many things that please us, which it were too long to enumerate, the one thing pleases us not. The State looms too large. We like not even that the 'State is by Nature.' We like rather that the State is of God, for then she has her limits; we know 'whose authority she hath'; we neither want to make her nor pretend to make her, and think we shall serve her none the worse for knowing that on occasion, God forbidding, we would serve her not.

ART. III.—DR. BRIGGS'S INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture, the Principles, Methods, History and Results of its several Departments, and of the Whole. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York City. (Edinburgh, 1899.)

THE full title of this book affords, of itself, sufficient indication of the vast field which it professes to cover in its endeavour to provide an 'Introduction' of more than 700 pages to the study of Scripture. Much of the labour demanded by this book would be more profitably bestowed upon conscientious study of the Scriptures themselves than in dilating upon a mass of preliminary matter which does not advance the real knowledge of the Scriptures, whether Greek or Hebrew. The writer in his Preface affirms that the Bible is to him Holy Scripture, but he leaves us undecided as to what he regards as the extent or limits of the word 'Holy.' And, indeed, it is the nature and meaning of this epithet as to which the perusal of this book, learned and useful in many respects as it really is, leaves us after all in doubt. It is a general laudation of the Higher Criticism in the abstract that it presents, with many startling examples of the application thereof in certain cases alike in the Old and New Testaments rather than a demonstration of the wisdom and justice of the professed results. And, indeed, this is the method commonly followed by this school of writers. They start from certain premises, in many respects hypothetical and imaginary, and deduce from them certain conclusions more or less in accord

Digitized by Google

therewith, but which certainly do not follow from the premises assumed even if true, and which are worth nothing if those premises are false. It becomes wearisome after a time to find one man after another playing the game of 'follow my leader,' and repeating assertions which they all find it convenient to forget have never been, and cannot be, verified.

For instance, assuming that the book found by Hilkiah in the temple was Deuteronomy—an assumption in itself which is hard to reconcile with the statements of the record on which we depend for the knowledge of its discovery—it by no means follows that the reformation of Josiah was due to this discovery, inasmuch as it was begun several years before, and yet the correspondence of this reformation with the prescriptions of Deuteronomy is always advanced as one of the main proofs that the book so discovered was Deuteronomy. Assumption in proof of hypothesis and hypothesis as the basis of assumption is the character of much that passes under the *imposing* and majestic name of Higher Criticism. Though the refutation of such criticism in detail is comparatively easy, what we really want—which, however, is not so easy to find or formulate—is something which shall serve as a solvent for the principles adopted. It is notoriously more easy to reason correctly from false premises—though we must allow that in this case the conclusions are illegitimately inferred from the premises—than it is to detect an error latent in the premises. Dr. Briggs, however, has the courage of his convictions both as to premises and conclusions, for he is persuaded that the Higher Criticism has attained the character which warrants it to rank as a science, if indeed it is not the highest of sciences, *e.g.*:

'The Higher Criticism has vindicated its rights in the field of Biblical study as well as in all other kinds of literature. It matters little who may oppose its course, what combinations may be made against it, it will advance steadily and irresistibly to its results; it will flow on over every obstacle like a mighty river, and bury every obstruction beneath its waves. In time it will give a final decision to all the literary problems of Holy Scripture. No other voice can decide them. Men for a time may refuse to listen to its voice; they may try to deaden it by a chorus of outcries and shoutings of opposition. But Higher Criticism is in no haste, she can wait. She does not seek the favour of ecclesiastics or the applause of the populace. She seeks the truth, and having won the truth she is sure of the everlasting future' (p. 108).

These are bold words, but we do not on that ground object to them. The writer, however, seems to be oblivious of one

Digitized by Google

thing, and that is the latent *petitio principii* there is in them. The point to be proved and not assumed is the truth of the professed results. What is the original basis of them, conjecture or fact? If conjecture, is it consistent with the necessary conditions of time, place and circumstance? Is it alone consistent with them? For when there is so much room for conjecture we must accept that which is the most probable under all the circumstances. Supposing the hypothesis adopted the most probable, are the inferences drawn from it legitimate? Is there no circularity of reasoning in the process of obtaining them? If the result is legitimately obtained, are there any other facts or circumstances which are inconsistent with and therefore tend to invalidate them? All this is requisite to be borne in mind by him who 'seeks the truth' before he can be sure that he has 'won' it, and therefore can be 'sure of the everlasting future.' It is precisely for this reason that, notwithstanding the confidence of Dr. Briggs and his school, we are not prepared to accept many of his premises and still fewer of his conclusions. Let us take one or two specimens, for we have not space for more:

'The formation of the Canon began with the promulgation of the Ten Words as the fundamental Divine Law to Man. These Ten Words were given in their original form as brief, terse words or sen tences. The specifications and reasons were added in the several different documents of the Hexateuch, and these were eventually compacted together in the two versions Ex. xx. and Deut. v. These Ten Words were given by the theophanic voice of God to Israel at Mount Horeb. They were taken up into all the original documents of the Hexateuch. They lie at the basis of the entire legislation. They have the authority of God and public recognition and adoption. They were kept on the two tables of stone, in the holy ark in the most Holy Place of the tabernacle and the temple. If any document fulfils all the tests of canonicity, the Tables of the Law certainly do' (p. 118).

There are sundry questions here we should like to ask. First of all, is not the Hexateuch itself an assumption and a premise? There is positively not one atom of evidence external to the theory which has created it. Dr. Briggs himself speaks of the four parts of the Law. It would seem, therefore, that there never was a Pentateuch, and if not a Pentateuch certainly not a Hexateuch. And yet this Hexateuch is continually being brought before us as if its existence were as well assured from all time as that of the Old Testament itself, whereas till some fifty years ago it was never heard of. Dr. Briggs, however, is not only certain of its existence, but

Digitized by Google

also of all its original documents, which, however, seem only to have been two, containing Ex. xx. and Deut. v. respectively. But now we are confronted with far more serious questions. We are told that the Ten Words were given by 'the theophanic voice of God' (whatever that may be); that they have the 'authority of God,' and were kept on 'the two tables of stone' in the Tabernacle. Now, we want to know, does Dr. Briggs really believe that these Ten Words were spoken by God at Horeb? Does he believe that there was a 'theophanic voice?' If so, what was the nature of it? and was it God's voice, and how does he know that it was God's voice? How does he know that these Ten Words have the authority of God? Does he believe that God wrote them on the tables of stone, and that these tables were kept in the Tabernacle? If so, why does he believe it, and on what authority? Simply on the authority of documents which he considers himself at liberty to dismember and mutilate till all that is left are the 'Ten Words' for which there is no other known authority than that which has thus been dismembered and destroyed beyond all recognition. Thus logically it would seem that the only authority for the 'Ten Words' is that of Dr. Briggs himself. If this is false reasoning, it certainly is no more illegitimate from the premises than that of Dr. Briggs.

There is that about this so-called Higher Criticism which compels us to ask, What is the ultimate result to which it leads us?

'There can be little doubt,' says Dr. Briggs, 'that the original Book of the Covenant contained only the brief, terse words; and that the other types of Hebrew Law, such as statutes, judgments, and commands, contained in the Greater Book of the Covenant and in the Deuteronomic Code, are later additions from varied sources, in the development of Hebrew Law in the northern and southern kingdoms' (p. 119).

This, we presume, is one of the certain results of criticism, and yet it is introduced with 'there can be little doubt'—the amount of which obviously depends upon the capacity of the individual for swallowing the hypothetical premises and digesting the unwarranted conclusions. Surely the more natural and obvious course would be to reject the whole theory, Ten Words, Documents, Hexateuch, and all, if there is no more evidence for the writing of the Ten Words on the tables of stone by the finger of God, or even for the authority of God, than a narrative which has to be thus mutilated and dismembered before it can be received.

Dr. Briggs makes his appeal to reason, and would have us

Digitized by Google

exercise our critical reason. We gladly do so, but against Dr. Briggs himself. 'Hast thou appealed unto Cæsar? To Cæsar shalt thou go.' There is a great deal of discussion of the history and origin of the Canon, with a vast amount of learning and not a little conjecture, but it seems to us to fall short of the mark. If the canonical authority of Deuteronomy, for example, is that given to it by Hilkiah, the high priest, and nothing more, then we do not hesitate to say that such authority is not enough for us; nor do we believe that it would have been for the high priest and for Josiah; but unquestionably if Deuteronomy was invented as well as discovered in the reign of Josiah and edited, or what not, from unknown and unauthorized sources, it can have no more authority than the unknown sources from which it was so derived, which on the supposition is confessedly *nil.*

It does not seem to be understood that the authority of any document is not that which it derives merely from external sources, but that which it has of itself and is testified to with sufficient weight of fact or inference. In this way there would seem to be no better means of discriminating than that of authenticity and genuineness—understanding by authenticity trustworthiness as to matters of fact, and by genuineness rightness of ascription as to authorship. For instance, we believe St. John's Gospel to be both genuine and authentic; and if it is genuine we may well accept it as authentic, and if it is authentic it certainly is genuine, because it obviously professes to be written by St. John. On the other hand, St. Mark's Gospel nowhere professes to be written by him: it is merely a matter of traditional evidence that it is so, but its accuracy as to matters of fact does not depend upon its being written by St. Mark but upon the acceptance it commonly met with, which was no doubt a measure of its intrinsic merit, but in no sense the cause of it. The acceptance it met with is thus the testimony to its merit, which would be equally great even though St. Mark had not written it. But if the genuineness of St. John's Gospel is disproved its witness as to matters of fact is entirely destroyed, for it comes to us as the professed record of an eye-witness, who can be no other than St. John, and if it is not St. John its testimony is utterly discredited, for it is a fiction professing to be truth.

And so in other cases where genuineness and authenticity are mutually dependent. A book may be accurate and *bona fide* if its authorship is kept back or unknown, but if it is stated to be by a given author whose identity is essential

Digitized by Google

to its accuracy, and it proves to be by an independent person whose testimony is of no value, then the disproof of its genuineness is fatal to its authenticity. Now this is applicable to Deuteronomy. The writer everywhere professes to have been an eye-witness of what he records, and he also appeals to the testimony of those whom he is addressing for the accuracy and reality of what he relates (v. 5, &c.). No unbiassed reader who is not interested in maintaining the contrary can possibly question this. Therefore if, instead of being the narrative of an eye-witness, it was written by some unknown priest six or seven hundred years after Moses, it is at once discredited as a worthless narrative of the events it professes to record, and we are bound to dismiss its testimony as of no value, and the only value it can still retain is that of a well-meaning and graphic romance, written for the purpose of inculcating certain precepts, which, however, for the most part have long become obsolete. Now if the origin of Deuteronomy was what is suggested, it is impossible that the recognition of Hilkiah and Josiah could give it the authority it did not possess; for their recognition was only the measure of their own deception, and was the recognition and endorsement of a fictitious and unauthorized document. It had no authority to start with; it could acquire none by their acceptance of it. Its promulgation was the genesis of a falsehood, which they were the means of authenticating and promulgating.

It is, however, under the circumstances impossible for us to be deceived by or to be participators in their fraud. All sorts of flimsy and euphemistic language may be used to account for and to condone their action, but all in vain; for truth is truth to the end, and we know that no lie is of the truth. Whatever Deuteronomy may have been to Josiah and the rest, it cannot ever be that to us. Even supposing that they were so uncritical and indifferent to the truth as to be deceived in accepting it as the word of God, it is impossible for us to do so. If we have nothing else more worthy of the name, then we must go without the thing; for this most assuredly can show no claim to it. Now the assumption that underlies the theory of Drs. Briggs, Driver, Ryle, and others, is that the authority of any book in the Canon is derived casually from the fact of certain persons at the time of its production having attributed thereto certain characteristics of authorship, credibility, and the like; that this was a mere accident, and was based on nothing more certain or satisfactory than their belief itself. For instance, Hilkiah, Josiah, Huldah, and the

Digitized by Google

rest, heard of a book found in the Temple written professedly by Moses, and purporting to contain God's own words to him and by him. They at once accepted this book, not only as a genuine production of Moses, but also as, for that reason and no other, having the authority of God. For if it was not by Moses it clearly could not have the authority of God. It is not likely or possible that if they had any knowledge or suspicion that the book was a modern one, and had come into existence in the last fifty years—which, had it been the case, would certainly have been known—they could have accepted it as Divine under these circumstances, and merely because it professed to be what they knew it was not; and most certainly the fact of their doing so could not and would not have given it that authority. The supposition is that as the book pretended to be written under certain circumstances, which undeniably would have given it the highest possible authority, therefore it had that authority, whether or not it was so written; whereas we at all events can see that if it was so written it would have had no authority at all. Nor can we with justice ascribe any such authority to it now. Nor does the fact of its having received the recognition of Josiah and the others invest it with any such authority as we are bound to recognize; on the contrary, we should be bound to reject it if there were sufficient reason for believing such to have been its real origin. Indeed, this theory disregards and ignores the difference between things genuine and spurious. If it matters not whether a document is genuine or not, then it matters not what was the origin of Deuteronomy or who wrote it; then it matters not whether St. John's Gospel first saw the light in the second century or not; whether Virgil wrote the *Æneid* or Horace the *Odes*, and the like: though in these latter cases it is merely a literary prejudice to which violence is done, but in the other cases the question is whether or not the claim of Divine authority is destroyed, as under the assumed condition it manifestly would be.

Another assumption of this school of writers is that that only is to be considered as the word of God which can establish its claim to the individual conscience. As Kuenen says, 'Every word which finds an echo in your heart and in your conscience is to you a word of God.' This at once limits the area of revelation to those who receive it. Revelation is a purely subjective matter. It exists where it is supposed to exist, and nowhere else. Hilkiah and Josiah supposed it to exist in the 'pseudepigraphic' Deuteronomy, to use Dr. Briggs's chosen phrase, and so it existed there to them. But we are

Digitized by Google

wise enough not to be imposed upon. There was no other revelation there than they believed, and therefore there is none to us, because we do not believe there is. Neither is there any revelation in St. John's Gospel, except to those who find the echo of it in their own hearts, which is indeed most true. But we want to know whether the revelation which they find exists only because they find it, or whether there is an objective and real revelation there, whether they find it or not; for this is most certainly the case if that Gospel is what we most certainly believe it to be; whereas on the other supposition the revelation is not where it is not found to be, and in any case is only there to those who find it. Now we are willing to maintain that if St. John's Gospel, for example, is genuine and authentic, then it undoubtedly has all the credentials of a revelation, whether they are acknowledged or not, though manifestly the acknowledgment of them makes all the difference between light and darkness. The sun nevertheless is shining, albeit the blind cannot see the light. 'These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through His name': the life can only come after the belief; nevertheless Jesus has shown Himself to be the Son of God, whether ye believe it or not. We take the Gospel of St. John as an illustration because most persons will have the more diffidence in rejecting that, though we are sorry to find that Dr. Briggs sees even in that the indications of alterations of an earlier Gospel on which our existing Gospel is based. It is surely obvious that it must make all the difference whether the Gospel of St. John is genuine or spurious. If it is the work of St. John from first to last it must be inestimably precious; if it is the work of some one else, writing in his name, it is comparatively worthless, and certainly not authentic. But this is a matter of evidence. Under favouring auspices the Higher Criticism will doubtless have something hereafter to say to the disadvantage of St. John's Gospel; for in these last days there is no such thing as finality. It has to be borne in mind that many of these questions are beyond the solution of any criticism, however high. It will always be possible to suggest a doubt. There will always be a point that we cannot reach, and that is demonstration. Higher Criticism, though rejoicing in the 'probable,' the 'most likely,' 'there can be little doubt,' and the like, seems always to forget that this is a long way short of demonstration, and unworthy of the name of science; whereas the highest effort of the judicial mind is the comparison of

Digitized by Google

probabilities, and probability, as we are told, is the very guide of life. It is wiser, then, to help us to strike the balance of probabilities than to expatiate on the joy of rendering everything uncertain. It is therefore wiser to help us to determine whether it is more probable that St. John wrote his Gospel than to sharpen our critical acumen in discovering the precise dimensions of the original Gospel which our present St. John has superseded. It is hardly to be supposed that the authority we ascribe to St. John's Gospel is derived from those who accepted it as his. The fact that they accepted it as his is due rather to the evidence there then was in its favour, which evidence, therefore, their acceptance reflects, than it is the cause of its authority. That authority to us, at all events, is based on the fact that it is his, which fact is the result of the strong balance of probability in its favour.

Now the same considerations, *mutatis mutandis*, are applicable to Deuteronomy. The internal assumption of authorship is at least as strong as in St. John's Gospel. The first historical evidence of the recognition of the book is more definite and certain than it is with St. John's Gospel. This can only be set aside by the assumption that the first acceptance of the book was a mistake on the part of prophetess, priest, and king, involving at all events 'pseudepigraphy,' where everything points in the other direction. For it is a pure assumption that pseudepigraphy' would have produced the results that were produced; and it is a pure assumption that in the fifty years before Josiah's reign anyone was flourishing in Israel who could have written the existing Deuteronomy. And these are conditions which must be satisfactorily met in order that the professed theory of its origin can stand. Before dwelling upon the alleged discrepancies and contradictions of Deuteronomy, exaggerated if not strained by our ignorance of circumstances indispensable to the understanding of them, it would be well to look these facts full in the face and decide whether they can be reconciled with the opposite theory, or whether they are not inherently fatal to it. The Higher Critics arrogate to themselves the exclusive possession of scholarship, and talk loudly about 'the best scholarship,' 'the great majority of modern scholars,' and the like, as though there were nothing to be said on the other side, and as if nothing had been said on a matter by no means one of pure scholarship by Robertson, A. Blomfield, Baxter, Kennedy, Cave, Spencer, Stanley Leathes, Lias, and others, much of which, we are bold to say, not only has not been answered, but which never can be answered.

Digitized by Google

Dr. Driver himself is no match for a man like Professor Robertson of Glasgow, who is possessed of a telling and lively style, together with a genuine sense of humour, in both of which the former is conspicuously deficient. And though in the case of one like Dr. Briggs, who has shown himself a master of liberal learning, it may seem invidious to single out what is probably an error of the press, yet it is as well to say that it is hard to understand how such an error could escape the grammatical criticism of so 'high' a critic as we find on p. 371, *'êlê* for *'el*, under the circumstances an absolutely impossible form. Scholarship, when it is advanced as the main ground of criticism, which is confessedly not dependent upon it, may become a two-edged weapon and be found dangerous to those who boast the use of it.

The question which the Higher Critics seem to evade rather than try to answer is, What is the objective authority of Scripture? If, as is alleged in the case of the Old Testament, it is in the highest degree uncertain and dependent only upon a very vague and ineffectual witness which is largely accidental and entirely unauthenticated, it seems to come to nothing and fade into an authority derived merely from the persons giving it. If, *e.g.*, the Psalter is only of the second century, according to the wild and extravagant theory of Professor Cheyne, it seems to fail altogether of any authority which it can derive either from its unknown authors or from those who cherished and preserved their writings. The 110th Psalm, *e.g.*, can in no sense be Divine or fit to bear the use made of it in the New Testament. Indeed, on this principle, the Hebrew Psalter would seem to have no more claim to be regarded as divine or called the Word of God, as Christ calls it, than *The Ring and the Book*. It is as though the assumption were first made that there was something to be called the Word of God, though why so called it is hard to say, and then the effort was to be made to destroy the right and title of that which is so called to the name given it. In fact, we only call it the Word of God because from time immemorial it has been so called, and whether or not, with Professor Driver, we add to this name the phrase, 'mediated by a human agency,' we must at all events be careful to show that it has no other right to this name than the prescription of use. The intrinsic claim is gone: in fact, it never had any, although we must do Professor Briggs the justice to allow that he is a strenuous advocate for the intrinsic and spiritual authority and essence of the Divine word, even if, as it too often seems, this is to be determined ultimately by his

Digitized by Google

own individual opinion subject to the final results, if there ever are such, of the Highest Criticism. The question, therefore, resolves itself into this: Can the Scriptures make good their claim to have come with the actual authority of God? We do not speak of inspiration, because that involves so much that has to be proved and not assumed; but have they historically any credentials peculiar to themselves which other books have not and cannot have, and if so, what were those credentials? On the Driver and Ryle theory this is a question hard to answer, and we doubt if they would be careful to answer it. They would prefer leaving it to the great king to answer for himself, whoever he may be.

Now, it must be premised that a scientific answer cannot be given to this question. The Higher Criticism endeavours to give a scientific answer, but it can give none, and seems to forget that none can be given. We cannot scientifically prove that St. John or St. Mark wrote the Gospels respectively ascribed to them, still less can we prove scientifically that Moses wrote Deuteronomy; but we can prove with overwhelming probability in either case, that St. John wrote his Gospel and that Moses wrote Deuteronomy. But if we are to wait to believe in the Old Testament till we can scientifically prove that Moses wrote Deuteronomy, or that David wrote one of the Psalms, or that Isaiah wrote any one of the chapters ascribed to him, we shall never believe in it, for the thing is *per se* impossible, just as it is scientifically impossible to prove the contrary. There is so much jugglery in this matter. Dr. Briggs is very careful to lay it down as one of the many laws of thought governing alike Higher Criticism and other things, that 'Everything is either A or not A; everything is either a given thing or something which is not a given thing; there is no mean between two contradictory propositions' (p. 82). Then if this is so, that which we have is a revelation or it is not a revelation; if it is not a revelation, then away with it! no expulsion of the unclean thing can be too violent; but if we have a revelation, then by all the laws of reason and science it must fulfil certain conditions, it must present certain credentials—if, that is, we are to judge of it. Now, the boast of the Higher Critics is, that such and such books fail utterly in the presentation of such and such indispensable credentials: *ergo* that which professes to be the word of God is not the word of God; that which professes to come as a revelation from God does not at all come from Him—at all events, it is 'mediated by a human agency'; and when we examine it there is

Digitized by Google

nothing, as Dr. Briggs would say, 'back' of the human agency, it is human from first to last—and Professor Ryle would *back* him. For clearly if A is bold enough to say, 'After all, I feel there is something behind this profession of a revelation,' B will reply, 'I do not care: I do not feel that there is, and therefore there is not. Everything must be or not be; if it is it is, and if it is not it is not.' *That* is the Higher Criticism all over. It is the law of the *ipse dixit*, the *sic cogitavit*. When it is confessedly impossible to have Demonstration, then we must content ourselves with Probability, and when these Briggs and Ryle theories of the origin of the Divine word land us in uncertainties which are absolutely fatal to its ultra-human authority, then we must fall back upon probability, and we venture to think that for calm and unimpassioned *believers* the probabilities in favour will sufficiently outweigh those which are advanced against the authority of Scripture and the supposed origin of its most important books. As we have said before, Dr. Briggs professes at the outset that to him Scripture is *Holy* Scripture. But after wading through his very learned, and in many respects very valuable, 700 pages, we are still somewhat perplexed by his application of the epithet 'Holy.' We are constrained to ask why Holy? And the answer is, Because Dr. Briggs thinks it so, because it satisfies his preconceived conditions of Holiness. But suppose it does, what then? The question is, Does it satisfy ours? And if it satisfies his, Why does it satisfy ours? for we have the same right to be satisfied that he has.

We cannot but think that after this wave of destructive criticism has passed over us (for the Higher Criticism is essentially destructive) we shall again feel the need of something that is constructive. We shall cast about amid the ruins of the old for something wherewith to reconstruct the new, and then it may be that we shall be astonished to find in how many cases the stone which the former builders in their excess of zeal rejected may again become the head of the corner. After men have discovered that in many cases they have mistaken the footprints of their fellow-creatures for the footprints of their God, they will begin to ask whether there are not still marks in Scripture deeper and more unmistakeable that it is impossible to ascribe to man, and that if this is so, they still speak for themselves in witness of that which man cannot have done, and that while man was doubting, debating, disbelieving and disobeying, the Lord God had after all been walking about in the garden in the cool of the evening, and

Digitized by Google

saying unto man 'Where art thou?' The footprints were there, but they were unseen and unrecognised till he heard the voice and quailed before it and was fain to hide his nakedness as best he might. In short, the central question, after all, is this, 'Is the Word of God the creation of the Church, or is the Church itself created by the Word of God.' Now the historic teaching on this matter from first to last is that the Church is the creation of the Word of God. Abraham was called by God; the Spirit of the Lord came upon David; the believers to whom Peter wrote were born again, not of corruptible seed but of incorruptible, by the Word of God; and the like. If this Word was in the imagination of those called and nowhere else, then there is an end to all revelation, inspiration, and what not. But if the Word of God is a living and objective essence, then it is itself a creative energy, and that which it creates is the Church. The Church does not create its creator; the Creator makes Himself known to the Church, and the history of this manifestation is recorded in the Scriptures in Genesis, Deuteronomy, St. John's Gospel, and the like. If the history is not sufficiently authenticated, then the manifestation is a lie, the creation of those who were deceived into believing it to be the truth, and in that case the supposed Word of God is the creation of the Church.

And it is the thinly disguised purpose, or at least effect, of the Higher Criticism more and more to approximate to this position. Dr. Briggs and Professor Ryle make the Canon nothing more than the creation of the Church, and what the Church has made, it can, of course unmake. Hence the unsatisfactoriness of its methods and results. According to the sixth Article of the Church of England, the Church is 'the witness and keeper of Holy Writ,' and this defines exactly her relation to Scripture: it is the evidence of testimony to certain documents. It stands to reason that this evidence must vary in various cases. It is very strong in the New Testament; it is far less so in the Old. It does not profess to be scientific or demonstrative in either case—it is impossible to foreclose every avenue to doubt—but in either case there is not really any rebutting evidence. The books of the New Testament have stood the test of time; it is impossible that they should undergo material alteration. With the books of the Old Testament, their evidence is also one oft estimony: testimony to a large extent confirmed by the accepted testimony of the New. In their case, however, it must also be borne in mind that there is actually no rebutting evidence. The evidence, such as it is, is deduced from themselves. The Higher Criticism bases

Digitized by Google

all its case upon the internal evidence of the books, which, it boasts, is conspicuously against their traditional value.

Now it is this internal evidence which is, to a large extent, dependent upon the individual, and must necessarily be so. But it must also be remembered that there is a large body of internal evidence distinctly in favour of the books as we have them. And this internal evidence is a positive element which has to be dealt with no less than the other. And this internal evidence has to be accounted for; because, if it is to give way to the other, then we must presuppose a long and elaborate system of intentional manipulation with the preconceived object of perverting the features that we perceive. Not only must the names of Moses, David, Isaiah, and the like, have been substituted for others, but they must have been gratuitously affixed with a definite object. Because though it is true that we know absolutely nothing of the early history of these books, yet we do know that the ordinary conditions of human life and action must have operated here as elsewhere. Now this presupposes a very deep-laid scheme of intentional manipulation, inasmuch as the system of cross-reference between the several books can only be explained on the hypothesis that it was designedly followed without any very obvious or discernible motive, unless the motive was to give the reader the idea that the entire literature from beginning to end was of this closely connected and interdependent character. There is no need for instances to be given, because the thing is patent. But let anyone look at Bissell's coloured Genesis, and say if the result as there presented can be otherwise accounted for than as for the express purpose of the theory of the critic who will have it so; and can any man in his senses believe that it gives any intelligible explanation of the historic origin of Genesis. Consequently, the adoption of this theory, for which all the Higher Critics make themselves more or less responsible, lands us in far greater difficulties than those from which we endeavour to escape. It is indeed hard to believe that Moses or anyone else ever heard the 'theophanic voice of God.' But supposing he did, as Dr. Briggs does suppose, there is nothing improbable in an authentic narrative of it having been recorded and preserved. The narrative we have professes to be such. We do not solve the initial difficulty by depreciating and discrediting the narrative as we have it, and safeguarding our belief by taking refuge in some vague and imaginary 'theophanic voice of God,' which is destined to prove far less endurable or credible than the narrative itself.

Digitized by Google

Let the general principles of the Higher Critics as laid down by Dr. Briggs and others be to a large extent conceded, two points have to be borne in mind: Are there to be no limits, but subjective ones, to the application of these principles? Are we conceivably to be obliged to regard St. John's Gospel as a document of the second century, and therefore neither genuine nor authentic? Are we finally to recognise nothing more than a few dubious and uncertain *logia* as the bare residuum of the Synoptic Gospels, and are we to consider this result as condoned and compensated for by allowing the Parable of the Prodigal Son to be the consummate flower of all human compositions, and by expending effusive and misplaced epithets on the moral character of Christ? Are we finally to accept the position that Abraham and Moses are unhistoric characters; that Samuel's history is more or less disfigured with mythical additions; that David was not the spiritual man he has always been supposed to be; that the real history of Elijah and Elisha is irrecoverable, and the like? In short, where are we to stop? Who shall set bounds to the flight of this Higher Criticism, and where shall we be when it has passed beyond all bounds? We are justified in asking this question because there is another point that has to be kept in view, which is this. It is impossible to disguise the fact that if the broad and general veracity of the Old Testament is overthrown, as Driver and Cheyne have overthrown it, and as Dr. Briggs in numerous instances has done, it is simply hopeless for Christianity as a Divine revelation to survive the overthrow. It is not the authorship of the books of Moses that is at stake, but the historic reality and worth of these books which the New Testament has so largely endorsed. It is not the integrity of Isaiah, or the historic value of Jeremiah that is at stake, but the validity of the authority to which they laid claim, or which has been ascribed to them, because if this rests on a merely human basis which in the case of Isaiah is asserted to be entirely false, then the place assumed for and assigned to them in the New Testament, is altogether wrong. For with the credit claimed for them by the New Testament writers goes also their own credit as guides for us. They reverently bowed to authority which we cannot accept. They regarded their language as we have learnt not to regard it. And what is to be the end? The mission of Christ is largely coloured by the mistakes and misrepresentations of His disciples. We occupy a vantage ground which was denied to them. We understand Isaiah better than Paul or John did, and though we do not know who

Digitized by Google

wrote words ascribed to him by Paul and Christ, we know at least that he did not. And great indeed is the gain! for the Bible becomes less and less the word of God, and more and more the word of man—indeed, it is impossible to distinguish the one from the other. And with the non-human and extra-human origin and authority of the Scriptures of the Old Testament and the New—for the New perishes if the Old is destroyed—goes also the edifice of non-natural and superhuman fact to which both alike bear witness. The ethical basis of the Gospel is closely connected with its framework of supernatural fact. The two cannot be separated. Our Lord laid down His life in attestation of His claim to be the Christ. After His resurrection He claimed that the things written concerning Him in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, must needs have been fulfilled. If such things were written, they were not written by men who spake casually, but as they were borne along by the Holy Ghost. There is no advantage, therefore, in minimizing the effect of this operation. We do not get nearer to its original source by groping about the indications of human authorship. The spirit that spake by the Prophets and Apostles is different in degree if not in kind from that which has spoken before or after Christ. The Christian Church can show nothing to compete with it at least in authority. Why is this? Because an agency manifested itself which it is not the province of science to define, however eagerly it may aspire to do so. Consequently, in order to estimate this agency aright and to come under the influence of it, we must divest ourselves of the human and the earthly, as in every approach to God that which is our own must be abandoned. There are many remarks in the last pages of Dr. Briggs which we would gladly adopt, especially as when he finely says that 'the student of Scripture should be bathed in prayer' (p. 662).

It may be hoped that such 'hallowing of criticism,' if honestly and earnestly exercised, may have a moderating and corrective influence on the recklessness and confidence with which many of the advocates of the Higher Criticism pursue their inquiries, for not otherwise, with all due allowance for the zeal and learning of Dr. Briggs, do we understand how the Sacred Scriptures can rightly be regarded as the Word of God, or that, without withdrawing what we have already professed to believe, to him or anyone else the Bible can continue to be the Holy Scripture.

The difficulty which confronts the reviewer in dealing with this book is the extent of the ground that it covers.

Digitized by Google

Beginning with the advantages of the study of Holy Scripture, it deals especially with the literature and languages of the Bible, with the criticism and Canon, the history and criticism of the Canon, the history of the text, the translations of the Bible, the criticism of the text, the structure of the prose and poetry, ending with the credibility and truthfulness of Scripture and the use of it as a means of grace. It were hard, indeed, if in the treatment of all this range of subjects there were not much that is of real and permanent value, and much that will fulfil the endeavour of the writer to meet the want of the student. We have marked passage after passage for reference and quotation, but to deal adequately with all these would demand a volume rather than a review.

'Exegesis,' says the writer, 'does not start from the unity to investigate the variety, but from the variety to find the unity. It does not seek the author's view of the divine doctrine through an analysis of the writing, the chapter, the verse, down to the word; but, inversely, it starts with the word and the clause, pursuing its way through the verse, paragraph, section, chapter, writing, collection of writings, the entire "Bible," until the whole word of God is displayed before the mind from the summit that has been attained after a long and arduous climbing. Thus the study of Holy Scripture is altogether scientific; its premises and materials are no less clear and tangible than those with which any other science has to do, and its results are vastly more important than those of all other sciences combined, for they concern our salvation and everlasting welfare' (pp. 16, 17).

This is all very well, but everything depends upon the conception and the meaning of science. It is clearly not mathematical science; and then, if science is based on the induction of facts, two things are indispensable: one is that the facts should be thoroughly well ascertained, and the other is that they should be sufficiently broad to bear the induction. Now we must hesitate to place certain hypotheses, *e.g.* about Micah, Isaiah and the rest, in the category of ascertained facts, and therefore rightly decline to accept the induction built upon them. One needs only to compare the first and latest lucubrations of Mr. Cheyne, for instance, on Isaiah, to be fully justified in refusing to accept his results. Stated generally, there is, perhaps, little objection to be taken to these remarks of Dr. Briggs, but the difficulty arises in the application of the principles as stated. We absolutely deny the general claim of the Higher Criticism to rank as a science in the sense assumed. And when one knows the uncertainty that must always attach to the poems of Homer and to the authorship

Digitized by Google

of sundry plays of Shakespeare, it is vain to boast in the confident and certain way that Dr. Briggs and his fellows are wont to do. No one desires to forbid them the right to speculate as widely as they like, but the right to demur to their so-called results must be allowed also to those who would criticize them. Moreover, it must always be borne in mind that there is a certain weight of traditional and external testimony which ranks in the category of positive evidence which must be fairly dealt with and not merely brushed aside in favour of that which is merely hypothetical and purely subjective. Dr. Briggs is a great analyst. He divides Biblical exegesis, itself belonging to 'the Introductory department of *Biblical Hermeneutics*,' into Grammatical Exegesis, Logical and Rhetorical Exegesis, Historical Exegesis, comparative Exegesis; Literary Exegesis, Doctrinal and Practical Exegesis, and having gone so far in his analysis one is surprised that he is content to go no further.

'A scientific Biblical study,' thus conducted, he says, 'under the guidance of the Holy Spirit will ere long remove the clouds of prejudice and bigotry which envelop the battle of the sects and enable all men to see the Truth, the entire Truth of God, in all its wondrous simplicity, beauty, grandeur and glory. Biblical science in its warfare with error and bigotry uses smokeless powder, and all its aims and their results are in the clear light of heaven and open to the vision of the entire world' (p. 41).

If all history is to be dealt with according to the requirements of subjective analysis there is an end to the credibility of every record that was ever made, whether that of Joseph, the Exodus, or, as Whately shows, of the career of Napoleon.

'It is distressing,' says Dr. Briggs, 'to part with the sweet stories which have been told us in our early life, and which have been handed down by the romancers from the childhood and youth of our race. We may still use them as stories, as products of the imagination, but we dare not build on them as historic verities. As men we must know the truth. We cannot afford to deceive ourselves or others. Many of these legends and traditions have strongly intrenched themselves and lie like solid rocks in the path of historic investigation. They must be exploded to get at the truth; and this cannot be done without noise and confusion and outcries of alarm from the weak and timid, and those who are interested in the maintenance of error and court popularity by an appeal to prejudices' (p. 85).

It seems difficult to say what narrative is safe that is approached in this spirit. Whether that of the Gospels or the Acts, there is ample material for criticism in either, and

Digitized by Google

if that only is to be accepted which is absolutely secure from such treatment, our repertory will be small indeed. Dr. Briggs mentions four canons by which the Higher Criticism determines the credibility of writings. These are:

1. The writing must be in accordance with its supposed historic position as to time and place and circumstances.

2. Differences of style imply differences of experience and age of the same author; or when sufficiently great, differences of author and of period of composition.

3. Differences of opinion and conception imply differences of author when these are sufficiently great, and also differences of period of composition.

4. Citations show the dependence of the author upon the author or authors cited, when these are definite and the identity of the author cited can be clearly established.

It is at once evident that these canons are in themselves unexceptionable, but much depends upon the way in which they are applied and upon the judgment with which inferences are drawn from them. It is also to be borne in mind that in many cases they are inapplicable to several of the Scripture documents in consequence of our entire ignorance of the conditions required and involved before they can be applied. What, for example, do we know about Joel or Josiah apart from the premises with which we start? And those in the case of Joel, at least, have led critics to diametrically opposite conclusions. Surely Dr. Briggs is over sanguine when he anticipates unanimity as the final outcome of *his* application of the Higher Criticism. Nor is it easy to see what his theory of the Canon is. He appeals to the statement of the Westminster Confession: 'The authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the teaching of any man or Church, but wholly upon God (who is truth itself) the author thereof; and therefore it is to be received because it is the word of God.'

'This principle,' says Dr. Briggs, 'of establishing the Canon lifts it above mere ecclesiastical authority, far above the speculations of dogmaticians and fluctuating traditions, and builds it on the rock summit of the authority of God Himself. It was ever the internal divine evidence and the holy character of Holy Scriptures that persuaded the ancients of their canonicity, and these evidences have persuaded devout souls in all times. But some say: "You are giving every man the right to make his own Bible." Not so; criticism takes from every denomination of Christians, and from tradition and from the theologians their spurious claims to determine the Canon of Holy Scripture for all men; but it does not give that authority to any individual man. It puts the authority to determine His Holy Word

Digitized by Google

in God Himself. It teaches us to look for the divine evidence in the Holy Scriptures themselves,' &c. (p. 161).

One does not see what is to prevent Dr. Briggs and the critics being included in this enumeration, but if so the assertion falls to the ground and leaves us where we were. What about such books as Daniel and Jonah? The critics reject them, but there are not a few, scholars and others, to whom these books speak, not only with the very voice of God Himself, but also with certain cogent reasonings of another kind which carry conviction to those who are content with a balance of probability, and prefer that to a conclusion which rests entirely on hypothesis. To us it seems that the criteria of Dr. Briggs are worth nothing, because they appeal only to the subjective judgment of the individual, which will vary in every individual case. To one the Bible itself and every part of it will be the Word of God; to another it will be only a mass of puerile conceits and myths and fictions. The test is an absolutely subjective one, which appeals only to the subject, and despairs of making good its claim to any but those who swallow the premises and accept the conclusions drawn from them. Surely those who are prepared to accept the divine authority of Holy Scripture must demur to much that Dr. Briggs tells us of the Scriptures which he calls Holy, or else the word is altogether a misnomer. 'If men are not won by the holy character of the biblical books, it must be because for some reason their eyes have been withheld from seeing it.' Precisely so. But what if much of what boasts itself as Higher Criticism is exactly that which is absolutely fatal to their seeing it? The brief which he holds for the Higher Criticism is self-contradictory or fatal to the authority of Scripture. In fact, much of the argument of Dr. Briggs proceeds on the assumption that there is no halting-place between a blind and undiscriminating Bibliolatry and the unconditional acceptance of any assertions, however vague or extreme, which shelter themselves behind the name of Higher Criticism.

No one desires to take exception to many of the general principles enunciated by Dr. Briggs; the only question is the method of their application and the conclusions they are advanced to support. For example, he is at great pains to observe that what he calls the inspiration of a book does not depend upon the truth with which it is ascribed to a particular author. And consequently if every one of the Gospels was by an unknown author, or, by parity of reasoning, any of St. Paul's Epistles were not by him, the

Digitized by Google

authority in every case would be the same, because they would all speak for themselves as divine documents. This seems to be a legitimate statement of his position. Its defectiveness, however, is apparent in this. An Epistle of St. Paul *not* by him would not have the authority of St. Paul ; it would be of the less value because it had not ; it might conceivably inculate something of which St. Paul would have disapproved ; it cannot be therefore an immaterial point whether or not it is St. Paul's, and if not being St. Paul's, it bears his name, that would be absolutely fatal to any authority it might claim as being his. In like manner with regard to the Synoptic Gospels everything depends, not indeed upon the correctness with which they have been ascribed to their several writers, but upon the credit they possess as being the work of competent and trustworthy witnesses. But if St. John's Gospel, which claims to be by him, is not his (and Dr. Briggs speaks, p. 269, of *the editor of the original John*, which goes a long way towards negativing his authority), then there is an end to all its authority as being the testimony of an eye-witness except so much as we please arbitrarily still to assign to him, which may be anything or nothing. It cannot, therefore, be a matter of indifference whether or not he wrote the Gospel as we have it. This is not a question of inspiration, but of the genuineness of a certain work which must inevitably involve the question of its authority and general trustworthiness.

In like manner with regard to the prophecies assigned to Isaiah : supposing them to be genuine *as they profess to be*, they manifestly have the authority which the sixth chapter leads us to ascribe to them ; but if they have been so carelessly edited as the critics assume, or so ignorantly put together that documents separated by centuries have all been tacked on to a bare nucleus of Isaiah's writings, and the thirteenth chapter especially, wrongly, not to say fraudulently, inscribed with his name—for it is hard to see how this can otherwise be accounted for—then it is clear that the spurious chapters are not only deprived of his authority, but whatever authority they may have of themselves is depreciated by their mistaken assignment to him ; and inasmuch as nothing is known of their writer, they come before us as indifferent writings of no more authority than they incidentally derive from the fact that some unknown person or persons ascribed them by design or mistake to a person whose authority is unquestioned. It is therefore perfectly absurd to say that it matters not whether such or such a book was or was not written by its alleged author, because this must depend upon the amount of

Digitized by Google

authority due to that author and the correctness or incorrectness with which it is ascribed to him. It is a matter of merely literary interest who wrote the letters of Junius, because nobody ever knew by whom they were written, and Junius is only another name for the letters themselves, which have nothing but their own authority and not the authority of Junius. But if anyone were to publish letters now purporting to be by the same author as those of Junius, all the authority or interest they could have would depend solely upon the success with which they could or could not make good their claim to be written by the same author as the letters of Junius, even if it still remained unknown who Junius was. And it is not very different with the writings ascribed to Isaiah which it is asserted do not belong to him ; for being confessedly by an unknown writer, the only authority they have is that which whether by accident or design they derive from being associated with him.

Now, on the supposition that they are predictive prophecies, it is certain that they could not have become so associated, whether by accident or design, except in the belief that it was the function of the prophet to utter such predictions. But, it is just this function which is by the critics denied to prophecy. If, on the other hand, these so-called spurious writings of Isaiah were attributed to him because they were ignorantly supposed to be his, then the authority they possess is that only of the persons who so attributed them *plus* the authority of their unknown author or authors, which may or may not be *nil.* At all events, all their *authority* is derived from the fact of their being gathered together—how, we know not—into the collection of Isaiah's writings. Their authority, therefore, as regards its origin, is purely human, and involves an error of ignorance, carelessness, or judgment. Clearly, therefore, the authority of a book is not independent of the name of the person to whom it is ascribed—that is to say, it is not a matter of no importance whether a book is genuine or spurious. What is the value of any one of the plays of Shakespeare when it is shown to a reasonable degree of certainty that it is not by him ? But in the case of Scriptures, which are comparatively worthless if they do not contain a divine revelation, all their claim to such a revelation vanishes when it is found that their credentials fail, as is obviously the case with the writings of Isaiah which are not his. For they come to us with the credit of his name and can show no other except that which is fraudulent or mistaken. Now, the theory of Dr. Briggs,

Digitized by Google

Professor Ryle and others appears to be that the only authority of the Old Testament Scriptures is the consensus of the Jewish Church in addition to any intrinsic value they may have of a moral or spiritual kind. But this consensus of the Jewish Church is, on their own showing, greatly at fault; in fact, in many respects their own opinion is directly counter to it. There remains, therefore, nothing but such moral and spiritual value as they may think fit to assign to the Old Testament Scriptures, which, as Dr. Briggs allows, can only reach those whom it reaches. Now, the question is whether this is or is not the *ultima ratio* of Scriptures which manifestly profess to record circumstances which they interpret as significant of a special Divine message. Because if their message is Divine and they are charged with it, that is a fact altogether independent of their inherent moral or spiritual value, and likewise of any consensus of human opinion about it. For instance, what about the authority of the Book of Genesis as to the origin of the Hebrew Church? Is it veracious or mythical? Is it historically trustworthy or not? If it is, then there must be sufficient evidence to warrant our accepting it as such. But what is this evidence? The consensus of the Jewish Church. Doubtless; but that consensus carries with it the Mosaic authorship which the critics reject. Consequently that alone can be worth little. But there is something besides the consensus of the Jewish Church, and that is the witness of the Jewish literature from beginning to end. Take away, for instance, the substantive truth of the history of the Patriarchs and the whole of that literature is left without any foundation to rest upon. In fact, it would be as if the Christian literature were left without the foundation of the Gospel history. And in such a case it would be idle to talk of revelation or inspiration or anything of the kind, for it would be a question of truth or falsehood, history or myth, and of nothing else.

Now, with regard to Genesis, it is true that we do not know who wrote it; nor is this of vital consequence, inasmuch as the book is absolutely silent as to its own authorship, or at all events its own author. Here, therefore, arises the crucial question of authority. On whose authority do we accept Genesis? Clearly on that of the Jewish Church, but likewise on the uniform testimony of all the literature, which is something vastly more than the consensus of the Jewish Church, which the critics regard as worthless, so far as the Pentateuch is concerned. We might therefore challenge Dr. Briggs to say how he knows Genesis to be

Digitized by Google

true, and if not true what is its value. Now the traditional position is that Moses must have been ultimately responsible for Genesis. Whatever documents or records he may have had access to, his whole work, so far as we historically know it, cannot be explained or accounted for except on the supposition that both he and his people were as well acquainted with the narrative of Genesis as we are. This can be proved to demonstration unless the historic value of the narrative of the Exodus is ruthlessly denied, for the whole subsequent history can only be explained on the supposition that the Genesis narrative is true. But if this narrative is *true*, and only true, then God spake with and gave promises to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and if this was so, the record of these communications becomes invaluable. There is no need to talk of their being inspired. The question of questions is, Are they sufficiently true for us to trust them? because, if so, they must in a certain sense and to a certain degree be inspired. In what sense and to what degree it matters not: they do contain a veritable communication from God, and this, not because the Jewish Church said they did, nor because Moses wrote them—which he may or may not have done—but simply because the whole course of circumstances, the nature of the history, and the witness of the literature, shut us up to no other possible conclusion. Thus the Church, whether Jewish or Christian, is a witness and keeper of Holy Writ. She does not create the Scriptures, but they are the record of her own origin and creation. God spake to Abraham, and the voice of God called Abraham out of Chaldæa. He did not imagine that Divine voice, nor create his creator, but he obeyed the voice with the consequence and result that is recorded. The only question is, Is the record true? The critics do not help us to decide that, except in the negative, nor tell us on what principles it is to be decided otherwise, unless on those of simple faith; nor does Dr. Briggs tell us how else we are to know it to be the word of God. There can be no question, however, that if it is not true, and if it has no other authority than that of an unknown and unauthorized writer, it has no valid claim to be the Word of God.

Dr. Briggs is very careful to distinguish between the adoption of a false name and forgery. 'Why should the pseudonym be banished from the Bible?' he asks (p. 324); but adds on the next page:

'All would admit that no forger or forgery could be inspired. But that everyone who writes a pseudonyme is a deceiver or forger is

Digitized by Google

absurd. The usage of literature, ancient and modern, has established its propriety. If it claims to be by a particular author, and is said by a critic to be a pseudonyme, then its credibility is attacked and the question of its inspiration is raised. In the New Testament the Gospel of St. John was thought by some to be a pseudonyme of the second Christian century, but this has been entirely disproved.'

Now, here there is a confusion between the practice of pseudonymous writing and forgery. The two things are distinct. The Waverley novels were not falsely named as being by the author of *Waverley*. But a book that is falsely named and claims to be by one who did not write it is *ipso facto* a forgery, as the *Epistles of Phalaris*; and a book that has internal marks of being by a certain writer which are apparent indications of its being that writer, and are intended to suggest that it is by no one else, courts public attention under false colours, and may or may not be called a *forgery* according to the importance of the issues depending upon it. For instance, nothing depends upon the so-called 'Wisdom of Solomon' being by him, inasmuch as it does not even mention his name or claim to be written by him, and it owes its claim, such as it is, simply to those, whoever they were, that called it the 'Wisdom of Solomon'; but the Gospel of St. John distinctly claims to be written by him, as does the Book of Deuteronomy by Moses: and very important issues depend upon the correctness, with or without which they make this claim or appear to make it, and consequently though some would call the 'Wisdom of Solomon' a forgery, under the circumstances it would be impossible to call Deuteronomy or St. John anything else. Nor is it possible that in either case the claim to have been written by Moses or St. John could have been advanced for any other purpose than to gain that recognition to which they were not entitled, and which otherwise they would not have gained. This is the difference between a pseudonym and a forgery, and Dr. Briggs is in error in endeavouring to apologize for the one by suggesting that it may be covered by the other. To show how completely this is the case, 'It is now conceded by scholars that Ecclesiastes is such a pseudonyme, using Solomon's name,' says Dr. Briggs (p. 324), forgetting altogether that the writer nowhere uses it.

As a specimen of the random conjectures which this strenuous advocate of the Critics is willing to adopt, even in regard to the New Testament, we may take the following:

'The Book of Acts is a compilation, using a Hebraic narrative of the early Jerusalem Church, and the "We" narrative of a co-

Digitized by Google

traveller with Paul and probably other sources. The Gospel of John is also partly a compilation, using an earlier Gospel of John in the Hebrew language, and the Hymn to the Logos in the Prologue. The Apocalypse is a compilation of a number of apocalypses of different dates. The Book of Daniel is a compilation in two parts—the one giving stories relating to Daniel, the other visions and dreams of Daniel. It is written in two different languages—the Hebrew and the Aramaic' (p. 327).

This is, indeed, a rough and ready way of settling such questions. The only consolation is that the very extravagance of the method adopted is the best guarantee that the *settlement* will not be permanent. It seems to us that Dr. Briggs greatly strains and overstates his case when he puts it as he does:

'If we regard the last chapter of Romans as not in the original autograph of the Epistle to the Romans, does this remove it from the Canon of inerrant, inspired Scripture? And what shall we say of the difference between the Hebrew and Greek Bibles? If we compare the Greek version with the Hebrew text of the writings, it is evident that editors and scribes have been at work subsequent to the time when the translations were made of the texts upon which the one or the other of these original authorities rely. The additions to Daniel, Esther, and Ezra in the Greek version show the work of editors and scribes upon these books. There are also serious differences in Jeremiah, the Psalter and the Book of Proverbs. Even in the Pentateuch the arrangement of the material is different. If we maintain that in all cases the Hebrew text should be followed, and the work of the scribes upon the Hebrew manuscripts which underlie the Greek text should be rejected, we are met with the use of the Greek text by the Apostles in the New Testament and by the Christian Fathers in the sub-apostolic age. But what shall we say of the editors and scribes who have made the editorial changes which may be traced in the Hebrew text itself? Can we fix a time when the Divine Spirit ceased to guide the sacred scribes who edited and re-edited, arranged and rearranged the writings of the Old Testament? Will it be necessary to eliminate all the editorial additions and glosses, readjust all the transpositions, correct all the mistakes, and return the text to the exact original before we get at the original inerrant Scripture? When anyone gives his serious attention to the practical work of criticism, as it has been described in the pages of this book, he will see in what an untenable position he involves himself by recognizing errors in all documents accessible to us, and by insisting solely and alone upon the inerrancy of the original autographs. In point of fact, as regards the greater part of the writings of Holy Scripture, it may be said that the original autographs, as they "came from them to whom and through whom God originally communicated his revelation," were not the ones which were recognized by the Church as inspired and canonical; but the Jews and

Digitized by Google

the Christians alike recognized rather the documents as they came from the hands of later editors at many stages of removal from the original autographs' (p. 619).

Now there runs through this paragraph the assumption that the opponents of the extreme critical position and the so-called results of extreme criticism are pledged to maintain the absolute inerrancy of some particular form of Scripture, and that the discovery of this particular inerrant form is incumbent upon them in order to establish the validity of their position. But in neither particular is this the case. We do not believe that God has so linked His revelation to the words of any book as that the reality of it must stand or fall with the preservation of that book from all the accidents of transcription and from every occurrence of minute error. God's revelation has been given in fact and history. The contention with those who call themselves Higher Critics lies rather in this, that they have thrown so much doubt on the historic credibility and the facts of Scripture as to make uncertain and insecure the witness of Scripture to the very facts and framework of revelation. That this is the case is manifest and notorious, and we join issue with them just here and say: If your results are such as you allege them to be, then they are fatal not only to the inerrancy of Scripture, which we are by no means careful to maintain, but also to the certainty of the revelation itself, whether that depends upon the Divine authority of the Mosaic Law or upon the resurrection of Jesus Christ; and, therefore, inasmuch as we utterly refuse to accept these results, we not unnaturally call in question the principles which have led to them; and when we come to investigate and examine them *critically* we find that they rest so largely upon hypothesis and conjecture as to be destitute of valid ground for accepting them. As this is a matter of detail, it can only be dealt with in detail to be made apparent, and that would require the argument to be extended over the whole of Scripture: but enough possibly has been said to indicate the nature of the contention, and the decision of the question depends so much upon *a priori* considerations as to the true character of revelation and as to the relation of the Holy Scripture to it that we may leave the detailed discussion of it with the less anxiety and concern, as not really essential to the more important question which has first to be determined, and that is whether or not God has spoken to man, and if so where is the record of His communication to be found, and is it in itself sufficiently certain and substantial for us to trust in it.

Digitized by Google

As an instance of the method referred to we also take this: Pseudonymous literature was common among the ancients, is common among ourselves; *therefore* we may assume that it was not unknown to the Hebrews; *therefore* we may take Ecclesiastes as an undoubted instance, and may not hesitate to affirm the same for Deuteronomy, Daniel, certain of the prophets, and even the Gospel of St. John itself. But it is patent to everyone that the assumption here is hypothetical, and that even if it is allowed, the several *therefores* do not necessarily follow, but must each be examined on its own merits and determined accordingly. Besides, it is a very far cry from the assumption of anonymous literature to the assertion that the narrative in 2 Kings xxii. proves that Deuteronomy was a 'literary fiction' of the time of Manasseh and Josiah. In all their statements, and in the attitude of the Higher Critics generally, there is nothing more conspicuous than their sublime unconsciousness of a *non sequitur*. Most truly it may be said of them that they do not understand the meaning of the word *therefore*, and Dr. Briggs is no exception, but in him the unconsciousness of the necessary connexion between premises and conclusions is coupled with a corresponding inability to see that his own conclusion is inconsistent with if not absolutely fatal to the principles which he advocates. For he professes his acceptance of Scripture as something Holy, and therefore we may suppose *sui generis*, and yet he deals with it in such a way as effectually to destroy its authority, except where he is willing to admit it. How he proposes to bring home that authority to those who are equally prepared to question it, he does not condescend to tell us. We may presume that neither Daniel nor Deuteronomy comes with this authority to him, though our Lord was content to rest on the latter as the written word of God in his conflict with his adversary. It were amusing if it were not painful to read his remarks on a cognate matter:

'A careful study of all the ethical passages of the Old Testament convinces me that there is an entire absence of censure of the sin of falsehood until after the exile. [Observe here the unsustained assumption of the late date of certain parts of Scripture.] The sin of false-witnessing is condemned in the Tables; and also the sin of falsehood, so far as it is connected with robbery and murder, is frequently and severely scourged in the prophets. But they seem to know nothing of the sin of speaking lies as such. What is the evidence from their silence? They were altogether unconscious of its sinfulness. The ruling men did not hesitate to lie whenever they had a good object in view, and they showed no consciousness of sin in it;

Digitized by Google

and the writers who tell of their lies are as innocent as they. The evidence from this silence is that the Hebrews did not in their ethical development reach the understanding of the sin of lying until after the return from exile, and then largely under the influence of Persian ethics, which from the earliest times made truth-speaking essential to good morals. These are examples of the method by which the evidences of the Higher Criticism may be applied to Holy Scripture' (p. 308).

In view of the disintegrating process which is so recklessly applied to the literature of the Bible, it is as well to bear in mind that it is still possible to approach the study of it on other principles, and with very substantial and satisfactory results. This is not the place to enter into these, but there is a certain witness of history to Scripture which even the Higher Criticism cannot touch, and there is a certain witness of Scripture to itself, and of one part of Scripture to another, which is also proof against criticism until the witness of Scripture is found to be false witness; and the result of this constructive process on the unbiassed mind is to establish on a sufficiently sound basis the position that we have a written record of a message from God which is sufficiently clear and definite, notwithstanding all the accidents of translation, transcription, and the like, to commend itself to the believing mind of the child of God as the voice of his Father in Heaven. We are quite willing to allow criticism to go on its own way untrammelled and unhindered, and we are by no means disposed to grudge it its well-ascertained results; but we have a right to demand that they shall rest upon something more certain than the mere *ipse dixit* of a self-satisfied and over-confident person who calls himself a Higher Critic, and we will reserve to ourselves the right to determine whether given conclusions do follow necessarily from assumed or even allowed premises; whether every alleged *therefore* does follow from the *because* asserted; and whether, after all said and written and supposed to be proved, it is not Q. E. F. that has to be subscribed rather than Q. E. D. at the end of the process.

The Word of God is, after all, quick and powerful, and, being sharper than any two-edged sword, it may wound and wound fatally those who wield it unskilfully and use it for an illegitimate purpose. In groping about the roots of the Tree of Life with the intent of discovering its origin and laying bare the secret of its growth, we may do that which will injure ourselves, and spend our labour for that which does not profit, inasmuch as it is the leaves of the tree which are for the

Digitized by Google

healing of the nations, and its fruit that can alone sustain us. To know that God is true, and that His Word endureth for ever, is something more than to know what was the actual origin of Genesis, which is no less impossible than needless, and which in any case is not to be confounded with the belief, however confident, that we have discovered it.

ART. IV.—WEST AFRICAN PROBLEMS.

West African Studies. By MARY H. KINGSLEY, author of *Travels in West Africa.* With Illustrations and Maps. (London, 1899.)

IT is not a little refreshing to meet with a writer at once so well equipped and so original as Miss Mary H. Kingsley shows herself in her *West African Studies.* The subject to which she has devoted so much and such well directed pains, despite its inherent importance, is not one that would be expected to present any special attractiveness to a female traveller; but Mrs. Bishop has taught us that the energy and courage of women are not one whit inferior to those of men in the exploration of difficult and uncivilised regions, and Miss Kingsley's scientific ardour has carried her successfully through all impediments. We who live at home at ease can only read with profound gratitude and with unfeigned admiration the record of adventures in that deadly climate calmly faced by one who describes herself 'as ever the prey of frights, worries, and alarms,' who with unaffected modesty arrogates the place of one 'of the brickmakers of science,' and who bewails her inability to show us anything clearly and neatly, owing to her bad manner of expression.

On this last point we may assure Miss Kingsley that she need have no misgiving. Whatever difficulty she may experience in putting her thoughts into words, it is well to remember that so-called easy writing often makes very hard reading. We have too frequently to mark the lack of force, the shallowness of thought, the partial knowledge with which books of travel are written, not to welcome cordially a work that teems with thought and displays on every page a mastery of its subject. Under such conditions we are supremely indifferent to occasional ruggedness, relieved as it is constantly in these *West African Studies* by a humour which is somewhat exuberant. Miss Kingsley, like other

Digitized by Google

writers, has the defects of her qualities, and in her efforts to reproduce life on the West Coast she at times allows her pen to indulge in unnecessary repetition of such coarseness of language as is a real blemish in her sparkling and most interesting volume.

To our thinking it needs a soul cast in a heroic mould to face the daily horrors of sojourn on the West African coast. The first and a highly effective deterrent is presented by the bare thought of a voyage to that fever-stricken region in a trading steamer, crammed with cargo, its saloon shared with West African merchants, who are eloquent on the dangers which the inexperienced visitor will shortly be called to incur, and whose talk varies from perils on land to those to be encountered amongst the breakers that fringe the coast. 'Do you get anything else but fever?' asks a new-comer nervously. 'Hav'n't time, as a rule, but I have known some fellows get kraw-kraw.' 'And the Portuguese itch, abscesses, ulcers, the Guinea worm, and the small-pox,' chimes in a chorus of voices. To the inexperienced what a spectre of horrors is suggested by congratulation on the possession of a dress suit of clothes as being constantly in requisition for funerals, followed by cheering reminiscences of first one comrade and then another who had been 'pegged out' and buried. Then come the delights of insect pests—clouds of mosquitoes, black beetles so tall that they can stand on their hind legs and drink out of a quart pot, scorpions and centipedes of exceptional malignity, huge dragon-flies that swish you in the face as you sit at dinner, and minute sandy-coloured ants that come in swarms and bite and burrow into your flesh and leave their offspring in the wound to keep up the conflict, culminating in the Driver ant, whose invasion is terrible enough to empty an African village, and on whose entrance into a hut the inmates fly, leaving all that is most precious behind them. To such perils by land the coaster adds the discomforts experienced on board during the rainy season with the occasional interlude of a tornado, and even then the picture is far from complete. How some vegetable life contrives to survive in the struggle for existence thus inaugurated is described by Miss Kingsley in a very interesting page:

'It is a very fascinating thing,' she writes, 'to see the strange devices employed by many kinds of young seedlings and saplings to keep off these evidently unpopular tenants. They chiefly consist in having a sheath of exceedingly slippery surface round the lower part of the stem, which the ants slide off when they attempt to climb. I

Digitized by Google

used to spend hours watching these affairs. You would see an ant dash for one of these protected stems as if he were a City man and his morning train on the point of starting from the top of the plant's stem. He would get up half an inch or so because of the dust round the bottom helping him a bit, then, getting no holding-ground, off he would slip and, falling on his back, desperately kick himself right side up, and go at it again as if he had heard the bell go, only to meet with a similar rebuff. . . . Some plants don't mind ants knocking about among the grown-up leaves, but will not have them with the infants, and so cover their young stuff with a fur or down, wherewith the ant can do nothing. Others, again, keep him and feed him with sweetstuff, so that he should keep off other enemies from its fruit, &c. But I have not space to sing in full the high intelligence of West African vegetation, and I am no botanist; yet one cannot avoid being struck by it, it is so manifold and masterly' (pp. 32, 33).

The reader will not fail to notice here as elsewhere the attribution of design and purpose to the vegetable creation and the studied abstinence of all reference to that Higher Power which is before all things, and through Whom all things consist.

The first four chapters of Miss Kingsley's *Studies* are descriptive of the country and of the manners and customs of its inhabitants, and her genius displays itself in the living interest with which she invests each of the many and varied topics she handles. The secret of her success as a writer lies in her whole-hearted devotion to her subject, which concentrates her entire attention upon each particular as it comes under review. Never was there a better illustration of the familiar maxim 'Si vis me flere, &c.' Whether Miss Kingsley is treating of the natural products of the country, or the different tribes upon the West African coast, or the strange fishes and the native fashions of catching them, or the dangers of sunken reefs on which so many ships have foundered, or even so commonplace a topic as the loading huge logs of teak, she carries her readers with her by the sheer force of her own sense of the importance of the matter in hand, and her consequent carefulness and accuracy of observation; and to this is added no ordinary power of humour and description. Miss Kingsley is, moreover, a true scientist, and is not afraid in the fulness of her knowledge to confess her ignorance where she has not collected sufficient data on which to base a decision. Her transparent honesty of mind commands our confidence even when we cannot unreservedly accept her conclusions.

How seriously the inevitable discomforts attendant upon

Digitized by Google

a voyage along the West African coast are aggravated when the traveller is overtaken by the wet season is vividly portrayed in the following paragraph, which we quote as an admirable example of descriptive power:

'After we passed Cape Verde we ran into the West African wet season rain sheet. There ought to be some other word than rain for that sort of thing. We have to stiffen this poor substantive up with adjectives, even for use with our own thunderstorms, and as is the morning dew to our heaviest thunder "torrential downpour of rain," so is that to the rain of the wet season in West Africa. For weeks it came down on us that voyage in one swishing, rushing cataract of water. The interspaces between the pipes of water—for it did not go into details with drops—were filled with grey mist, and as this rain struck the sea it kicked up such a water dust that you saw not the surface of the sea round you, but only a mist sea gliding by. It seemed as though we had left the clear cut world and entered into a mist universe. Sky, air, and sea were all the same, as our vessel swept on in one plane, just because she capriciously preferred it. Many days we could not see twenty yards from the ship. Once or twice another vessel would come out of the mist ahead, slogging past us into the mist behind, visible in our little water world for a few minutes only as a misty thing, and then we leisurely tramped on alone "o'er the viewless, hueless deep," with our horizon alongside. If you cleared your mind of all prejudice the thing was really not uncomfortable, and it seemed restful to the mind' (pp. 24, 25).

We are compelled to resist the temptation to indulge in further quotation from Miss Kingsley's chapters on Sierra Leone and its surroundings and on African characteristics. We have vivid glimpses of the rough life spent by buccaneers on the coast a century and a-half ago, as well as of contemporary manners and customs at the capital city of Freetown, where, on market days, 'there is more noise to the square inch than in most things,' which grows to an entire compound yell on the visit of a swarm of locusts. We have experience of perils incurred amongst the shoals of St. Ann (a danger anticipated by the authoress, whose scientific training had taught her to associate red velvet slippers worn by the chief officers with exceptional terrors), and of the cheerful assurances of the older traders that they were all as good as lost. As yet no trustworthy chart can indicate the position of every sunken rock and pinnacle, and perhaps none ever will, on a coast whose river mouths are barred by shifting sands and where the reefs beneath the surface rise and fall at the impulse of subaqueous volcanoes. The politics and the mistakes of Liberia, and the comparative excellencies of the African tribes, the noises of West Africa, animal and instrumental,

Digitized by Google

and the specific odours of that torrid zone, its joys and sorrows, and the more marked features of British commerce on the Gold Coast, all present occasions for lingering, which we must hurry past to glance at the chapter on fishing where Miss Kingsley is quite in her favourite element.

Let no ardent devotee of 'the gentle craft,' however, imagine that he will find in Miss Kingsley's volume a fitting supplement to that placid prose pastoral *The Complete Angler*. It would be impossible to picture a stronger contrast than that presented by the calm contemplatist who had the happiness to live in days when men had time to think, and the furious and fighting sport of our enthusiastic fisherwoman. We wonder what is the secret of the idiosyncrasy; is it transmitted by hereditary tendency or is it an as yet unaccountable variety, which, for some persons, invests with a fascination which will stand any climate or discomfort a form of occupation which presents no charm to others. To many of us nearly all the details of West African fishing would be irredeemably repellent—the risky canoes, the African fellow-voyagers, the dangerous sea-monsters, the stinking bait, and more than all the terrific stench of the seaboard mud, steaming with the odours of a tropical vegetation rotting in the glare of a tropical sun. None of these things deter the born sportsman, male or female, and under the conditions just described, 'with the surrounding atmosphere 45 per cent. mosquito,' we are told 'if you are fishing you will enjoy yourself.' Well, the standard of enjoyment is variable.

A special voyage to the Island of Corisco, to share in the annual fishing of its freshwater lakes by representative ladies from its several villages, brought with it imminent peril of being burned to death through the carelessness of a native in 'making a farm.' Some of the 'ladies' were severely scorched and used the most energetic language concerning that fool man and his female relations. The Corisco fishing was delayed until appropriate baskets had been manufactured, and was then carried out by driving the fish into them. From twelve to fifteen baskets is the average take, which, after division amongst the representative ladies, is followed 'the same evening by a tremendous fish supper, and the fish left over are smoked and carefully kept as a delicacy, to make sauce with &c., until the next year's fishing day comes round.' Occasionally the sport becomes highly exciting, as when a cat-fish with terrible spiny tail and fins is inadvertently landed into the canoe. Miss Kingsley's characteristic account of one such adventure is admirably vivid, but it is

Digitized by Google

too long for quotation *in extenso*, and would be spoiled by abbreviation.

Weird and queer are the methods employed for catching West African fishes, adapted as they are to the exceptional conditions of a coast amongst whose peculiarities are floating islands adorned with trees at the mouth of their vast rivers, which are utilized to supply tremendous catches. Weird and queer too are the fishes that haunt these tropical waters. Anywhere else one would dismiss as fabulous the story of a monster 'as big as a man, only thicker, which walks about on its fins in the forest at night'—a frequent subject of native conversation—but examples hardly less strange abound. There is the electrical fish, which sometimes kills a duck with its shock, and diminutive warrior fishes who will attack your hand when down in the water, and finding no fight in it, will take any food from it and swagger away with an air of conquest; and even singing fishes who upset all one's previous conceptions of ichthyology, and deprive the epithet of muteness of its classic suitability for the finny tribe. We can sympathize with the irritation caused by the Ning Ning, which comes beside the canoe at night just as you are falling asleep and rouses you with its idiotic and monotonous strumming, a creature gifted with powers of ventriloquism and pertinacity in equal proportions, which will neither be silenced nor driven away. This fresh water species is matched by the salt water drum-fish, with its 'bum-bum' note. The occupation of fisherman is held in low esteem, for in plain terms the African is a born thief, and employment carried on at night affords opportunity for stealing the missionary's ducks, or the merchant's goods, or the neighbour's plantains.

From fishes to fetish is not a very abrupt transition, as all living creatures and most dead objects besides afford occasion for Fetish, by which term Miss Kingsley means the religion of the natives of the Western Coast of Africa, and not the 'worship of a material object'—the accepted sense in which the word is used by comparative ethnologists. The whole subject of Fetish is difficult and complex, and with its allied topics of African medicine and witchery fills a most important section of Miss Kingsley's studies. It may seem presumptuous to attempt a definition of Fetish when so high an authority as the authoress admits 'it is far easier to state what Fetish is not, than to state what it is,' but from the very interesting details which she supplies we should venture to define it as a modified form of Pantheism in which the place

Digitized by Google

of the one God, whom Spinoza identified with the hard and unchangeable order of nature, is filled by a multitude of spirits and demons which pervade all the animate and inanimate world. But to the mind of the West African these spirits are very different, in their perpetual and practical power over the destiny of man, from those inflexible rules which, in Spinoza's system, are only another name for the eternal decrees of God. Innumerable and malignant as these spirits are they are yet to be successfully combated, needing for their effectual defeat a proportionate exercise of antagonistic influence, so that the demon who would not yield to the opposition of a private person may be conquered by the higher charms of a chieftain or a great witch doctor. The whole life of the West African is coloured by unceasing apprehension of these members of the spirit world who do not require of necessity a material object in which to manifest themselves. After nightfall, especially, those journeying on a forest path are the prey of alarming apparitions, calling for the most careful investigation to determine the exact nature of the visitant. Woe to the travellers who cannot discover any white ash left behind in the ghostly track! 'Unless the Fetish authorities in town chose to explain that it was merely a demand for so much calico, or a goat, &c., someone of the party will certainly get ill' (p. 117). How widely distributed this demonic force is held to be may be gathered from Miss Kingsley's quotation of the following lines, which she affirms to be magnificent Fetish:

> 'God of the granite and the rose,
> Soul of the lily and the bee,
> The mighty tide of being flows
> Through countless channels, Lord, from Thee.
> It springs to life in grass and flowers,
> Through every range of Being runs,
> And from Creation's mighty towers
> Its glory flames in stars and suns.'

It is only natural that with such a make of mind every form of disease should be attributed to supernatural malignity, and that the successful employment of European medicines should be promoted by a liberal infusion of Fetish; and we can only lament that Miss Kingsley does not give us in full, with her own indication of the analogy between the ideas of Goethe and the native philosophers, the conversation of the witch doctor, the gist of which she declares was Goethe's *Prometheus*. The African's sense of man's inferiority as compared with the Semitic conception of his place in Crea-

Digitized by Google

tion, and of the unwearied antagonism of the spirit world, may be largely due to the terrific natural phenomena by which he has been surrounded and the ease with which his wants are supplied; but how the bent of mind which his external conditions have helped to engender affects the African's view of Christianity is a subject of the deepest moment, on which all interested in missions will be anxious to hear Miss Kingsley's testimony.

'The more you know,' she writes, 'the African, the more you study his laws and institutions, the more you must recognize that the main characteristic of his intellect is logical, and you see how in all things he uses this absolutely sound but narrow thought-form. He is not a dreamer nor a doubter; everything is real, very real, horribly real to him. It is impossible for me to describe it clearly, but the quality of the African mind is strangely uniform. This may seem strange to those who read accounts of wild and awful ceremonials, or of the African's terror at white man's things; but I believe you will find all people experienced in dealing with uncultured Africans will tell you that this alarm and brief wave of curiosity is merely external, for the African knows, the moment he has time to think it over, what that white man's thing really is, namely, either a white man's Juju or a devil. It is this power of being able logically to account for everything that is, I believe, at the back of the tremendous permanency of Fetish in Africa, and the cause of many of the relapses into it by Africans converted to other religions: it is also the explanation of the fact that white men who live in districts where death and danger are everyday affairs, under a grim pall of boredom, are liable to believe in Fetish, though ashamed of so doing. For the African, whose mind has been soaked in Fetish during his early and most impressionable years, the voice of Fetish is almost irresistible when affliction comes on him. Sudden dangers or terror he can face with his new religion, because he is not quick at thinking. But give him time to think when under the hand of adversity, and the old explanation that answered it all comes back. I know no more distressing thing than to see an African convert brought face to face with that awful thing we are used to, the problem of an omnipotent God and a suffering world. This does not worry the African convert until it hits him personally in grief and misery. When it does, and he turns and calls upon the God he has been taught will listen, pity and answer, his use of what the scoffers at the converted African call "catch phrases" is horribly heartrending to me, for I know how real, terribly real, the whole thing is to him, and I therefore see the temptation to return to those old gods—gods from whom he never expected pity, presided over by a god that does not care. All that he had to do with them was not to irritate them, to propitiate them, to buy their services when wanted, and, above all, to dodge and avoid them, while he fought it out and managed devils at large. Risky work, but a man is as good as a devil any day if he only takes proper care; and even if any devil should take him unaware—kill him bodily—he

Digitized by Google

has the satisfaction of knowing that he will have the power of making it warm for that devil when they meet on the other side. There is something alluring in this, I think, to any make of human mind, but particularly so to the logical, intensely human one possessed by the West African. Therefore, when wearied and worn out by confronting things which he cannot reconcile, and disappointed by unanswered prayers, he turns back to his old belief entirely, or modifies the religion he has been taught until it fits in with Fetish, and is gradually absorbed by it' (pp. 124–6).

It is noteworthy that in the classification of spirits it is the lower orders only which require some material objects for their manifestation, and that the higher they rise in the scale the more absolutely are they independent of matter as the medium of their working; that the dreaded being, when incarnate, is conceived of as so putrefying on one side that the slightest contact with it may cause fatal disease; and that over all the hellish host there is one superior over-lord, who in epicurean fashion is benevolent and careless of mankind. These ideas suggest a resemblance to important elements of Christian teaching which the skilful missionary will not disregard. Are they not more than the pale shadow of the lofty truth that God is a spirit, who dwelleth not in temples made with hands, as though He needed anything; that our adversary the Devil as a roaring lion walketh about seeking whom he may devour; and that we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against spiritual wickedness in high places? Hardly less astounding as an anticipation of advanced scientific conviction is the lack of gaps to the African between the conception of spirit and matter: 'it is all an affair of grade—not of essential difference in essence.' And when we add to all this the testimony of the writer that the African—to use one of her own striking expressions (p. 128)—is not 'gaseous-minded all round,' and feels the prick of conscience even when he disobeys it, we cannot help feeling persuaded that it is no idle optimism to believe that the same Gospel which has 'apprehended' the negro in other districts will eventually gain the west coast of the Dark Continent for Christ.

The four several schools of Fetish which Miss Kingsley recognises among the West African negroes, with their different ideals of the chief good to be secured for man; the discussion of Fetish views of the state and condition of the human soul after death, which has caused the non-deification of ancestors, to the intense mortification, it would seem, of evolutionists who had proclaimed that animism is a necessary

Digitized by Google

link in the chain of human development; the belief in re-incarnation, in the hovering of the spirits of the departed about their old homes, in the help afforded by 'the well-disposed ones,' in the advantage to the dead of suitable burial, so that neglect of it is the most withering of reproaches; the importance to the dead of going to the under-world with all the pomp they had enjoyed here—a conviction which accounts for the horrible custom of human sacrifices at funerals, and in some degree qualifies their enormity; the singular superstitions about twins and infants born with ready-cut teeth; and more than all, the connection of Fetish and witchcraft—all these are attractive topics, to which we call the reader's attention as we pass from the consideration of Fetish with one more quotation in which Miss Kingsley gives her verdict on its character and working.

'I have dealt here with Fetish as far as the human being is concerned, because this phase may make it more comprehensible to my fellow white men who regard the human being as the main thing in the created universe; but I must beg you to remember that this idea of the importance of the human race is not held by the African. The individual is supremely important to himself, and he values his friends and relations, and so on, but abstract affection for humanity at large, or belief in the sanctity of the lives of people with whom he is unrelated and unacquainted, the African barely possesses. He is only capable of feeling this abstract affection when under the influence of one of the great revealed religions which place the human being higher in the scale of Creation. This comes from no cruelty of mind *per se*, but is the result of the hardness of the fight he has to fight against the world; and, possessing this view of the equal, if not greater, importance of many of the things he sees round him, the African conceives these things also have their fetish—a fetish on the same ground idea, but varying from human fetish. The politics of Mungo mah Lobeh, the mountain, with the rest of nature, he believes to exist. The Alemba rapid has its affairs clearly, but the private matters of these very great people are things the human being had better keep out of; and it is advisable for him to turn his attention to making terms with them, and go into their presence with his petition when their own affairs are prosperous, when their tempers are not, as it were, up over some private ultra-human affair of their own. I well remember the opinions expressed by my companions regarding the folly—mine, of course—of obtruding ourselves on Mungo, when that noble mountain was vexed too much, and the opinion expressed by an Efik friend in a tornado which came down upon us. Well, there you have this difference. I instinctively say "us." She did not think we were objects of interest to the tornado or the forest it was scourging. She took it they had a sort of family row on, and we might get hit with the bits, therefore it was highly unfortunate that we were present at the meeting. Again, it is the

Digitized by Google

same with the surf. The boat-boys see it's in a nasty temper, they keep out of it; it may be better to-morrow, then it will tolerate them, for it has no real palaver with them individually. Of course you can go and upset the temper of big nature spirits; but when you are not there, they have their own affairs. Hence it comes that we have in Fetish a religion in which its believers do not hold that devotion to religion constitutes Virtue. The ordinary citizen is held to be most virtuous who is least mixed up in religious affairs. He can attain Virtue, the love and honour of his fellow-men, by being a good husband and father, an honest man in trade, a just man in the palaver house, and he must, for the protection of his interests—that is to say, not only his individual well-being, but the well-being of those dependent on him—go in to a certain extent for religious practices. He must associate with spirits, because spirits are in all things and everywhere and over everything; and the good citizen deals with the other spirits as he deals with that class of spirits we call human beings; he does not cheat the big ones of their dues; he spills a portion of his rum to them; he gives them their white calicoes; he treats his slave spirits honourably, and he uses his slave spirits for no bad purpose; and if any great grief falls on him, he calls on the great over-lord of gods, mentioning these things. But men are not all private citizens: there are men whose destiny puts them in high places—men who are not only house-fathers, but who are tribe-fathers. They, to protect and further the interests of those under them, must venture greatly and further, and deal with more powerful spirits, as it were, their social equals in spiritdom. These good chiefs in their higher grade dealings preserve the same clean-handed conduct. And besides these, there are those men, the Fetish men, who devote their lives to combating evil actions through witches, and miscellaneous spirits who prey upon mankind. These men have to make themselves important to important spirits. It is risky work for them, for spirits are a risky set to deal with' (pp. 176–9).

The theory and practice of African medicine, which, as in more civilized regions, is under the twofold charge of the general practitioners and the consulting physician or witch doctor, supplies material for two of Miss Kingsley's liveliest chapters. A real 'clash of cultures' not infrequently arises from the intermixture of European with native pharmacy, as when a patient swallows a hot poultice whole, or the isolation of contagious disorders is carried to the extent of driving out the sick to perish unattended. The continent of Africa, proverbially famed for its production of novelties, introduces us to diseases unheard of elsewhere—the yaws, the malignant melancholy, and the sleeping sickness, the two latter of which have their head centre in the Lower Congo. Terrible is the havoc wrought among the natives by smallpox, pneumonia, heart disease, and tetanus, this last being the scourge of

Digitized by Google

African childhood. The method of the village apothecary is generally to resort either to herbal preparations, with which he has no despicable acquaintance, or to baths and massage in various forms. The witch doctor or consulting physician, whose aid is only invoked when the general practitioner has failed to work a cure, naturally takes a more serious view of the position, and forthwith sets to work with all the appliances of Fetish and witchcraft to master the spirits who are the cause of all the mischief. It requires the most skilful diagnosis to discover which of the four souls—(1) the soul that survives, (2) the soul that lives in an animal away wild in the bush, (3) the shadow cast by the body, and (4) the soul that acts in dreams—is the true seat of the disease, and all the art and craft of the witch doctor to bring the rebellious soul to order; and the relation of his ideas and methods of treatment is too long to be even sketched in outline. Incredible in its intermixture of absurdity and imposture as is the witch doctor's procedure, Miss Kingsley affirms that he is not, with all his incantations, invariably a conscious humbug. She remarks that no town has more than one witch doctor, with possibly an assistant, and notes significantly that nothing would induce an African doctor *to dine* with a brother member of his profession.

A highly characteristic division of Miss Kingsley's *Studies* is concerned with English methods of dealing with our tropical possessions, and all the vials of her wrath are poured out in unmeasured volume upon the futility and failure of our Crown Colony system. Seriously speaking, her indictment is a formidable one, and should command the close attention of those to whom the charge of these vast outlying regions of the Empire is committed. Some of the blots on which she fastens are sufficiently obvious: the lack of continuity through party exigencies in our colonial policy; the brief tenure and inadequate pay of the higher grade of colonial officials; the neglect of advice from the trading community, whose fortunes are bound up with the prosperity of the colony, and whose experience would be in many instances invaluable when legislation is under discussion, or the law is being with difficulty administered; and the folly of attempting to govern an alien race according to the preconceived notions of the bureau in Downing Street. Yet the blame cannot, in Miss Kingsley's judgment, be assigned to any one class for blunders which have lost us in the past a large slice of the best feeding-ground the world can offer for England's manufacturing millions, and which threaten, unless they be

Digitized by Google

remedied, to deprive us in the near future of priceless markets, or to leave the colony which is the door to them a bankrupt estate on our hands. Yet Miss Kingsley possesses the courage of her opinions, and she has boldly sketched out a system which she thinks would be practicable and, while securing the co-operation of healthy commerce and healthy law, would command the loyal adhesion of the natives. We can only commend her plans to those whose task it is to help in forming or guiding public opinion of the value of our West African possessions, of which she speaks in terms of great but rational enthusiasm.

These regions are of vast natural wealth in rubber, oil, timber, ivory, and minerals from gold to coal.

'They are in most places densely populated with customers for England's manufactured goods,' and 'we really want the humid tropic zone more than other nations do; a climate that eats up steel and hardware as a rabbit eats lettuce is an excellent customer to a hardware manufacturing town. A region densely populated by native populations willing to give raw trade stuffs in exchange for cotton goods, which they bury or bang out on stones in the course of washing or otherwise help their local climate to consume, is invaluable to a textile manufacturing town' (pp. 298, 299).

Yet all these advantages, conquered for us by the energy and enterprize of our countrymen, are in danger of being lost to us under the keen competition of rival nations and the dearth of statesmanship at home. How satisfactory a result can be obtained under a wiser system is explained in a telling page, which relates the success of the Royal Niger Company and which strikes a true chord of patriotic pride.

'The Company,' Miss Kingsley writes, 'has in a few years, and during the period of the hottest French enterprise, acquired a territory immensely greater than the territory acquired during centuries under the Crown Colony system; it has also fought its necessary wars with energy and despatch, and no call upon Imperial resources; it has not only paid its way, but paid its shareholders their 6 per cent., and its bitterest enemies say darkly, far more. I know from my knowledge of West Africa that this can only have been effected by its wise native policy. I know that this policy owes its wisdom and its success to one man, Sir George Taubman Goldie, a man who, had he been under the Crown Colony system, could have done no more than other men have done who have been Governors under it; but, not being under it, the territories he won for England have not been subject to the jerky amateur policy of those who are under the Crown Colony system. For nearly twenty years the natives under the Royal Niger Company have had the firm, wise, sympathetic friendship of a great Englishman, who understood them

Digitized by Google

and knew them personally. It is the continuous influence of one great Englishman unhampered by non-expert control, that has caused England's extremely strange success in the Niger; coupled with the identity of trade and governmental interest, and the encouragement of religion given by the constitution and administration of the Niger Company. . . . This association of trade and government is, to my mind, an *absolutely necessary restraint* on the Charter Company form of government; but there is another element you must have to justify Charters, and that is that they are in the hands of an Englishman of the old type' (pp. 360, 361).

How far all Miss Kingsley's animadversions on the Crown Colony system can be substantiated we are unable to determine. Recent information indicates that she has been mistaken in her unqualified condemnation of the hut tax, which, as the latest returns show, is being collected without resistance and in increasing amount. As we write, moreover, the governing powers of the Niger Company are passing into the hands of the Colonial Secretary, and a new order of things is being inaugurated. But that Englishmen will be more on the alert to the worth of their tropical estates and that they will watch their progress with awakened vigilance will, we predict, be one result, and that not the least meritorious, of Miss Kingsley's labours. What she specially insists on is the adoption of a plan whereby every white trader can work on every legitimate line absolutely free from governmental hindrance, and under which every black man can clearly understand that, while his prejudices are respected as far as is consistent with regard for morality and justice, he is under a régime which will insist on the performance of treaty obligations, and will not weakly tolerate ill-doing.

'The great difficulty,' she urges, 'in arranging any system of government of West Africa lies not in the true difficulties this region presents, but in the fictitious difficulties that are the growth of years of mutual misunderstanding and misrepresentation—the (consequent) distrust is the mere product of folly and ignorance, and is therefore removable' (p. 416).

The task should not be too hard for the race which has won and rules India and Egypt.

An exposition of the divers kinds of property which exist among the true Negroes—the special people with whom the laws which regulate West African property have reached their highest development—brings Miss Kingsley's *Studies* to an interesting conclusion. Those who are only familiar with European conceptions of property law will find some startling variation from our legal practice. The true negro is

Digitized by Google

only to be met with in unadulterated purity in the line of coast which stretches from the Gambia to the Cameroon—elsewhere he has been modified by Berber or Bantu intermixture—and we have the tests afforded us by which their influence may be traced. True Negro culture is discernible to the sense of smell: his strong odour being gained 'by leaving the sanitary matters of villages and towns in the hands of Providence.' The Bantu culture looks after the cleaning and tidying of the village streets to a remarkable degree, though by no means clean in the houses.' The true Negro's great gods are male; with the Bantu the supreme deity is female. Moreover, the latter keep their slaves in separate villages, while the former permit them to share their houses. The State-form is the wreckage from the destruction of the old empire of Melli, which fell in the sixteenth century; and is remarkable for the degree in which it is controlled by secret societies. 'It is identical in essence with the House system,' which Miss Kingsley describes as follows:

'The House is a collection of individuals, I should hesitate to call it a developed family. I cannot say it is a collection of human beings, because the very dogs and canoes and so on that belong to it are part of it in the eye of the law, and capable therefore alike of embroiling it and advancing its interests. These Houses are bound together into groups by the Long ju-ju proper to the so-called secret society, common to the groups of houses. The House itself is presided over by what is called, in white parlance, a king, and beneath him there are four classes of human beings in regular rank, that is to say, influence in council: firstly, the free relations of the king, if he be a free man himself, which is frequently not the case; if he be a slave, the free people of the family he is trustee for; secondly, the free small people who have placed themselves under the protection of the House, rendering it in return for the assistance and protection it affords them service on demand; the third and fourth classes are true slave classes, the higher one in rank being that called the Winnaboes or Trade boys, the lower the pull-away boys and the plantation hands. The best point in it, as a system, is that it gives to the poorest boy who paddles an oil canoe a chance of becoming a king. Property itself in West Africa, and as I have reason to believe from reports in other parts of tropical Africa that I am acquainted with, is firmly governed and is divisible into three kinds. Firstly, ancestral property connected with the office of headmanship, the Stool, as this office is called in the true negro state; secondly, family property, in which every member of the family has a certain share, and on which he, she, or it has a claim; thirdly, private property, that which is acquired or made by a man or woman by their personal exertions over and above that which earned by them in co-

Digitized by Google

operation with other members of their family which becomes family property, and that which is gained by gifts or made in trade by the exercise of a superior trading ability. Every one of these forms of property is equally sacred in the eye of the African law' (pp. 427, 428).

The system thus described presents many notable features. Under it the head of the Stool or of the family is simply a trustee, who must work the property not for his own personal enrichment, but for that of the Stool or the family, and is liable to be removed if he is extravagant or unfortunate. If it is open to abuse through the rapacity of the family elders who would carry off an undue proportion of the wages earned by a man conjointly with other members of the family, it leaves him in such secure possession of what he has made separately or with the assistance of his free wives, that no king, priest, or other man would openly dare interfere with the private property of the lowest slave, which can only be confiscated for bankruptcy or crime. It brings into prominence and enforces in practice the great principle that privilege exists not for mere private advantage, but for the welfare of the community. It secures at least some of the benefits claimed for co-operative action, and, as has been already noticed, it opens the way from the lowest rank to the highest position.

The three main sources of danger to a man's estate in West Africa are debt and charges of witchcraft or adultery. Under the last of these names is comprised almost every form of supposed injury to a woman, even brushing against her in a crowded market or on a bush path. The severity of the law renders the accusation one of danger to respectable men, and frivolous charges are the source of much extortion and injustice. In the case of a debtor being seized by his creditor, the latter is responsible for all his captive's debts if he dies while in his custody. Of all imputations that of witchcraft is the most terrible. Short shrift and lynch law is the ordinary fate of the wretched creature held guilty of being a witch, and after his violent death no decent family will own him or give him burial; for this latter act of charity may involve very serious consequences. To take charge of and inter a corpse makes a man executor to the estate of the deceased, and several relatives will come hurrying with coffins for the purpose and will quarrel fiercely over the dead body; but to the charge of the dead man's property is united a legal liability to discharge his debts.

'Hence it comes that a Negro merchant on a trading tour away

Digitized by Google

from his home, overtaken by death in a town where he is not known, is not buried, but dried and carefully put outside the town, or on the road to the market, the road he came by, so that any one of his friends or relations who may perchance come some time that way can recognize the remains' (p. 434).

It has been our difficulty in dealing with Miss Kingsley's *Studies* that each of the subjects she discusses would require and is worthy of a separate article for its adequate treatment; so that we have only been able to indicate, and that very imperfectly, the deeply interesting problems with which she deals. Whatever our opinions on the political and religious, the social and commercial, aspects of West Africa, there can be no question that they are destined to loom large in the near future as an element of high national importance, and we are greatly indebted to the gifted authoress for her courage and devotion in investigation, and for the candour with which she states the conclusions she has formed. Nor is our debt to her lessened by the fact that she frankly owns the limitations of her aims, and that she stops short in her discussions of much that most deeply interests ourselves. Upon the sarcasms which she flings about so wildly at times on subjects sacred as well as profane we will only express our regret, and would rather remember the occasional words of unfeigned respect in which she glances rapidly in passing at missionary effort. But we must utter our emphatic protest against her assertion, in the chapter on the Clash of Cultures, that the one thing needful for West Africa is *to try Science*, and the quiet assumption on the next page that the grand Scriptural assertion that God has made of one blood all nations that dwell on the face of the earth is a mistake, and the origin of the whole human race from a single pair a misleading delusion. Nor can we admit the conclusion to be as inevitable as she asserts it to be, that under the present way of contemplating different races, the European cannot help regarding races of different and inferior culture to his own as more deeply steeped in sin. In Christian teaching, sin is proportionate to opportunity, and Chorazin and Bethsaida are held more criminal than Sodom and Gomorrah.

It is Miss Kingsley's crowning merit that she has striven to master the knowledge of the nature of West Africa and the West African—his native laws, religion, institutions, and state-form—so as to understand his mind and to see things from the native point of view. She has been led by this study to the conviction that the African is of steadier build

Digitized by Google

than the Asiatic; more trustworthy and tractable; likely eventually to prove a more potent force in the world. Such a race, brought, as we are persuaded, in the fulfilment of God's predetermined purpose under our influence, it is worth much fully to understand, and here is its portrait drawn by Miss Kingsley's master-hand:

'Careful scientific study has enforced on me, as it has on other students, the recognition that the African mind naturally approaches all things from a spiritual point of view. Low down in culture or high up, his mind works along the line that things happen because of the action of spirit upon spirit; it is an effort for him to think in terms of matter. We think along the line that things happen from the action of matter upon matter. If it were not for the Asiatic religion we have accepted, it is, I think, doubtful whether we should not be far more materialistic in thought-form than we are. This steady sticking to the material side of things, I think, has given our race its dominion over matter; the want of it has caused the African to be notably behind us in this, and far behind those Asiatic races who regard matter and spirit as separate in essence, a thing that is not in the mind either of the Englishman or the African. The Englishman is constrained by circumstances to perceive the existence of an extra material world. The African regards spirit and matter as undivided in kind, matter being only the extreme low form of spirit. There must be in the facts of the case behind things, something to account for the high perception of justice you will find in the African, combined with an inability to think out a pulley or a lever except under white tuition. Similarly taking the true Negro States, which are in its equivalent to our Thirteenth century, it accounts for the higher level of morals in them than you would find in our Thirteenth century; and I fancy this want of interest and inferiority in materialism in the true Negro constitutes a reason why they will not come into our Nineteenth century, but under proper guidance could attain to a Nineteenth-century state of their own, which would show a proportionate advance' (pp. 386, 387).

We are prepared fully to accept alike the portrait and the plea. We want no slavish reproduction of English nineteenth-century culture upon African shores. We want the West African to enjoy the only true satisfaction for his intensely spiritual nature which God has in His abounding love and wisdom provided for all men. We want to see on the West African coast another branch of the Catholic Church which is already growing so rapidly in the central and southern regions of that mighty continent.

Digitized by Google

ART. V.—THE DEAN OF CHRIST CHURCH ON HOOKER AND THE PURITANS.

An Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. By the Very Rev. FRANCIS PAGET, D.D., Dean of Christ Church. (Oxford, 1899.)

THE Dean of Christ Church says in his preface 'I send out this volume' 'with uneasiness and a sense of manifold failure' (p. x). We, on the other hand, have read it with gratitude and recognition of the writer's success. It has been his aim

'to help the reader to approach Hooker's Fifth Book with such knowledge of its conditions, its preliminaries, its aims as may contribute to the understanding and appreciation of its contents:—to place the reader—if the phrase be not presumptuous—in the likeliest attitude of mind for entrance into the Book' (p. 125).

To accomplish this aim—which may appear to be of the simplest possible character to those who have little knowledge of Hooker's work or the complexities of the circumstances with which he had to deal—it has been necessary for the Dean to deal very fully with some aspects of the history of the latter part of the sixteenth century. The first chapter, entitled 'The Character of Hooker's Writings and Work,' is valuable chiefly as showing, in a short and clear form, reasons which may well call for the most careful study of the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. That he may rightly be described as 'holding a conspicuous place in the history of English literature' (p. 1); as a profound theologian with 'distinctive notes' (p. 3), which include the retention of the 'glow and life of truth' (p. 4), the recognition of both the beauty and the strength of the doctrines which he has to defend, and an abiding freshness and relevance; and as a man of great diligence and unworldliness, is sufficient to show that the work on which he spent the most careful pains is at least worthy of serious attention. 'It is rare,' writes the Dean,

'to see a man still young (for Hooker was but thirty-eight when he resigned the Mastership) turning away from a sphere where he has borne a brilliant part, and betaking himself into comparative seclusion, with the simple and unselfish desire only to do before he dies as much as he can of that which he believes to be his proper task. But it is perhaps even more rare for the heat of controversy to kindle in a man the desire not to talk but to think. And in both

Digitized by Google

ways the example of Hooker's life may claim as much attention as the strength of his theology and the grandeur of his style' (p. 7).

The second chapter is of high excellence. The Dean has restrained himself from attempting the fascinating, if difficult, task of describing at any length the Elizabethan age with its 'richness and energy and enterprize,' that wonderful 'time of great men, great perils, and great beginnings,' 'of strange confusion and inconsistent hopes,' compared by some 'for the splendour of the work that was done in it' 'with the age of Pericles at Athens' (p. 8). The few sentences which he has written suggest that a fuller treatment of the subject from his pen would have been of interest and value; but he has probably been well advised in restricting himself within the limits which he thus describes:

'All . . . that will be attempted here will be to delineate the position which stood over against Hooker's in the chief religious controversy of his day: the position which was before his gaze as he conceived and wrote his treatise *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. The position was that of the Puritans, and it will be here presented, so far as is possible, in the language of their own most important and deliberate utterances. In altercation men often do themselves as much injustice as they do others, and the Puritans of Hooker's time may be unfairly dealt with if they are judged by the controversial language either of their opponents or of the less sober among themselves. But it may be hoped that there will be less danger of unfairness if the statement of their opinions and demands is based upon documents which were put forward or generally recognized as the corporate expression of their position—their *platform*, in the classical sense of the word—documents which proceeded from, or were openly accepted by, men who would have been ranked among their leaders in that period' (p. 9).

This quotation shows the spirit with which the Dean has carried out the work of describing 'the Puritan position' as well as the historical limits within which he has kept. In some passages, perhaps, there may be signs of difficulty in appreciating the standpoint of the Puritans, yet he is everywhere scrupulously fair, and the clear and accurate statements of the account which is at once readable and compressed are based upon the most careful study of original authorities. This chapter may be strongly commended to students both of Hooker specially and of the general history of the period.

The third chapter is on the life of Hooker. It will not take the place of Walton's *Life*, and the Dean evidently does not intend that it should do so. It will be interesting and useful to those who are already acquainted with Walton;

Digitized by Google

and it will supply students of the Fifth Book who might otherwise read little about Hooker's life with a clear idea of the most important events in it. It contains a sympathetic and powerful description of the conception of the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.

'He was not, and probably he knew that he was not, effective as a preacher. But he had the knowledge and the power of work and the subtlety and penetration and patience of thought which should avail to make a strong case clear to able men; he had a deep enthusiasm for the Church's cause; he had that amplitude of view which braces men for intellectual enterprise on a large scale, and stirs them to a natural eloquence, almost as great scenery or great events excite the faculty of poets; and whether he was aware or unaware of his singular gifts, their presence told on his conception of the work he had to do. And so, as he toiled on, painstaking, unremitting, resolute—labouring, in his own phrase, even to anatomize every particle of that body which he was to uphold sound—he formed his brave design: to display the universal field of law; to show how by the will and providence of God the whole world and all the ways of men are included in that system, vast and manifold, whereby through diverse channels the authority and beneficence of law travels to the diverse fields of human life; and then to claim for the legislative action of the Church its rightful place and its divine sanction within that sacred system which reaches from the throne of the Most High to the least of the creatures He has made' (pp. 87–8).

The fourth and fifth chapters supply a full account, with explanations and some criticisms, of the contents of the preface, the first four books, and the Fifth Book, of the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. The sixth chapter, under the title 'The Sequel of the Fifth Book,' deals briefly with the *Christian Letter* published in 1599 in reply to Hooker, the marginal notes made by Hooker on his copy of the *Christian Letter* now preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the three fragments by Hooker attached as Appendix I. to Book V. in Mr. Keble's edition, and the letter written to Hooker by George Cranmer, which forms Appendix II. to Book V. in the same edition. The short but valuable seventh chapter, entitled 'The Outcome of Hooker's Work,' is on 'the service which Hooker rendered to England and to the English Church' (p. 222).

There are seven appendices. The first gives some useful extracts from 'certain books' on the Puritan side 'which appeared and attracted much notice towards the close of Mary's reign' (p. 231), which are 'cited' 'not as representative of the opinions of any considerable section of the Puritans, but as pointing to an element in the struggle which could

Digitized by Google

not fail to tell on the policy of any Government that had to bear part in it' (p. 235). The second appendix is on the proceedings in Parliament in 1566 and 1571. The third appendix consists of a reprint of the MS. in Lambeth Palace Library [1] of the work *Disciplina Ecclesiae sacra Dei verbo descripta.* There is some description of this document in the third chapter of the Dean's book; but he has certainly acted wisely in printing it at length in the appendix. It was the Latin original, which learned writers on Puritanism have supposed to have altogether disappeared, of the *Directory of Church-Government*; and the importance of the work may be seen from the statement of the Dean:

'This document is the Confession of Faith which was signed by the Puritans in their private assemblies; and it deserves careful consideration. In regard to the frequency of references to it, the influence it exercised, and the history through which it passed, it is worthy to rank with the Admonitions and the Explicatio; it has even been called "the Palladium of English Presbyterianism;" and it will fairly complete the presentation of the Puritan platform' (p. 68).

The fourth appendix is on the *Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers, administration of the Sacraments, &c.*, presented to Parliament in 1584, which the Dean distinguishes from the *Book of Discipline* and identifies with the book 'printed at London by Richard Waldegrave and reprinted in Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*, vol. i. pp. 1–81' (p. 253). The fifth appendix is an enumeration of the principal editions of the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*; the sixth is a short note on 'Hacket's conspiracy' of 1591, of any direct or indirect responsibility for which the Dean acquits Cartwright, though he thinks it possible some of the Puritan ministers might have done more than was done to check Coppinger and his associates; the seventh is entitled 'The Last Three Books of the treatise, and the Opuscula.' The Dean is of opinion that the last Three Books, 'as they are now extant, may be taken as representing the best that could be made of rough, unfinished and incomplete papers' of which 'there seems no doubt that' they 'represent' Hooker's 'work,' 'though it is in a form in which he would never have let it come abroad' (pp. 263–4). Of the Opuscula the Dean's judgment is as follows:

[1] There is another MS. of the work in the British Museum, which the Dean describes as 'substantially identical' with the Lambeth MS. He says that the latter 'seems to have been the more carefully written of the two, and it is in a far earlier handwriting' (p. 69).

Digitized by Google

'It can hardly be doubted that the Answer to Travers, together with Travers' Supplication to the Council, is genuine. The two were printed in 1612; they are well accredited, and bear ample tokens of authenticity. They carry with them into the list of genuine works Sermon I (On the Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect), and Sermon II (the Learned Discourse of Justification), both printed in 1612: for these contain passages complained of in Travers' Supplication and defended in Hooker's Answer: they are knit into the history of the controversy at the Temple: and the former of the two is well worthy of Hooker. Part of what is entitled Sermon III (Of the Nature of Pride) was printed in 1612, the rest was first published by Mr. Keble in 1836, from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The work seems to the present writer to be below Hooker's level, lacking somewhat of his power, brilliancy, tenacity of theme, and sense of order: but it is clearly marked by some of his characteristic thoughts, and it is hardly to be severed from Sermons I and II, with which it apparently formed a part of a long course of Sermons on the prophecy of Habakkuk, and it is moreover accredited by the testimony of Archbishop Ussher. The Funeral Sermon (Sermon IV) was printed in 1612, and has in it points of close affinity with Hooker's mind: Sermon VII (on St. Matthew vii. 7, 8), published by Walton as Hooker's in 1678, and described as "found in the study of the late learned Bishop Andrewes," seems to show, save at the beginning, but little of the distinction of Hooker's work. Weakest of all in internal evidence are the two Sermons upon part of St. Jude's Epistle (Sermons V and VI). Mr. Keble sums up, in §27 of his Preface, their intrinsic tokens of unlikeness to Hooker's work. An expression in Sermon V. §15 seems to fix the date of that sermon either in 1582 or in 1594: the earlier of these dates,—at which Hooker was under thirty, and may perhaps have been writing as he never could have written in his maturity,—seems barred by a reference in the same section to a book published in 1583. But if it follows that the Sermon was written in 1594, it may fairly be said further to follow that some one else than Hooker wrote it' (pp. 264–5).

In all this work the Dean of Christ Church has joined to extensive and accurate knowledge great powers of compression and clear statement, while his evident enthusiasm for his subject has given to his learned book a charm which might otherwise have been lacking. We hope it may lead not only to better understanding of the Fifth Book, but also to more general study and appreciation of the first Four Books, and in particular to a wider recognition of the greatness and permanent value of the First Book.

The carrying out of the aim which the Dean has set before him involves some discussion of Hooker's general theological position and of the line taken by him in particular matters. He has rarely anything to express but approval and admira-

Digitized by Google

tion. He emphasizes from time to time Hooker's wide knowledge, sound judgment, and conscientious spirit. Hooker's 'treatise alone,' he writes, out of 'all that was written in the voluminous debate,' 'most' of which 'survives only among the curiosities of controversy, or the materials for historical research,'

'has stood the trial of time and taken rank with the abiding works of learning and reflection. There may be much in the mixed record of the English Reformation which those who are jealous for the Church's honour find it humiliating to recall—much about which men may wonder that it was over-ruled for good. But in the field of argument during the Elizabethan period the Church of England need not fear a comparison between the work of its great champion and that of his antagonists' (p. 224).

This general approval and admiration of Hooker's work is not undiscriminating. The Dean points out that 'Hooker does not appear at his best in dealing with' the Puritan complaint of the neglect of preaching in the Church (p. 137). That complaint, says the Dean, was 'real and serious';

'for the space of a whole generation the destitution had gone on: men had passed from youth beyond middle age and seen the Church neglecting in thousands of parishes one great part of the divine commission: seen moreover the Prophesyings, which might have done something to mend matters, suppressed rigorously, in spite of the Archbishop's protest: and seen also some of those who were eager and seemed able to do the neglected work refused the liberty to do it, or, as Travers was, inhibited in the course of it. It was natural that men should speak strongly as they saw the multitudes left almost untaught: it was not strange if in speaking strongly they said some things that were rash and indefensible' (pp. 135–6).

Thus, though the Puritan case on this point was 'overstated,' it had 'rightful strength'; and it is admitted by the Dean that Hooker 'did less than justice to' it, and 'weakens his position by making no adequate confession of the gravity of the long neglect of preaching' (p. 137).

Exception, again, is taken to some parts of Hooker's reply to the Puritan attack on the reception of Communion in the Church of England by those who were or had been members of the Church of Rome. It was contended by the Puritans that these ought not to be admitted to Communion in the Church of England without some distinct purging of themselves from the 'suspicion of popery.' As the Dean clearly points out,

'there were really two distinct questions involved in the Puritan argument. One was the rightfulness of admitting to Communion

Digitized by Google

without special examination, recantation of error, or probation, those who had lived as members of the Church of Rome. The other was the rightfulness of compelling such persons to receive the Communion in the Church of England: since in admitting them to Communion freely and without question the Church of England could hardly be clear of some concurrence in the compulsion put upon them' (p. 183).

While the Dean holds that on the former of these two questions Hooker's reply is 'strong and just,' since 'those who have lived in the Roman Communion are members of Christ's Church: and the Church of England must recognise and deal with them as such' (pp. 183–5), he describes his language 'with regard to the responsibility for defending the Holy Communion from sacrilegious use by those Romanists who, under pressure of the Acts of Uniformity, sought it simply to escape the penalties of the law' as being such as 'may be thought open, at some points, to adverse criticism' (p. 185), and adds that

'Hooker seems to show . . . some lack of sensitiveness to what really was amiss: and it might be hard to defend him against the charge which many good men have had to bear: the charge of having faltered somewhat from that fineness and justice of discernment which very few can keep with perfect integrity in times of trouble and conflict and confusion' (p. 186).

On a third point the Dean criticizes with greater severity. In the last chapter of the Fifth Book Hooker

'treats of the compromises or concessions or dispensations by which the prevalent difficulties of the day or the demands of special cases were wont to be met; the ordination of incompetent men, the sanction given to non-residence, and the accumulation of benefices, being especially brought under consideration' (p. 202).

In Hooker's treatment of these questions there are passages on which the Dean, after quoting them, thus comments:—

'It is impossible to refrain from wishing that Hooker had not written those passages: and it seems right to quote them here because stress has been laid in this Introduction upon the words and acts in which he appears at his best, and does justice to what he really was. If in such words as have just been cited he seems to lapse from the true standpoint for a faithful and unworldly and spiritually-minded man, if here and there he says what is poor and what may be easily represented as cynical or cringing, the lapse may not be ignored. Such excessive deference in the things of the Church to the distinctions of the world has often given just and deep offence, in many generations since Hooker's: it would be hard to

Digitized by Google

measure how far it has obscured the spiritual reality of the Church, and alienated those for whom the Church's eager and disinterested care should have been, as in Christ's day, high among the tokens of His truth: it has lodged in many hearts, both of rich and poor, false, perplexing thoughts which years of faithful toil and teaching cannot eradicate: it has stayed the presence of Christ, the realization of the supernatural, from overwhelming, as with a sweeping tide of unearthly light, the cramping barriers that rank or money has set up. It is a serious indictment against Hooker that he faltered here, and that his great authority could be pleaded in defence of things that no one now would try to defend' (pp. 203–4).

The candour with which the Dean thus admits, in more than one instance, that parts of Hooker's work may rightly be criticized, increases our regret that on the subject of Hooker's Eucharistic teaching he has done little more than bring out clearly the real attitude taken up in the Fifth Book and quote a useful selection of statements by Calvin. It is certainly a very valuable piece of work that he should have shown, against much prevalent misconception, what was the line of thought on the subject of the Eucharist which Hooker was at pains to affirm; and this work is done with the sensitive care which is a characteristic mark of the Dean's writings:

'Sure of God's care for the Church, reverent towards human reason, watchful for the teaching of events, he saw the one theme of faith and meditation and thanksgiving—the consummation of the Holy Communion by the entrance of Christ Himself into the soul of man—drawing towards itself men's minds and hearts with an increasing unanimity of belief in the high and awful truth, commanding the devotion and uplifting the thoughts and lives of men of all schools: while on the other hand he saw the wasteful, bitter, barren controversy about the earlier stage in the Eucharistic mystery dragging on from age to age and dividing those whom Christ had bidden live in unity. And so he makes his great appeal that men should concentrate their thoughts on that Real Presence of Christ which by means of the Eucharist they do in truth receive: that they should steadily make that the primary and central and dominant point on which to fix their gaze as they tried to move forward in apprehension of the Eucharistic mystery: that they should refrain and check back their minds from returning to scrutinize that stage in it which was beset with unprogressive controversy: that they should seek the fulfilment of Christ's words where beyond debate or doubt it was to be found, in all reality or perfection, in the glorious coming of the Incarnate Son of God, through the Sacrament of His Body and Blood, to dwell within the soul of man. . . . This then is Hooker's deliberate, clear, distinctive line of teaching with regard to the Eucharist. It is a line which had much specially to recommend it in the circumstances of his day, a day of tumult and transition, when

Digitized by Google

quiet and balanced presentation of the truths that were being dragged this way and that in hot contention had little chance of being understood: it is a line which would keep a man's mind in the way to welcome further light, if further light should come. And it is also a line which at all times is tenable, intelligible, hopeful. All are not likely to think it adequate: whether it is so or not, this is not the place to consider: but before it is censured it should be thoroughly understood and well tried, and that, as nearly as may be, at the height on which Hooker followed it. And at all events he should have the credit of having really meant what he said. On the ground of some passages in his argument he is claimed as supporting one side in the very controversy from which he urged men to refrain. Against these it would be possible to set other passages which have a different look. But to dwell on such passages one way or the other is not treating Hooker as he deserves to be treated. If he had felt able or thought it right to argue either against or for belief in the external Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharisic Elements, he would have done so in the manner and on the scale he uses when he deals with other great questions, fully, frankly, laboriously, systematically: he would not earnestly and elaborately have called men away from the controversy, and then himself have crept back into it' (pp. 175-6).

We repeat that it is a very valuable piece of work to have made clear, with the skill which the Dean has shown, Hooker's position that attention ought to be concentrated on the agreement that communicants receive the Body and Blood of Christ, and diverted from the disagreement whether the Body and Blood of Christ are, by virtue of the act of consecration, present in the elements before Communion. But we regret, for many reasons, the limitations which he has thought to be imposed upon himself by the character of his book, and have led him to say 'this is not the place to consider' whether Hooker's 'line' is 'adequate.' We should have liked to have seen a statement, written with the caution and accuracy and delicacy of which the Dean is a master, of some of the differences which necessarily result from the affirmation and the denial that the Body and Blood of Christ are present in the consecrated elements on the altar before Communion. No doubt, many statements on this subject may easily be found. For the most part, they are expressed with harshness and crudity which deprive them of much of their value, and certainly would not be found in anything written by the Dean.

Underneath the almost innumerable details, which are a weariness to the student of the controversies of the reign of Elizabeth, lay the crucial differences between the Puritan

Digitized by Google

position and that of which Hooker was the representative. The Puritan attack was in reality an onslaught on the whole system of historical Christianity. For the errors and the bitterness of those who took part in the attack many allowances have to be made. There was the necessary reaction from much distorted and exaggerated teaching in the later Middle Ages. Joined with this were the effects of the cruelties and tyranny of the reign of Mary. There was the general impression made by the utter incapacity to meet the needs of the times which the Papacy had shown, and the untenable character of the Papal claims—an impression which, in those days as well as later, tended to discredit everything which bore, or was supposed to bear, any resemblance to the teaching and practice of the Church of Rome. There were the ignorance and the neglect of many of the clergy and the abuses in the Church. When all these allowances are made, it remains clear that there were fundamental faults in Puritanism, which justify the antagonism to it which Hooker showed, and the rejection of it by the Church of England. It was derogatory to, instead of protective of, the authority of Holy Scripture by assigning to Scripture an office which it was not designed to perform. It was in conflict with the real teaching of Holy Scripture on the subject of the Church. It was destructive of any true view of human nature by its insistence on ignoring the proper office and right use of reason. Any acceptance of it necessarily involved departure from the historical conception of the Christian religion. That the Puritans themselves were well alive to the greatness of the issues at stake may be seen in many passages in the book before us. That both parties were right in believing the controversy to be of crucial importance may be illustrated from the 'four points' of the 'fully developed Puritan position' to which the Dean refers as of 'eminent significance':

'1. The first is the demand for equality of ministers. The title or office of a Bishop may be retained, but only as synonymous with that of Pastor or Teacher. The order of Bishops is held to be contrary to the Scriptures; the act of Ordination is to be the act of the Ministers and Elders; and no minister is to use or challenge any authority outside his own charge, save through the action of the synod of which he may be a member. There are to be only two sorts of ministers, namely Pastors and Teachers, equal in dignity, differing only in work.

'2. Secondly, all members of the Church are to be subject to the discipline of the Consistory. . . .

'3. Thirdly, the breach with the past is to be complete. The

Digitized by Google

English Church as it is is to be detested with a perfect hatred; those who were priests under Henry VIII. and Mary ought to be utterly removed; the prescript order of service taken out of the Mass Book ought to go, with all that recalled the worship of the unreformed Church.

'4. Fourthly, no ordinance can stand in the Church unless it is expressly appointed in Scripture. Nothing must be done but that for which the express warrant of God's Word can be adduced' (pp. 52–3).

In repudiating the Puritan position the Church of England remained true to the historical Church of Christ. It would be well for those who fret over what seem to them imperfections in the system and methods of the Church of England, to consider how great was the danger that she would yield to the temptation to compromise some matter which was essential to her position as a true part of the Church. It is by observing what the English Church was urged to do by formidable controversialists and the resolution with which she refused to accept their position that the real significance of her assertions of doctrine and her practical system can be known. It is the greatness of Hooker that he played a valuable part in that attitude of the English Church which involved in his time her historic continuity with the Universal Church, and made possible her great work in the future.

'On such an issue,' says the Dean of Christ Church, 'as that which had to be decided between the historic system of the Church and the Puritan policy many forces tell—the deeper tides of national character, the foresight and patience of statesmanship, the testing and rectifying action of time, the will of those who wield power, the mistakes and exaggerations of assailants, and argument. It was with the last of these forces that Hooker served the English Church (pp. 223–4).

'Hooker's appeal in things spiritual is to a threefold fount of guidance and authority—to reason, Scripture, and tradition—all alike of God, alike emanating from Him, the one original Source of all light and power—each in certain matters bearing a special and prerogative sanction from Him, all in certain matters blending and co-operating. And in maintaining the rightfulness and the duty of thus appealing, Hooker rendered his highest service and did his most abiding work. For on equal loyalty to the unconflicting rights of reason, of Scripture, and of tradition, rest the distinctive strength and hope of the English Church. It has left much undone which it ought to have done: it has much to do to "perfect that which is lacking": but it has not set up any barrier that stays it from a sincere, unflinching reference of its case to that threefold authority. And so it may hope to commend itself to the conscience of reasonable and religious men, and to hold its continuous course; strengthened,

Digitized by Google

not imperilled by the progress of human life and thought, by the increase of learning, by the gain of frankness in enquiry; blending the wisdom and strength of a great past with the recognition of what is greatest in the present; ancient, and not antiquated. So also it may hope to go on proving itself able and worthy to be the Church of a great and free nation . . . fit to express and represent the religious life of the English people. And so, lastly, it may cherish a yet higher hope. It would be presumptuous to say either that the fulfilment of "the Divine purpose of visible unity amongst Christian" is near at hand, or that it is far off. . . . The hope of being allowed, through faith and toil and patience, to bear a special part in forwarding, when and as God wills, His purpose of unity, is a serious and chastening hope to entertain: but it cannot be declined when the call to entertain comes to the Church of England from a sober study of its own history, and heritage, and conditions. And in all that has led men to think that the Church of England may be found to have a special power to attract and draw towards union the sundered communities of Christendom, nothing can be reckoned higher than its unreserved appeal to reason, to Scripture, and to tradition. The maintenance of that appeal secures the only ground of common principles on which a general and real agreement is likely to be attained: while the Church that maintains it has the best hope of advance in the character and temper which may make for reconciliation' (pp. 226–7).

It is impossible that there should be any intelligent study of the controversy with the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth without eliciting much which has a more or less intimate bearing on some of the controversies of the present time in the Church of England. Indeed, some parts of what the Dean of Christ Church has written in the present volume are so applicable to these controversies that he has thought it necessary to explain in the preface that no reference to them was intended by him.

'I have been revising the proofs through days of hot debate and much anxiety in the Church of England: and here and there passages in the book have seemed to me to bear somewhat plainly on the present troubles. And so it may not be impertinent to say that I am not conscious of having written a single sentence with any such reference in my mind. Whatever lessons or warnings the words convey rise simply, I hope, out of the past, where any one, I think, may find them' (p. x).

We have not yet emerged from the conflict which has been caused by the attempt to overthrow the great work in the Church of England in the present century, which has been due to the Tractarian Movement. The Tractarian Movement, in its essential features, brought back much which

Digitized by Google

was involved in the rejection of the Puritan position and had become obscured in intervening times. The agitation for the overthrow of the work which the Tractarians began has as its central principle the same abhorrence of the historical system and methods of the Church of Christ as was a distinctive feature of the Puritans. It can hardly be denied that some allowances ought to be made for those who are concerned in this agitation. There is much by which they are necessarily stung; there are many things which not unnaturally have been offensive to them. It cannot be expected that the successors of the Puritans should be unmoved by the knowledge of the steady growth of the principles and practices to which they are strongly opposed, and the fact that their position is all the time becoming more untenable in the Church of England. They have been aggravated in many places by crude and reckless teaching, sometimes, while substantially true, so unbalanced in its expression as almost to lose its truth, sometimes in its substance altogether indefensible; and by ritual and services, sometimes right and lawful but hurriedly introduced and unduly emphasised, sometimes both unlawful in the Church of England and difficult to defend anywhere. They have been encouraged by the knowledge that the brawling of Mr. Kensit and the gibes of Sir William Harcourt have led some, at least, of the bishops to endeavour to suppress what for many years they have steadily let alone; and the mischievous sense that they can frighten those who ought to be the rulers of the Church into action which argument would never gain. In their case, as in the case of the Puritans, when these allowances are made, it may still be seen that their aim is that breach with the historical conception and methods of the Church which the Church of England has definitely refused to make; and that, as such, it needs to be resisted now as strenuously as the aim of the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth. It is a result of their narrow outlook, their perversion of Holy Scripture, and their rejection of Catholic tradition that their victory would mean the loss of that which Hooker did much to secure and the destruction of that 'threefold hope of the English Church' to which the Dean of Christ Church has emphatically referred,—

'its hope of abiding unshaken and enriched by the progress of the world; its hope of rising towards the fulfilment of its work for England; its hope of guarding for Christendom through the time of its severance the ground on which at last its reunion may rest' (p. 228).

The Dean of Christ Church has given many proofs that

Digitized by Google

he is one whom the 'sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England' may well trust. If his book does something to impress on the minds of English Church people lessons which are much needed in our present dangers, there will be added to its historical worth a practical utility which its author will hardly value less.[1]

ART. VI.—PROFESSOR EARLE ON DANTE'S EARTHLY PARADISE.

The Purgatory of Dante Alighieri. Part II. The Earthly Paradise (Cantos xxviii.–xxxiii.). Translated by CHARLES LANCELOT SHADWELL, D.C.L., of Oriel College, Oxford. With an Introduction by JOHN EARLE, M.A., LL.D., Prebendary of Wells, Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford. (London and New York, 1899.)

WE do not propose to comment upon Dr. Shadwell's share in this book. He acknowledges that he went too far when in his earlier volume he closed his translation of the *Purgatorio* at the end of Canto xxvii., omitting the further six which describe Dante's experience in the Earthly Paradise; and he admits that these last cannot be omitted without loss to the whole structure. He now, therefore, supplements his translation by another, of the final six cantos. Of this performance, which is carried out in the same Marvellian stanza adopted in the first translation, we have nothing further to say than that we find no reason in it to alter or in any way modify the opinion expressed in the number of this *Review* for April 1893, to the effect that the metre is wholly unfitted for the reproduction of Dante's tercets, and that the inevitable result of its use is failure.

The work is, however, preceded by a so-called Introduction by Professor Earle, which should rather have been styled an 'Essay on the Mystic Significance of the Earthly Paradise,' and in which are put forward views so novel and so startling that they call for the serious attention of all Dantofili, and challenge discussion by those who, like ourselves, are unable to accept them.

In limine, we must express our dissent from the Professor's

[1] We hope that in the second edition an index and a few words on pages 212 and 218, to mention that the appendices referred are those in Mr. Keble's edition of Hooker, may be added.

Digitized by Google

view that this part of the *Divina Commedia*—though in so far as the scheme of the poem is tripartite it may be regarded as a subordinate section of one of the three members, viz. Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso—constitutes one entire member of the four of the quadripartite scheme, viz. Hell, Purgatory, Earthly Paradise, Heavenly Paradise. We do not recognize as legitimate any severance of the Earthly Paradise from the Purgatorio. In *Purg.* i. 4–6 Dante tells us that he is 'about to sing of that second realm in which the human soul is purified, *and* becomes worthy for ascent to heaven.' Both of these effects upon the soul are produced, therefore, in this 'second realm,' *i.e.* in Purgatory. The purification is spread over Cantos i.–xxvii.; the discipline that fits for heaven is undergone in Cantos xxviii.–xxxiii. And the Earthly Paradise is the summit of the Mount of Purgatory.

Professor Earle lays great stress on the completeness of the change from toil, anxiety, and pain, to ease and enjoyment, which takes place at the opening of Canto xxviii.; but this is merely the logical result of the purgation which has been accomplished in the soul, then admitted to the final part of its probation. The Earthly Paradise is but a stage in the journey towards the Heavenly; according to Dante, it figures the blessedness of the present life, which consists in the practice of its proper virtue; whereas the blessedness of eternal life consists in the fruition of the Divine aspect, to which such virtue cannot ascend without the aid of Divine illumination. This blessedness is to be sought in the Heavenly Paradise.[1] When, therefore, Professor Earle maintains that for Dante the six cantos relating to the Earthly Paradise 'were the "hub" of his great poem,' and that 'Hither converge all the leading and pervading ideas, as the spokes of a wheel converge about the axle tree. In these Cantos, more than anywhere else, is the chief motive of the poet to be sought' (p. xiv), we cannot but think that by assigning a quite undue prominence to the subject of his essay, he is led into the error of practically making Dante the hero of the whole poem; which, if so, should have concluded with what we shall find Professor Earle regarding as his spiritual marriage to Beatrice.

The Professor's opinion that 'with the twenty-eighth Canto, which is the first of the Earthly Paradise, we pass into a new atmosphere, out of the historical into that which is avowedly allegorical and symbolical' (p. xxxix), makes him regard both the things and the persons treated of, in a

[1] *De Mon.* iii. c. 16, ll. 45–52.

Digitized by Google

'sembianza non sua.' Thus, Matilda, the fair lady whom Dante encounters in the 'divine forest' of this canto, is neither the Countess Matilda nor any other of the persons with whom different commentators have identified her. She 'is not any particular person at all; not a woman, but Woman.' And besides being Woman, she is also Wisdom, and 'she knows the secrets of Creation' (p. xxvi). In passing, we may remark that, if so, she is the equal of 'Philosophy' or 'Wisdom' as described in the *Convito* (iii. c. 15, ll. 8–11), where Dante says that 'things appear in her aspect which display the pleasures of Paradise'—*i.e.* the Heavenly Paradise—together with much more about the wonders of her eyes and smile: all which praises may with reason be considered as referable also to the glorified Beatrice, but in no way to her precursor Matilda.[1] Next, with regard to Beatrice herself, because Dante in the *Vita Nuova* evades all direct assertion of her death, although the Professor admits that he refers to it 'both beforehand in the way of presentiment, and afterwards in the way of allusion' (p. lxxvii) we are told to infer that her death never happened. We suppose that Professor Earle is one of those who regard her as not a real but an allegorical personage; for he proceeds to say that in the Earthly Paradise Dante can choose among the incidents of her mortality such as naturally bear an allegorical meaning. When therefore she speaks in Canto xxxi. of her death, her members disintegrated in the earth, her change from body to spirit, all this is to be understood only of the shedding of those πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα which have supplied the framework of juvenile theology (p. lxxix). And as there is a danger that when childish theology is left behind, all theology may be dropped with it, the reproaches of Beatrice to Dante for his conduct after her death relate to his letting religion slip and closing with philosophy instead. This last conclusion is the same as that arrived at by Scartazzini, and the only one in which we can agree with the Professor. (We assume, of course, that he does not mean by 'Philosophy' the *Divine* Philosophy which he identifies with Beatrice.) We come now to the most extraordinary of all the theories propounded by our author. In the midst of the mystical procession of the personified books of the Old and New Testaments described in Canto xxix., a two-wheeled triumphal car figures, drawn by a Gryphon—a fabulous animal described by the ancients as

[1] Professor Earle himself says (p. lxxxviii) that Beatrice in the *Commedia* 'is not frankly (ἁπλῶς) the Church, but Heavenly Wisdom, Divine Philosophy, which is the same as Theologia.'

Digitized by Google

half eagle and half lion. Accordingly Dante says of this Gryphon (ll. 113, 114) that 'he had gold members, as far as he was bird, and the rest white, mixed with vermilion.' And, as the Professor admits, the opinion of the commentators, that he represents Christ, is in possession of the field. He, however, entirely dissents from it.

'How,' he says, 'does it agree with the colours of white and red in the description? The main colour is white, that is to say the foundation of the Gryphon's character is Faith. Is it possible that the poet (who was a theologian) could have meant to apply this characteristic to Christ? When was Faith ever attributed to Him? Of His people it is the most universal and comprehensive attribute; they are Believers, "Fideles," the Faithful: such is their commonest designation. But for Christ Himself, He awakens faith in others; He is the object, not the subject, of faith. The text itself furnishes us with abundant evidence of the poet's meaning, which is very far indeed from that which the commentators have imposed upon him. The Gryphon symbolizes the general body of the Faithful, the bulk of the Christian congregation, the simple folk, the unlettered laity, and his rigid figure is the complement to the graceful beauty of Beatrice, who represents the *élite*, the dignity, authority, wisdom, and government of the Christian Church' (p. li).

Let us closely examine these assertions. The commentators are agreed in explaining that the gold part of the Gryphon refers to the divine nature of Christ, and the 'white mixed with vermilion' part to His human flesh and blood. Professor Earle is not warranted in saying that white is the main colour. Dante lays no more stress upon it than upon the red. Assuming, however, that white *is* the main colour, it is a far cry from that to the conclusion that it has here any reference to Faith. Compare with the description of the Gryphon that of the Angels in the Empyrean.[1] 'They all had faces of living flame; the wings of gold; and the rest of such whiteness as no snow can arrive at.' Here we have, in addition to gold, red and white colours not mixed, as in the Gryphon, but in separate parts of the figure; and an instance in which the main colour *is*, undoubtedly, the white. Does it on that account import that the Angels have faith? When was faith ever attributed to them? Faith is the evidence of things not seen; but they have the full fruition of the sight of God, from whose face they have never turned their sight.[2] The fact is that Professor Earle cannot refrain from assigning an allegorical meaning to every colour which Dante mentions, and, as we shall

[1] *Par.* xxxi. 13–15. [2] *Par.* xxix. 76–8.

Digitized by Google

see hereafter, does not restrict himself to colours which occur in the Earthly Paradise. This propensity so biases his judgment that it leads him constantly to wrong conclusions.

We now pass on to consider his astounding proposition that the Gryphon symbolizes the simple, unlettered and untutored Christian laity. He supports it by the further passages in which the Gryphon and his actions are referred to. These are *Purg.* xxxi. 80, 81, 121–6; xxxii. 25–7, 43–51, and 85–90. We will take them in their order. We notice, as regards the first (*Purg.* xxxi. 80, 81), that he does not cite line 80, but line 81 only. We must rectify this omission. The two lines are as follows:

'Vider Beatrice volta in sulla fiera,
Ch' è sola una persona in due nature.'

The Professor renders the second of these lines by 'Who is one sole person in two natures.' But 'sola' agrees not with 'persona,' but with 'fiera' in line 80, and the true rendering of the passage is, 'They saw Beatrice turned towards the animal which, alone, is one person in two natures.' The correct interpretation demolishes at a stroke the whole argument which the Professor founds upon the wide application of the term 'one sole person in two natures.' It at once puts an end to Didron's theory that the Gryphon signifies the Pope—eagle so far as he is priest, and lion so far as he is king—and Professor Earle's, that he represents man in his double nature, half earthly and half spiritual. Of whom, save of Christ, can it be truly said that He, *alone*, is one person in two natures, the divine and the human? Compare *Par.* xiii. 25–7:

'Lì si cantò non Bacco, non Peana,
Ma tre Persone in divina natura
Ed *in una persona essa e l' umana.*'

He, *alone*, even of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, has both the natures. 'Sola' is the emphatic word in the lines we have been considering.

We now turn to *Purg.* xxxi. 121–6. Space forbids us to cite the whole of these lines, but the material ones are 122, 123:

'La doppia fiera dentro vi raggiava
Or con uni or con altri reggimenti.'

Anglicè, 'The double animal was flashing within them,[1] now with one and now with other "reggimenti."' The Professor

[1] 'them,' *i.e.* the eyes of Beatrice, in which the Gryphon was reflected.

Digitized by Google

wrongly translates this word 'reggimenti' by 'Governments.' It occurs in but one other passage in the *Divina Commedia*, viz. *Purg.* xvi. 128, where it is undoubtedly used for the two governments, of priest and of king. He says that the word has the same meaning in both passages; but he goes completely astray, as the Church of Rome is in the first passage said to have done, 'per confondere in sè due reggimenti.' Nothing can be more obvious than that here there is no question of 'governments,' but that 'reggimenti' has the same sense as in the *Convito* (iii. c. 7, ll. 95–113), where Dante says that the operations proper to the rational soul, in which the *divine* light most keenly *shines* ('raggia,' the same word, be it observed, here used for the Gryphon's action), consist in speech and actions, which are usually called 'reggimenti e portamenti.' And in Book iv. c. 25, ll. 13–15, he says that gentle 'reggimenti' consist in sweet and courteous speech, sweet and courteous service and action. Beyond doubt these are the 'reggimenti' which Dante speaks of in the lines before us. And although they are not elsewhere referred to, under that designation, in the *Divina Commedia*, they are implied in a passage in the *Paradiso* (xviii. 52–4), where he says that he turned himself to see his duty marked out for him in Beatrice 'either by speech or by action;' that is to say, he looked to see what 'reggimenti' she was displaying.[1] Professor Earle, citing Longfellow's mistaken translation of the word as 'natures,' goes off at a tangent to object that the assumption that the Gryphon was reflected in the eyes of Beatrice, now in the divine and now in the human nature, raises the difficulty of understanding how the divine nature could be represented to the eye; and also amounts to a forestalling of the contemplation of the mystery of the Incarnation, which Dante reserves for the final canto of the poem. To this we answer that Beatrice here represents Theology, and that Theology contemplates Christ at one time under His human, at another under His divine *aspect*. This involves no necessity for considering the mystery of the Incarnation. The Incarnate Person, only, is the subject of it. *E.g.* the eye may picture, and the mind may dwell upon, at one time His 'reggimenti' at the marriage at Cana in Galilee, and at another His Transfiguration. The passage lends no support whatever to the Professor's surprising conclusion from it that

[1] Perhaps, if we are to employ a single word to render the meaning of 'reggimenti,' 'gestures' comes nearest to it.

Digitized by Google

'The real subject of the meditation of Beatrice is the faithful laity, the plain untutored folk who accept the gospel from their teachers, and contribute little from their own minds beyond the instinctive recognition of spiritual truth. On these simple folk she is gazing with emerald eyes, that is to say with eyes of Hope, and she sees the lay people, not as they appear to the casual observer, but in all the fullness of their potential and ultimate development. The mass of day labourers and mechanic artisans are yet to be, what Dante himself has been dubbed by Virgil, kings and priests' (p. xci).

He also says that 'So wonderful was the transforming power of the emeralds, that they translated, not reflected, the Gryphon, displaying as his equivalent *in posse* august human figures, now of priest and now of king.' We have shown that the theory that priests and kings were reflected falls to the ground when the interpretation of 'reggimenti' by the author is shown to be erroneous. And as to the ascription to Beatrice's eyes of the power to translate, not reflect, the Gryphon, Dante expressly says, in lines 125, 126, that the transformation of his reflection was *his* act—and therefore not hers. As to the degradation of seeing in an animal which combines the eagle's and the lion's natures the symbol of a set of stupid day labourers and mechanics, we shall have to say a word or two before we conclude. And as to the supposition that Beatrice saw the reflection of the Gryphon not as it actually existed but prophetically as it might hereafter exist, it is so opposed to Dante's faithful adherence to the actual present condition of everything that he saw, that we shall not waste words in combating it.

The next passage is *Purg.* xxxii. 25–27. This is a mere allusion to the impassibility of the Gryphon, who, in drawing the car towards the tree of knowledge, did not stir a feather. In this the Professor discovers that 'the Gryphon has no sympathy with the new departure; he complies mechanically, but exhibits no emotion of interest in the movement;' or that, 'more generally,' the passage 'may be taken to indicate blank simplicity and passive obedience' (p. cii). We leave our readers to judge between this opinion, which again degrades the Gryphon into an animal in the lowest scale of creation, and the received one, viz. that Christ guides the Church without visible effort or show of external means.

Purg. xxxii. 43–51 next calls for our consideration. The first three lines contain the benediction of the Gryphon for refraining from stripping with his beak the tree of knowledge. Here again the Professor falls foul of those who suppose that this commendation is directed to Christ. To

Digitized by Google

us, on the other hand, He appears to be a most appropriate object for it. In line 37 'Adam' had been ejaculated by the saintly spirits accompanying Beatrice. They may be supposed to have then had in mind the sin of Adam in tasting the forbidden fruit of the tree. What more natural than that, when they find the Gryphon wholly abstaining from it, they should bless Him for His self-denial. To quote for once Dr. Shadwell's rendering:

'O Griphon, blest art thou, that ne'er
With beak that tempting tree wilt tear,
The taste whereof will make
The bowels sore to ache.'

The speakers' thoughts revert to the consequences of Adam's transgression:

'Il Padre, per lo cui ardito gusto
L'umana specie tanto amaro gusta.'[1]

They reflect that, in the words of Cardinal Newman's well-known hymn:

'When all was sin and shame,
A second Adam to the fight
And to the rescue came.'[2]

We have to choose between this view and the Professor's, which is that the blessing is bestowed upon the unlearned folk, signified according to him by the Gryphon, and that they are blest for not being captivated with a taste for knowledge of high things; inasmuch as 'when people without competent education amass learning, they fail in the digestion of it, and drift into tortuous currents of thought, bringing confusion and pain' (p. cv). He also treats the reference to the Gryphon's beak as importing that, when the uneducated aspire to understand great matters and go about to collect knowledge, they generally gather only the results and tips of learning, well figured by the leaves and flowers which a bird's beak might snap off. Here again this commendation of purposed ignorance, and of abstention from the acquisition of knowledge, still further degrades the Gryphon, if he is regarded as the fitting object of it.

In lines 47, 48 the Gryphon, styled the 'binato' animal, utters his only speech, which is:

'Sì si conserva il seme d' ogni giusto.'

In this 'seed of all that is just' the Professor recognizes 'Faith' again, which, he says, is so described by the rhetorical

[1] *Par.* xxxii. 122, 123. [2] No. 172 in *Hymns Ancient and Modern.*

Digitized by Google

figure Antonomasia. Thus he makes the Gryphon say that, 'for simple folk who desire to hold fast their faith, it is better not to meddle with learned controversies; a favourite apothegm with untutored believers in every generation' (p. cviii).

Once more, therefore, he presents us with a Gryphon composed of an eagle with clipped wings and claws, and of a caged and tamed lion. What a contrast to that (also golden-winged) eagle which descended, 'terrible as lightning,' in Dante's dream, and snatched him up to the gate of Purgatory (Canto ix. 19–30); and to that lion which came against him in the dreadful wood, head erect, and ravenous with hunger, and of whom the very air seemed afraid![1] We must not omit to notice that the Professor translates 'binato' by 'twice born.' He says, and truly, that this epithet is inapplicable to Christ; but, as we have seen before, he is beset by an inaccuracy in his translations of which this is another instance. The word does not mean 'twice born,' but 'two-natured.' It has the same sense as 'doppia' in line 122 of Canto xxxi.,[2] and as 'biforme' in line 96 of Canto xxxii. If so, there is an end of the fantastical explanation that we have in the word a reference to the evangelical doctrine of the new birth of the faithful. We therefore adhere to the commentators who see in line 48 a reference to Christ's saying, 'Thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.'

In lines 49–51 we are told that the Gryphon dragged the car to the tree and left it bound thereto. Professor Earle discerns in this another proof that the Gryphon cannot be Christ, to whom Dante would never have assigned such a menial act. But what says Dante in *De Mon.* iii. c. 3, ll. 75–9? 'Ante quidem Ecclesiam sunt vetus et novum Testamentum, quod "in eternum mandatum est," ut ait Propheta; hoc enim est quod dicit Ecclesia, loquens ad Sponsum: "Trahe me post te."' So, in *Epist.* viii. par. 4, ll. 42–5, he upbraids the heads of the Church as 'per manifestam orbitam Crucifixi currum Sponsæ regere negligentes.'

Purg. xxxii. 85–90, the last passage concerning the Gryphon, relates his ascension, followed by the angels and glorified saints who had accompanied Beatrice. But, says the Professor, this ascent is not to be identified with the ascension of Christ, except in the sense of the collect which prays that as we believe Him 'to have ascended into the

[1] *Inf.* i. 46–8.

[2] So the Centaurs are spoken of in *Purg.* xxiv. 121–123 as having fought against Theseus 'coi doppi petti.'

Digitized by Google

heavens, so we may also in heart and mind thither ascend' (pp. cxii, cxiii). The meaning merely is that the elevating discipline of the ordinary Christian life, supported by the Scriptures, is a pilgrimage towards the upper regions. Or, if we choose, we may, he says, regard this ascension as a mere exit, a disappearance rather than a dismissal.

From first to last, in short, the Gryphon is, in the estimation of the Professor, a humble, ignorant retainer of the Church, dutifully contented with that ignorance. And this in spite of his golden wings, which soared upward beyond the range of sight;[1] in spite of his eagle nature, that of the bird whose flight is above all others;[2] which can even endure to face the sun;[3] and is the symbol, in *Par.* xviii., not of unlettered laymen, but of the glorious company of sainted righteous rulers.

If the Professor is right, we can but express our amazement that it should have been reserved for him, more than six centuries after Dante's birth, to discover a truth hidden from the eyes of all the commentators, editors, and translators who have preceded him.

The subject of the Gryphon has required such attentive consideration that we must be brief in noticing the Professor's other strange discoveries. Foremost among these is the theory that the mystical procession of the personified Scriptures, in which, as we have seen, the Gryphon figures, is a bridal procession in honour of Beatrice the bride, and Dante the bridegroom, whose spiritual nuptials are celebrated by his approach to and gaze into her emerald eyes, under the guidance of the four cardinal and the three theological virtues, and by her unveiling her face to him, as described in *Purg.* xxxi. 130–145. Surely, however, this, as we have said, is to make the *Divina Commedia* nothing more than a love story of which Dante is the hero, 'the lover whom' Beatrice 'has chosen' (p. lxxx), and with whose marriage, although not such a one as to violate the *neque nubent* principle,[4] the poem ought to terminate. But since, as before, this manifestation of herself, Dante continues to be no more than Beatrice's reverential pupil and follower. So far from in any way arrogating to himself the position of a husband, he describes himself in the next canto as wholly devoted to her commands, and he addresses her, in the Heaven of the Moon, as the object of the love of the primal Lover, *i.e.* God, and as herself a goddess;[5] and his final address to her after she has left him,

[1] *Purg.* xxix. 112. [2] *Inf.* iv. 96. [3] *Par.* xx. 31.
[4] See *Purg.* xix. 136, 137. [5] *Purg.* xxxii. 106, 107; *Par.* iv. 118.

Digitized by Google

and he beholds her seated afar off in glory, is in fact, and indeed is called by him, a prayer.[1]

The Professor, if we may say so, is too much under the influence of Bunyan, as also under the tendency to see constant symbolism in all colours, to be able to rid himself of the habit of contemplating Dante as a pilgrim pure and simple, and those with whom he meets as destined for bliss, or helpers to the bliss of others, if only they are associated with red, white, or green. Take for instance the stress which he lays upon the colours in which Beatrice is described as arrayed, in *Purg.* xxx. 31–3. In these we have those three colours in, respectively, her white veil, her green mantle, and her vesture of living flame; but Professor Earle must add to these the further green of her olive wreath, without which her possession of Faith, Hope and Charity is sufficiently indicated. Green, moreover, is the colour which more than any other warps his opinions. Thus, even in Hell, all those who in any way are said to be associated with that colour, have consequently, he maintains, a good hope of salvation. This is true of the virtuous heathen in Limbo, who are gathered together in a green meadow;[2] and even Brunetto Latini will be saved, because he, on parting from Dante, runs off at a pace so swift as to recall that of the winner in the race at Verona for a green mantle. The trifling obstacle to this theory, arising from the last line in the inscription on the gate of the Inferno, 'Abandon all hope, ye who enter,'[3] is got rid of by the assumption that, as Hell says it, it is so far false that it is subject to exceptions. Yet poor Brunetto Latini tells Dante that should he halt to speak to him he must lie down for a hundred years without fanning from him the tormenting rain of fire; and speaks of himself as one of a troop under eternal damnation.[4] And as to the inscription on the gate, it surely must be regarded as placed there not by demons but by the *alto Fattore.* In *Purg.* iii. 133–135, King Manfredi's Spirit tells Dante that excommunication does not exclude the subject of it from eternal love, so long as hope has aught of green; but this is a statement far short of the assertion that wherever there is green, there is hope. Virgil, apart though he is from connexion with this colour, is in the Professor's opinion sure of ultimate salvation, and therefore must be regarded as unduly despondent whenever he asserts the contrary, as in *Inf.* iv. 41–3; *Purg.* iii. 40–45, xxi. 16–18; and Statius is mistaken in telling him that though his writings

[1] *Par.* xxxi. 79–91. [2] *Inf.* iv. 111–114. [3] *Inf.* iii. 9.
[4] *Inf.* xv. 37–42.

Digitized by Google

had led him (Statius) to turn Christian, they had in nowise averted his own doom.[1]

There are several ingenious suppositions by Professor Earle: *e.g.* that Dante never leaves only six instances of anything, but either before or after giving that number implies a seventh; with which we are pleased to have no fault to find. We may notice the following. In *Inf.* iv. Dante is received into fellowship with five chief poets, and makes the sixth. But Statius, though he does not appear till far on in Purgatory (*Purg.* xxi. 91), completes the number of seven. This adds one more to the plausible conjectures which have been made as accounting for the introduction of Statius at all into the poem.

We must now bring our criticisms to an end. Such is the captivating style and the alluring rhetoric of Professor Earle, that we cannot part from his essay without a feeling of some regret that it leaves us unconvinced.

ART. VII.—MRS. OLIPHANT'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

The Autobiography and Letters of Mrs. M. O. W. Oliphant. Arranged and Edited by Mrs. HARRY COGHILL. (Blackwoods, 1899.)

WHEN Mrs. Oliphant passed away amid the festivities of the Queen's second Jubilee, the average English reader could not but acknowledge that, as Tennyson in 1890 had expressed it, her 'prolific work had been amazing,' and would very likely add with him that 'she was nearly always worth reading.' If the question had then been put, in the words of the 'beloved second cousin' who has edited her Autobiography and Letters, 'Who has ever achieved the same variety of literary work with anything like the same level of excellence?' it might have received an affirmative reply. But no one outside the circle of private friendship would have supposed that hers was a specially interesting personality. The volume before us makes that fact abundantly clear. It contains a fragmentary autobiography, which the Editor in one passage calls a journal, and which was begun specially for her younger son, and written at long intervals between 'her early

[1] *Purg.* xxii. 64–72.

Digitized by Google

widowhood' in 1859 and the death of that son in 1894.[1] Mr. Leslie Stephen, in the *National Review*, has justly called it 'pathetic;' but the pathetic deepens into the tragic as the story advances to its close. It might be called a fresh comment on the old theme of 'The Vanity of Human Wishes;' but it is really a record of the slow, sure blighting of a mother's brilliant hopes, which for years had supplied the motive force for work at once 'enormous in volume and multifarious in kind.' She survived the final blow, the death of 'her last, her dearest,' for the greater part of three years; 'I am forced to live,' she wrote, 'though everything in life is gone' (p. 407).

Margaret Oliphant Wilson—we presume that this was the full form of her name as unmarried—was born at a Lothian village called Wallyford, within sight of Arthur's Seat. The date of her birth is not given in the Autobiography, but in a letter of January 1884; it was April 4, 1828. We might wish that, while respecting her 'distinct injunction that no biography of her was to be written,' the Editor had felt free to illustrate the blanks in the personal narrative by a few footnotes, or to add somewhat to the disappointingly 'slight thread of story' by which her letters have been 'connected.' As it is, we must take what we have got, and have abundant reason to be thankful. Her earliest recollections were associated with Lasswade, a pretty little village about six miles from Edinburgh, where Scott had taken a cottage in the first year of his married life. Her father was a Scotchman of the lower middle class, and, we should imagine, inferior in practical ability to his compeers; morbidly shy and taciturn, incapable of exercising any influence in his own household—altogether a poor sort of creature. The mother, who set a high value on her descent from the ancient line of Oliphant, was a high-spirited, quick-tempered, warmly affectionate, intensely energetic woman, whom her daughter found it difficult to refer to any distinctive human type, and whose temperament prepared the future authoress to 'understand the Carlyles,' and thereby to win such a commendation as Carlyle gave her in a note to Tennyson.[2] It was a vehement, impulsive, and almost

[1] The Autobiography ends with: 'And now here I am all alone. *I cannot write any more.*'

[2] He introduces her as 'an old and esteemed friend, distinguished in literature (*Life of Edward Irving*, &c.), and, what is best of all, a highly amiable, rational, and worthy lady' (*Memoir of Alfred, Lord Tennyson*, p. 616). Of the *Life of Irving*, she says in a letter of 1862 that she will be 'disappointed if it does not make some commotion. There never was such a hero—such a princely, magnanimous, simple heart.'

Digitized by Google

turbulent nature, in which vast kindness and generosity were strangely combined with strong partisanship and a 'dangerous facility of sarcasm.' Ere long the family removed to Glasgow, and afterwards to Liverpool, where Mr. Wilson 'had an office in the Custom-house.' They retained their Free Church Presbyterianism and their militant radicalism; the dark corner of their life was the ever-recurring anxiety and ultimately the bitter shame produced by the moral breakdown of one of the sons, who, after falling more than once 'into his old vice and debt and misery,' was fondly supposed to have so far righted himself as to be qualified for the duties of an English Presbyterian minister near Berwick. Ere long another collapse put an end to all hopes; 'he never got out of the mire, nor was able to support himself again.' His utter want of self-controlling power had previously brought Margaret to London to 'take care of him' during a course of theological studies; and this led to an acquaintance with her cousin, Francis Oliphant, and thus to her marriage in the May (unlucky month!) of 1852, three years after her mother had 'laughed and cried with pride and happiness and amazement unbounded' over the publication of 'Maggie's story,' called *Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland*, a book which won cordial praise from so rigid a critic as Jeffrey,[1] and the first of a series which 'can hardly number less than a hundred.' Her husband was an artist, but by no means of the first order; her parents lived with the young couple in London, but she drops a hint of interior discomfort; 'my husband and my mother did not get on: my father sat passive, not perceiving much.' Her firstborn child was another Margaret; but she lost two infant children—a mournful foreshadowing of far more agonizing bereavements, although she confesses with a sort of shame that the death of 'her little Marjorie' in 1855 had given her a deeper pang than that which came, five months earlier, with the departure of the mother who 'had been everything to her all her life' (she had much more of life to go through under the saddest conditions), 'and to whom she was everything.' The birth, in November 1856, of her eldest son, Cyril, 'her

[1] See this letter (January 5, 1850), in p. 153. Mrs. Oliphant calls it 'full of the most delicate criticism and fatherly commendation' (*Lit. Hist. Engl.* ii. 67). The once formidable Aristarchus of the *Edinburgh*, who, as Lockhart says, was so 'unjust and petulant' as the reviewer of *Marmion*, had become *lenior et melior* as he approached his end. He discerned the feminine hand in *Margaret Maitland*, and said that he had been 'captivated' by the book before he received a copy from the unknown author.

Digitized by Google

beautiful, delightful child,' is recorded in the Autobiography with 'sudden tears' that prevent her from 'seeing the page;' for she is writing in January 1891, some three months after his death. Her life in London was pleasant enough; she 'wrote steadily, and got about 400*l.* for a novel. . . . I linger upon this brief, and, as it feels to me now, halcyon time' (p. 44).

In the summer of 1858 the cloud which was to darken all first showed itself; she was told that her husband had 'brought up a little blood. . . . He never was well after;' but the whole significance of the symptom was not made known to her, or perhaps she refused to take it in. They left England for Italy in January 1859, and suffered much on the journey, especially in the severe cold of Lyons; from thence, by Marseilles and Cannes and Genoa, they reached Florence, where 'Frank' became worse and worse, but her 'sanguine' nature prevented her from realizing the situation:[1] he evidently foresaw the end, and 'set his heart on going to Rome,' perhaps, as she thinks, because he had a friend there who might be 'a help' to his wife in her approaching bereavement. In October a French doctor told Mrs. Oliphant *franchement* ('that word,' she adds, 'always even now gives me a thrill when I read it'), that there was 'no hope;' her husband bravely said, 'Well, if it so, that is no reason why we should be miserable.' He 'died quite conscious, kissing me when his lips were already cold,' and so left her 'with two helpless children and one unborn, and very little money, and no friends but the Macphersons,' a strange and somewhat 'Bohemian' couple, 'who were as good to me as brother and sister, but had no power to help me beyond that,' &c. Her relation with the great publishing house of Blackwood had become—as it always continued—a relation of helpful friendship; but her prospects were doubtful enough when she returned to England, and after a while to Scotland, being 'only thirty-one, and in full convalescence of sorrow.' Her second son was born after his father's death, and named after him, although from her habit (hardly a wise one) of keeping up baby-names for sons after they grew into manhood, not only is Cyril repeatedly mentioned as 'Tiddy' or 'Tids,' but even the Editor writes of his brother as 'Cecco,' the pet-form of 'Francesco.' We must pass rapidly over the first years of her widowed life. She drew more and more closely to the Blackwoods, and

[1] 'We have great hopes,' she wrote, 'from the doctor that he wants chiefly rest and change' (p. 166).

Digitized by Google

made acquaintance with Carlyle and his wife, for both of whom she conceived a fervent admiration, in which Mr. Blackwood could not share, and also with Principal and Mrs. Tulloch of St. Andrews, who became her warm friends, the latter being constantly spoken of by Mrs. Oliphant as the *padrona*. With them, and with her earlier friend, Mrs. Macpherson, she made a second journey to Rome—a journey which ended in the next great sorrow of her life, described in a record dated at Rome in 1864.

'Oh, this terrible, fatal, miserable Rome! I came here rich and happy, with my blooming daughter, my dear bright child . . . who was as sweet as a little mother to her brothers. There was not an omen of evil in any way. . . . My Maggie looked the healthiest and happiest of all the children, and ailed nothing, and feared nothing, nor I for her. Four short days made all the difference. . . . My dearest love never knew, nor imagined, that she was dying; no shadow of dread ever came upon her sweet spirit' (p. 92).

The next two pages might seem almost too sacred for publication. A few words—a few accents of the bitter cry of a mother's heart, may perhaps be quoted: 'I have nobody now; my friends are very sorry for me; but there is nobody in the world who has a right to share my grief, to whom my grief belongs, as it does to myself; and that is what one longs for. Sympathy is sweet, but sympathy is for lighter troubles.'

Twenty years later, she referred gratefully to an Italian Marchese as 'watching over her little sanctuary in the English cemetery with a delicate sympathy which that dear people has the secret of' (p. 316). The present writer, who had the honour of a slight personal acquaintance with Mrs. Oliphant, made a special visit to that gravestone at the summit of the cemetery-slope, which, she says in the dedication-page of her *Makers of Modern Rome*, covers the remains of 'those of mine who lie under the walls of . . . that sad city.' The inscription records the death of the little daughter, aged ten, 'on her mother's second visit to Rome: *God have pity on the living!*' Writing in 1894, when she had become childless, Mrs. Oliphant says:

'I laid her by her father, and it seemed to me that all light and hope were gone from me for ever. Up to five years ago,[1] I could not say her dear name without the old pang coming back; since then, when there came to be another to bury in my heart, my little girl seemed all at once to become a tranquil sweet recollection; and now that all are gone, she is but a dear shadow, far in the background, while my boys take up in death, as in life, the whole of the darkened scene' (p. 95).

[1] *Sic.* It was on November 9, 1890, that Cyril died.

Digitized by Google

Can any fictitious tale of sorrow match this for pathos?

We must again pass over a good deal that the Autobiography chronicles about Mrs. Oliphant's sojourn in Paris, her introduction to, and converse with, the celebrated Comte de Montalembert, and with other very different and indeed curious acquaintances, such as the 'unfrocked priest' 'Father Prout,' and a 'coarse, half-vulgar' and discredited 'Oxford man,' who tutorised her son Cyril—'not a bad man,' though 'perhaps a little vicious,' and 'certainly addicted to drink'—an estimate which reminds us 'a little' of Johnson's pronouncement on poor Sir John Hawkins. The English travellers, after leaving Paris, spent some time in Normandy and Brittany, and were of course 'delighted with Mont St. Michel;' from St. Malo, by way of avoiding a prolonged voyage, they drove along the coast to Boulogne, and after reaching England found a home—which became the home of many years—at Windsor in November of 1865.

It is in connexion with this period of her life that Mrs. Oliphant avows what perhaps should be regarded as a defect—her 'carelessness in pecuniary matters' (p. 106).

'I never had any expensive tastes, but loved the easy swing of life without taking much thought for the morrow. . . . I made enough to carry me on easily, almost luxuriously, but not enough to save. . . . I fear it was not in me to practise that honourable pinching and sparing by which some women do so much.'

So in an earlier passage (p. 64) she says that it was 'her way to travel expensively, though, Heaven knows, our position was poor enough' (cf. p. 91), and in a later (p. 126):

'Never knowing quite at the beginning of the year how the ends would come together at Christmas—always with troublesome debts and forestalling of money earned, so that I had generally eaten up the price of a book before it was printed—but always (thank God for it!) so far successfully that, though always owing somebody, I never owed anybody to any unreasonable amount, or for any unreasonable extent of time.'

This reminds one of what R. H. Hutton blames in Scott, 'the wild and dangerous practice' of raising money on the security of literary work not yet completed—of the 'forestalling his gains' and 'drawing bills on the future.'[1] Mrs. Oliphant further on (p. 129) admits with a certain severe candour that her 'rash' proceedings in this direction constituted

[1] *Sir Walter Scott* (series of *English Men of Letters*), p. 87.

Digitized by Google

'at least an unmoral mode of life. . . . I should think any one who did so blamable now. . . . I might say now that another woman doing the same thing was tempting Providence. To tempt Providence, or to trust God—which was it? In my own case, naturally, I said the latter, and did not in the least deserve, in my temerity, to be led and constantly rescued, as I was.'

So in 1872 she tells Mr. Blackwood (p. 238) that she was ready, *if* 'the necessity absolutely arose,' to make the sacrifice of removing 'to some cheap village where she could live at less expense; but she would rather work to the utmost of her powers than withdraw from all that makes existence agreeable.'

There was one dominant motive for the expenditure into which she ran by sending her two sons, for instance, to Eton,[1] a school which her husband would doubtless have regarded as far beyond his own means and the natural prospects of his children. She was ambitious for the boys, each of whom had undoubted abilities, although the elder, Cyril, was the more brilliant. She decided to give them all possible advantages, to surround them with 'all that was happy and pleasant and of good report.' She knew that she had become a personage in one or two departments of literature —that she had achieved for herself a higher place than an artist's widow could as such have hoped to occupy. Life should be made sunny for them: doors should be opened, connexions formed, opportunities of distinction multiplied. Few will have the heart to blame her; and yet in one very affecting passage (p. 106) of an Autobiography which must needs open all hearts to its subject, she tells us (be it remembered that she intended its pages for publication) that she has been lately pondering over a mournful question. Had she not 'so accustomed' the boys

'to the easy going-on of all things, never letting them see my anxieties, or know that there was a difficulty about anything, that their minds were formed to that habit, that it took all thought of *necessity* out of my Cyril's mind. . . . It was a kind of forlorn pleasure to me, that they had never wanted anything; but this turns it into a remorse. Who can tell? God alone over all knows,' &c.

It was certainly a drawback and a loss to the two youths that the obligation of work was never adequately impressed upon their consciences. As a matter of fact, their path was somewhat too smooth, and they were thus tempted to avoid

[1] They used 'to read to her a verse or two out of her little well-worn Bible' before starting as day-boys for school.

Digitized by Google

strenuous mental exertion, to rely on 'natural impulse and that kind of genius which is so often deceptive in youth.' Cyril, whom she once calls 'her careless boy,' 'missed somehow his footing—how can I tell how?' He 'never outgrew the perversity of youth;' and his mother's contempt for a priggish intellectualism 'gave him, perhaps, or helped him to form, a prejudice against the good and reading men' at Oxford, 'who have so many affectations, poor boys! and led him towards those, so often inferior .... who had the naturalness, along with the folly, of youth .... He went out of the world, leaving a love-song or two behind him," and a single 'little volume' on the French writer De Musset, of which 'much was so well done, and yet some so badly done, and nothing more to show for his life. And I to watch it all going on, day by day and year by year!'[1]

'My Cecco,' she adds, 'took the first steps in the same way; but, thanks to God, righted himself and overcame, not in time enough to save his career at Oxford, but so as to be all that I had hoped ... my dearest companion, consulting me about everything, desiring to have me with him ... full of knowledge, full of humour, a most accomplished man, though to me always a boy ... He did not make friends easily, and he had few: but those whom he had were very fond of him,' &c. (p. 148; cp. p. 411).

The mother was right. His was a reserved nature, but his affection for those whom he trusted was most faithful, generous, and touching, and was, we have reason to know, warmly returned. His mother, in a private letter not included in this collection, admits that at Oxford he had been 'careless and idle,'[2] but pleads that 'his health had also some share in his shortcomings.' That is true of both the brothers; they had not enough physical vitality for the strain of continuous work; they could not be judged by the standard applicable to youths of healthy constitution with the consciousness of strength laid up, humanly speaking, for many

[1] Mrs. Coghill says that 'Cyril went to town to work in the chambers of a barrister, and when he was at home his mother tried to keep him to his books, much as she had done when he was a very little boy, but with less success: still, she was happy in having him at home,' &c. (p. 285). This is a melancholy sentence. Further on she speaks of his 'falling away from that bright youth—broken health, broken hopes, a dismal resignation to inactivity' (p. 378). When he died, his mother wrote to Mrs. Coghill: 'God bless my boy! Life was hard upon him.... My heart is broken!'

[2] She did not much like what she saw (in 1879) of Oxford society, and 'could not understand why Oxford should have furnished so uncomfortable a period in his early career.' The academical stage of life is indeed full of incalculable influences on character.

Digitized by Google

years.[1] The letters of 'Cecco,' which appear in the concluding portion of this book, are charming specimens of his turn of mind, his moods of humour and seriousness, and give real promise of literary distinction—a promise, unhappily, not to be fulfilled. We might refer especially to a description of an earthquake near San Remo, and of the heroism of a priest who said to his affrighted people when a shock interrupted his mass, 'We must not cease worshipping God, but it is not necessary that you should stay within these walls: go and kneel outside, and I will go on with the mass here;' and then finished it 'with all due reverence, and not till then the second shock came.' Some very sad passages in the Letters represent the mother's alternations of hope and fear as the chest-disease appeared to vary in 'Cecco.'[2] All was over for him in this life on October 1, 1894. He had survived his brother four years. The elder was thirty-four, the younger nearly thirty-five, when death claimed them. On the 5th of that sad October she wrote: 'He is lying in his coffin in the room next to me; I have been trying to pray by the side of that last bed' (p. 64).

One of the sorest disappointments of Mrs. Oliphant's life was the early death of her nephew, Frank Wilson, who, since the ruin of his incapable father had thrown a second family on her hands,[3] had been to her as a son, and to her own sons as a 'true brother.' She calls him 'her good Frank, her steady boy' (this perhaps with a sad side-reference to the weak side of Cyril's character) 'who had grown the most

[1] In the elder of them there was—perhaps from some warp in the blood—a certain 'facile lightmindedness' such as she ascribes, in her book on Venice, to poor young Jacopo Foscari, 'incapable of any serious conception of the meaning of life and its risks and responsibilities.' Her own nature was altogether of stronger stuff; it spoke out in a terse apophthegm about Burns, 'No one is led away whose will is against going' (*Lit. Hist. Engl.* i. 149).

[2] She was first warned of its presence in January 1887. 'My mind jumps at everything that is worst and most dreadful.' She goes with him to Pau, and there passes through 'tortures of anxiety;' in 1890, with both her sons to Jerusalem, and with the younger, after the elder's death, to Davos Platz, which to her was 'a vast (snowy) shroud with black trees.' 'All through he was getting weaker; and I knew it, and tried not to know' (p. 150; cp. p. 384).

[3] Nothing is more characteristic of her brave and loyal nature than her unhesitating reception of her brother's four children into her family. 'I remember making a kind of pretence to myself that I had to think it over, to make a great decision. . . . I never did, nor could, of course, hesitate a moment as to what had to be done. It *had* to be done, and that was enough' (p. 125). So she associates her nephew with her sons: 'If I can rear *three* men who may be good for something in the world, I shall not have lived for nothing' (p. 238; written in 1872).

Digitized by Google

trustworthy and satisfactory boy in the world—robust and vigorous, nothing wrong about him either real or fanciful—such a one as is a stand-by and tower of strength in a family'—'of all the family the one I had least anxiety for' (pp. 139, 283). He passed 'very well' through the school at Cooper's Hill, and went out to India in 1875; 'he had always, says Mrs. Coghill, 'been a most satisfactory and delightful young fellow, full of talent and energy, and succeeding in whatever he undertook' (p. 285). 'What a comfort,' his motherly aunt wrote to him in 1877, 'that you have found the career that suits you, and are doing well in it and liking it! Nothing gives me so much consolation' (p. 271). But two years pass, and he is carried off by rapid Indian fever. 'It is,' she writes to a friend on Christmas Eve, 'the most inscrutable blow' (p. 283).

So it was with this gifted woman—blow after blow, loss after loss; 'pain ever . . . this has been the *ower-word* of my life' (p. 92). 'Ah me, alas! pain ever, for ever. God alone knows what was the anguish of these years' (p. 146). One looks on well-nigh awestruck, as from a distance, at the picture of this exceptional and protracted trial. How did she bear it? how did it affect her character? In the answer to this lies, for Christians, the supreme interest of the book. At one time she was 'groaning under the rod' (p. 67), 'always making appeal to Heaven and earth, consciously or unconsciously, saying often, I know, as I have no right to say, "Is this fair; is it right that I should be so bowed down to the earth and everything taken from me?"' (p. 81). So, in reference to 'Maggie's' death: 'I shudder to see the light and the day returning. . . . All that I can do is to take desperate hold of this one certainty, that God cannot have done it without reason.' Then a piteous entreaty: 'Stand by the forlorn creature who fainteth under Thy hand, but whom Thou sufferest not to die' (p. 93, compare p. 193, 'the *impossible* life to which God has seen fit, He alone knows for what mysterious reason, to ordain me'). Again: 'People are sometimes in discord with common life and the will of God, as well as with the more natural thoughts and feelings of their friends' (p. 212). And yet she did not fall into sheer despair or habitual rebellion. 'It must be that God knows best.'[1] Years later,

[1] So she makes a mother say in *A Beleaguered City*, p. 223: 'It was all I was capable of, to trust my God and do what was set before me. God, He knows what we can do and what we cannot. I could not tell even to Him all the terror and the misery and the darkness that was in me, but I put my faith in Him. It was all of which I was capable.'

Digitized by Google

she could dwell (in a letter to A. K. H. Boyd) on 'the great, calm, all-sustaining sense of a Divine. Unseen, a silent companion, God walking in the cool of the garden' (p. 360), and could write to 'Cecco:' 'What has been my consolation for a very long time is the conviction that God understands what we mean, or *what we want to mean*, so much better than any one mortal can do. I have the most perfect reliance upon His sympathy. . . . Have confidence in our Heavenly Father as, and far more than, you have confidence in me, for He will never misunderstand you' (p. 365). So to Mrs. Coghill: 'It is wonderful what control we have over our own thoughts when we exercise it steadily.' She had become, perhaps gradually, a Churchwoman, and found early Communion a comfort and a help; when her last child was taken from her, she did indeed say, 'It seems as if even God did not pity me,' but at once added, 'And yet no doubt He had a higher reason than pity for me' (p. 407). In the remaining three years of her life she found solace in the loving companionship of nieces who were as daughters, the younger children of her brother Frank; and to one of them she wrote in 1895, 'Our Lord, for our everlasting consolation, was a man.' The long troubled day had a tranquil golden sunset. 'She said she could not think of God as the Almighty God of all the world, but just as her Father, and that at this moment even the thought of her children seemed to cease in the thought of Him' (what a height had been gained when she, the stricken mother, could say this!). 'She thought the love of God' (meaning, of course, love for God) 'came by degrees, and was certain that the pity of God was boundless. She spoke of being always greatly helped by prayer and thought.[1] . . . The names of her boys were on her lips almost at the last, though she had said repeatedly, "I seem to see nothing but God and our Lord."' And so, at last, 'she softly passed away' on Friday, June 25, 1897. *Transivimus per ignem et aquam, et eduxisti nos in refrigerium.* Surely thus it was well—it was best.

Much might be said of scenes in her life, or of expressions of feeling and opinion, which belong to a lower level than those solemn serene heights, with their 'ampler ether and diviner air;' and perhaps some reference should be made to her natural outfit of disposition, and its combination of buoyant hopefulness, with a liability to recurrent 'ferocious anxieties' (pp. 183, 237, 252, 343), its indomitable resolu-

[1] Many years before, she had asked a Windsor friend to 'help her in praying for the great boon' which, in a time of special anxiety, she 'desired. . . . The change she desired came to pass' (p. 116; cp. p. 128).

Digitized by Google

tion, its wonderful capacity of work, as illustrated by the fact that only once in her life did she give her mind a week's holiday (p. 287). She did not think very highly of her own writings,[1] and took no pleasure in compliments about them, still more about her industry; the text about 'wood, hay, stubble,' was often in her mind; her 'first motive' in writing was simply that it came natural to her, though 'she could no more go solemnly into them, and tell why she had done this or that, than she could fly' (p. 5). At the same time she resented patronising approbation on the part of G. H. Lewes (p. 188), and could be disheartened when critics let her best efforts fall flat without a word (p. 219).[2] She had 'never worshipped Byron,' was amused with the magniloquence of Mr. Ruskin, laughed gently at Stanley as 'grappling all dissentients to his small bosom,' thought George Eliot somewhat ponderous, and characterised Macaulay as 'the historian of sophistication.' Of his memoir she says, 'How rich and how poor a life!' Dickens was no 'favourite of hers;' she 'did not like Disraeli's works;' Miss Martineau's reputation was 'puzzling;' J. S. Mill's 'notion of the franchise for women' was 'mad' in the opinion of this distinguished authoress. Her early Radicalism had long died out, and she denounced 'the vile fallacy that all help to working men has come from so-called Liberal hands.' She thought 'the Gladstone fever the strongest proof she had heard of the old slander that Scotland is without any sense of humour;' but Gladstone, on his part, acknowledged her book on Jerusalem by a reference to 'abundant recollections of knowledge and of pleasure derived from her on many previous literary occasions.' The Queen, in February 1886, received her with marked kindness,[3] and, 'as a true Scotchwoman, ventured' to send her 'copies of the *Journal in the Highlands*,' and her return of thanks produced 'a most gracious autograph letter.' Yet she was not carried away by Scottish sentiment, either in favour of Knox, whom she calls 'a most intolerant bigot and as *dour* and obstinate as the nether millstone,' or on

[1] Of the weird and sternly suggestive story, *A Beleaguered City*, she says: 'It is a story that I like—a thing that does not always happen with my own productions' (p. 286); and she could be 'comically, not seriously, angry at a bit of a young person who complimented her on it' (p. 131). If she wrote too much and too fast for complete 'artistic' excellence, she did it deliberately, to earn enough for her 'boys' (p. 130).

[2] She was indignant at 'an insulting attack, not criticism at all, but a personal assault, in the *Saturday Review*' (p. 351).

[3] 'She spoke to me a great deal about the Tullochs, and also about myself, and was very sweet and friendly, hoping to see more of me, and other amiabilities' (p. 333).

Digitized by Google

the tender question of Mary Stuart's guilt or innocence; to call 'that wonderful woman innocent' was, for Mrs. Oliphant, as absurd as to call her 'a fool'; and in regard to Charles Edward, one of the noblest, most moving, and most musical paragraphs in English prose is that in her *Historical Sketches*, which just indicates, with pitiful forbearance,[1] the degradation of his later life, the 'darkening and shipwreck and ruin of a gracious and princely soul.' Readers who would form an idea of Mrs. Oliphant's powers in other areas than that of fiction might well study the passages in that volume on such an 'unspiritual' century as the eighteenth—or, in the *Literary History of England*, the vindication of the Waverley novels from the charge of moral fruitlessness,[2] or the estimate of Byron and Shelley as two children of the French Revolution, Byron's being 'in every way the lower side of the great rebellion against discipline and order;' or, for absolute melody and descriptive splendour, the opening of *The Makers of Venice*,[3] or, in the same book, the sympathetic sketch of the good patriarch Orso as vice-doge; or, in *The Makers of Modern Rome*, the picture of Jerome and his patrician female disciples on the Aventine, or the summary of those unique associations which, for English Christians, must ever cling to 'the time-worn steps' where Gregory the Great stood when he 'sent forth the mission to England with issues which he could never have divined. We all have a sacred right to come back here.'

This short list might be widely extended; but we must conclude with a sincere hope that Mrs. Coghill may have a speedy opportunity of making this fascinating book somewhat easier to 'turn,' and of supplying what it well deserves —a good index.

[1] 'Shipwrecked, weary of life, shamed by his knowledge of better things, consumed by vain longings for a real existence such as never could be his, the Chevalier sank as, God help us! so many sink into the awful abyss. To forget his misery, to deaden the smart of his ruin, what matters what he did?' &c. (*Hist. Sketches*, p. 247).

[2] Here she dwells on the great service done by Scott to the cause of truthfulness in his creation of Jeanie Deans—'not lovely,' outwardly commonplace, 'homely' as the farmstead on which she lived, but 'a creature of the most heroic type, full of a tenderness, forbearance, and long suffering beyond the power of man, willing rather to die than to lie, but resolute that the truth her nature has forced her to respect shall not be used for harm if her very life can prevent it,' &c. (*Lit. Hist. of England*, ii. 149).

[3] Mr. Gladstone might well say that 'the book had quite given him the feeling of being in Venice' (p. 350).

Digitized by Google

ART. VIII.—THE LETTERS OF R. BROWNING AND ELIZABETH BARRETT BARRETT.

The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, 1845–1846. Two Volumes. (London, 1899.)

THE letters of poets afford some of the most delightful specimens of English literature. The best of all letter-writers, in Robert Southey's opinion (and we agree with him), was the poet William Cowper. Southey's own letters are more interesting than his poetry; Lord Byron was an admirable letter-writer, though his letters, like his poetry, leave an unpleasant flavour in the mouth; the poet Gray's letters have been characterized, not undeservedly, by Mr. Leslie Stephen, a good judge, as 'all but the best in the best age of letter-writers;'[1] the freshness and manliness of Sir Walter Scott's letters are worthy of the novelist, and more than worthy of the poet. We can hardly say the same of the letters of Matthew Arnold; but there is a sweet domesticity about them which makes them delightful reading, and the list of good poets who have also been good letter-writers might be almost indefinitely extended. But it may safely be said that none of their letters exactly correspond with the remarkable collection published in these two volumes. Here we have a true poet and a true poetess mutually attracted to each other, first, by their respective writings, then by a correspondence entered upon and carried through twenty-seven letters without either setting eyes upon the other, then by a weekly, then by a bi-weekly interview, the climax being a runaway match, which turned out to be the greatest possible blessing to both parties.

At the first blush of the thing one is naturally inclined to ask, 'Was it right to expose to the unhallowed gaze of the general public a correspondence which was apparently of the most private character, and which palpitates throughout with the deepest emotions of the two correspondents?' To this the editor, who may be regarded as the result of the letters, wisely takes care to give us a satisfactory reply at the outset. In his 'Note,' which most people would call 'Preface,' he tells us, 'My father destroyed all the rest of his correspondence, and not long before his death, he said, referring to these letters: "There they are, do with them as you please when I

[1] Article on 'Gray, Thomas,' in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Digitized by Google

am dead and gone."' After this reassurance we need not be under the slightest scruple about treating them as public property; and they are the more valuable because the editor tells us in the same note that they 'are all that ever passed between my father and mother, for after their marriage they were never separated,' a fact which is itself significant of the happy subsequent relations between the two writers.

And, first, let it be said that these new letters fully bear out the high estimate which we have more than once taken in this *Review* of the character of one of the writers.[1] They do not, like the letters of some whom we could name, bring the hero down from his pedestal, and reduce him to the level of ordinary mortals; the letters signed 'R. B.' are worthy of Robert Browning, and those signed 'E. B. B.' are worthy of Elizabeth Barrett Barrett. In fact, they endear both of them all the more to us.

At the same time the reader must be warned that he is not to expect in these letters the graceful and finished compositions of Gray or Cowper. He will have to overcome a difficulty which the crabbed style—modelled, one might fancy, on that of Carlyle, of whom both writers were great admirers—creates before he can appreciate their merit. In fact it is, after all, the writers that give interest to the letters rather than the letters to the writers. If it were not Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett a reader might think twice before girding himself to the effort of wading through five hundred and seventy letters, filling eleven hundred and forty-six closely printed pages, all written from the same places (Wimpole Street and Hatcham), all dated between January 10, 1845, and September 18, 1846, and all dealing mainly with the writers' purely private concerns. But the game is well worth the candle, and the majority of readers will quite concur with the judgment of the editor (except in one important instance, to be noted presently), who 'thinks it well that the correspondence should be given in its entirety.' It may be, as he says, that 'a few of the letters are of little or no interest' in themselves; but even these acquire an adventitious interest when we remember who the writers were. Those who have read the *Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, which have been previously published, will readily believe it to be so in the case of one writer, and they may take our word for it that they will find it equally so in the case of the

[1] See *Church Quarterly Review* for October 1878, Art. III. 'Mr. Browning's Poems,' and for July 1890, Art. III. 'Robert Browning.'

Digitized by Google

other. Or rather they will, we hope, believe it to be so when they have read the remarks we now propose to make.

The medium through which this strangely dissimilar couple—dissimilar, that is, outwardly, for inwardly they were much alike—were brought together was Mr. John Kenyon, himself a man of some mark, a philanthropist, and a friend of most of the great literary men who adorned the early years of the nineteenth century.

'Always remember,' writes Browning to Miss Barrett in November 1845, 'I never wrote to you, all the years, on the strength of your poetry, though I constantly heard of you through Mr. K[enyon], and was near seeing you once, and might easily have availed myself of his intervention to commend any letter to your notice, so as to reach you out of the foolish crowd of rushers in upon genius—who come and eat their bread and cheese on the high altar, and talk of reverence without one of its surest instincts—never quiet until they cut their initials on the cheek of the Medicean Venus to prove they worship her. My admiration, as I said, went its natural way in silence—but when on my return to England, in December, Mr. K[enyon] sent those poems to my sister, and I read my name there—and when, a day or two after, I met him, and beginning to speak my mind on them, and getting on no better than I should now, said quite naturally—"if I were to write this, now?"—and he assured me with his perfect kindness you would be even "pleased" to hear from me under those circumstances—nay,—for I will tell you all, in this, in everything—when he wrote me a note soon after to reassure me on that point—*then* I *did* write, on *account of my purely personal obligation*, though of course taking that occasion to attend to the general and customary delight in your works,' &c. (i. 281).

After four months' correspondence Browning humbly and tentatively threw out a hint (May 13) that he should like to see Miss Barrett (i. 66), and she replied (May 16), 'If you care to come to see me you can come; and it is my gain (as I feel it to be) and not yours, whenever you do come' (i. 67). And so the intimacy began with an hour and a half's interview once a week, increased subsequently to a three-hours' interview twice a week, with innumerable letters in between. Robert Browning was at that time a young man of splendid physique, fond of society, and entering with zest into its various functions; Elizabeth Barrett was nearly four years his senior, fragile and delicate—indeed, to all appearance a confirmed invalid, shrinking from all society, as much from temperament as from ill-health. But the two were drawn together from the first; and their correspondence, beginning with compliments by each to the other's poetry, soon assumes a warmer complexion, till it breathes the language of the

Digitized by Google

most rapturous love. The expression of this love, like the Reports of a Society, we may 'take as read,' and pass on to other points which illustrate the characters of the writers and their contemporaries, and the times in which they write, on all of which topics the letters throw an interesting light.

The first thing that strikes us in the letters of both is their extreme practicalness and shrewdness, qualities one does not usually associate with the poetical temperament. These qualities are quite as conspicuous in the delicate recluse as in the robust man of the world; the reader is constantly coming upon little touches which show how shrewdly observant she was. As one instance out of hundreds take the following passage:

'It is amusing to me, quite amusing, to observe how people cannot conceive of *work* except under certain familiar forms. Men who dig in ditches have an idea that the man who leads the plough rather rests than works: and all men of out-door labour distrust the industry of the manufacturers in-doors—while both manufacturers and out-door labourers consider the holders of offices and clerkships as idle men—gentlemen at ease. Then between all these classes and the intellectual worker, the difference is wider, and the want of perception more complete. The work of creation nobody will admit—though everybody has by heart, without laying it to heart, that God rested on the seventh day. Looking up to the stars at nights that they might as well take all to be motionless—though if there were no motion there would be no morning—and they look for a morning after all. Why who could mind such obtuse stupidity?' (ii. 72).

It should be explained that Miss Procter seems to have insinuated that Robert Browning led an idle life because he only worked at his poetry, and the above remarks were sent to comfort him.

As to Robert Browning, his letters only confirm what all who knew him knew before, viz. that he was no vain dreamer, but the most rational, matter-of-fact, and, in his way, business-like man. Some people may find a difficulty in reading his poetry, but there is no difficulty in reading his character. He is a true 'vates,' but does not belong to the 'genus *irritabile* vatum.' There is not the slightest trace in his letters of any petty jealousy of his brother writers; in fact, there is no littleness and no mystery about him; he is a fine, generous Englishman throughout.

Both writers have a wide range of knowledge, quoting quite naturally and appositely Greek, Latin, French, and above all Italian, as languages with which they are familiar as a matter of course, and making allusions which show that

Digitized by Google

they are well acquainted with the best literature of their mother-tongue, both ancient and modern. Both show a knowledge of and taste for the fine arts—music, painting, sculpture, as well as poetry. Above all, both take a high standard of morals and religion. We wish we could add that both took as their guide in morals and religion the English Church, which really would have been their natural home, if they had but known it. But, at any rate when they wrote these letters, they had, neither of them, had the Church's system at all fairly or adequately presented to them. Brought up in a dissenting circle (though not apparently a bigoted one), they were naturally prejudiced against the Church by their early training; and, so far as appears, there was absolutely no countervailing influence. Nor was it likely that there should be. They knew the Church of England as she was in the years preceding the Oxford Movement, and in the years when that movement was cruelly misrepresented and intensely unpopular. To earnest, poetical natures like theirs the Church of that period, even when its best side was presented, would not be attractive; and they only saw its worst side. And so Miss Barrett only hopes that they will not be married in a 'Puseyite' church, having evidently the vaguest notion of what a Puseyite was, for she calls Archdeacon Hale one; and Robert Browning was greatly shocked (as well he might be) by Count d'Orsay's standing godfather to one of Charles Dickens's children, 'the devil-father,' he writes with pardonable indignation, 'as I take the Count to be.' 'When,' he adds, 'you remember what the form of sponsorship is, to what it pledges you in the ritual of the Church of England—and *then* remember that Mr. Dickens is an enlightened Unitarian—you will get a curious notion of the man, I fancy' (i. 136).

Miss Barrett explains what her religious position is, and Robert Browning says 'ditto'; but the reader shall judge for himself whether either of them could have been really satisfied with it.

'I used,' writes Miss Barrett, August 2, 1845, 'to go with my father always, when I was able, to the nearest dissenting chapel of the Congregationalists—from liking the simplicity of that praying and speaking without books—and a little too from disliking the theory of State Churches. There is a narrowness among the Dissenters which is wonderful; an arid, grey Puritanism in the clefts of their souls: but it seems to me clear that they know what the "liberty of Christ" *means*, far better than those who call themselves "Churchmen"; and stand altogether, as a body, on higher ground' (i. 145-6).

Digitized by Google

To which Robert Browning replied the next day, 'My father and mother went this morning to the very Independent chapel where they took me, all those years back, to be baptized, and heard, this morning, a sermon preached by the very minister who officiated on that other occasion!' (i. 147). A year later Miss Barrett is in the same doubtful state, for she writes to Robert Browning on August 13, 1846:

'Dearest, when I told you yesterday, after speaking of the many coloured theologies of the house [*i.e.* her own family], that it was hard to answer for what *I* was—I meant that I felt unwilling, for my own part, to put on any of the liveries of the sects' (ii. 429).

And then she goes on to criticize Dissenters, Formulists (that is, apparently, Church people), and Unitarians, though, she says, she 'could pray anywhere and with all sorts of worshippers from the Sistine Chapel to Mr. Fox's, those kneeling and those standing' (*ib.*).

To which Robert Browning replies:

'Dearest, I know your very meaning, in what you said of religion, and responded to it with my whole soul—what you express now is for us both—those are my own feelings, my convictions beside—instinct confirmed by reason. Look at that injunction to "love God with all the heart and soul and strength"—and then imagine yourself bidding any faculty, that arises towards the love of Him, be still!' (ii. 436.)

But, in spite of this vagueness and eclecticism, the two were intensely earnest, as far as they went, and recoiled utterly from irreligion.

'Miss Bayley,' writes Miss Barrett, '. . . . told me she was a materialist of the strictest order, and believed in no soul and no future state. In the face of those conclusions, she said, she was calm and resigned. It is more than *I* could be, as I confessed. My whole nature would cry aloud against that most pitiful result of the struggle here—a wrestling only for the dust, and not for the crown. . . . I thank God that I can look over the grave with you—*past* the grave—and hope to be worthier of you *there* at least' (ii. 137).

'And I, too,' replies Browning, 'look long over the grave, to follow you, my own heart's love' (ii. 139). Of such earnest souls may we not say, 'Cum tales sint utinam nostri essent'?

But the religious views of both writers were evidently very crude and unformed; and perhaps it would have been as well if the passages in which they are touched upon had been omitted. Some, however, may think that the omission of any reference to what is in itself the most important of all subjects, though the sentiments expressed about it are

Digitized by Google

vague and unsatisfactory, would have been a mistake; but there is another topic about the excision of which there surely cannot be two opinions. The letters give a most unfavourable impression of Miss Barrett's father; and the editor might have saved much soreness of feeling without in the least detracting from the value of the correspondence if he had used the editorial pruning-knife unsparingly in cutting out passages on this painful subject which, whether true or not, were calculated to give quite needless offence. We have heard, indeed, that there is another side to the question of the relationship between the lover and the lady's father; but this is a purely private matter, with which the general public has no concern, and into which it would be an impertinence to pry. It is a sad pity that these letters were not purged of any reference to it. From time immemorial mothers have wished to see their daughters married, while fathers have never been inclined to view with a favourable eye the men who come to rob them of their daughters. Miss Barrett had no mother living; and, to speak quite generally, we can well understand that any father might find it exasperating to have a young man hanging about his house, first for an hour and a half every week, and then for three hours twice a week. And though it may seem terribly prosaic to mention such a mundane matter in connexion with a poet and a poetess, it must not be quite forgotten that Miss Barrett had a little money and Mr. Browning had none.

But it is, after all, not in these domestic incidents, which might have happened to any one, that the main interest of the book lies, but in the curious relationship between a real poet and poetess; and as poetry was the first bond of this relationship, though it soon made way for a closer one, the first point of interest is their remarks on each other's writings. On Mr. Browning's part these are all of unqualified praise. The very first words of his first letter, 'I love your verses with all my heart, dear Miss Barrett,' are the key-note of all that follows. At a very early period of their correspondence he expresses the wish, 'I should like to write something in concert with you; how I would try!' (i. 59). But on Miss Barrett's part, mingled with enthusiastic admiration, we have criticism; of the gentlest, indeed, but still of the shrewdest and most helpful kind; and it is quite touching to observe how humbly the poet not only welcomes but courts her criticism. 'Do not you,' he writes, 'be tempted by that pleasure of pleasing which, I think, is your besetting sin—may it not be?—and so cut me off from the other pleasure of

Digitized by Google

being profited' (i. 127). 'Dear, dear Ba![1] I cannot thank you, know not how to thank you, for the notes [on *Luria*]! I adopt every one, of course, not as Ba's notes, but as Miss Barrett's, not as Miss Barrett's, but as anybody's, everybody's —such incontestable improvements they suggest' (i. 570). It is fair to add that Miss Barrett fully recognizes in him her superior in poetry—she would not have been the sensible woman she was if she had not. 'To judge at all of a work of yours, *I must look up to it*, and *far up*, because whatever faculty *I* have is included in your faculty, and with a great rim all round it besides' (i. 129).

But still she tells him her mind; and, with a true woman's instinct, sees that the point which must especially be dwelt on is the obscurity of his poems. After all, obscurity is not a merit, but a defect—a very grave and fatal defect—in any writing which is intended to be generally read, and it is undeniable that minds of greater culture than that of 'Gilead P. Beck'—as, for instance, the creator (or rather creators) of that most amusing character[2]—have found Browning unintelligible. So to this she addresses herself:

'I have been thinking much of your "Sordello" . . . . feeling that it might be thrown into the light by your hand, and greatly justify the additional effort. It is like a noble picture with its face to the wall just now—or at least, in the shadow. And so worthy as it is of you in all ways! individual all through: you have *made* even the darkness of it! And such a work as it might become if you chose—if you put your will to it! What I meant to say yesterday was not that it wanted more additional verses than the "ten per cent." you spoke of—though it does perhaps—so much as that (to my mind) it wants drawing together and fortifying in the connections and associations —which hang as loosely every here and there, as those in a dream, and confound the reader who persists in thinking himself awake' (i. 193-4). 'I do hold that nobody with an ordinary understanding has the slightest pretence for attaching a charge of obscurity to this new number,'—[that is, the new number of *Bells and Pomegranates*, under which queer title Browning was now bringing out his poems in a cheap series]—'there are lights enough for the critics to scan one another's dull blank visage by. One verse indeed in that expressive lyric of the "Lost Mistress" does still seem questionable to me, though you have changed a word since I saw it; and still I fancy that I rather leap at the meaning than reach it—but it is my own fault probably—I am not sure. With that one exception I *am quite* sure that people who shall complain of darkness are blind—I mean that the construction is clear and unembar-

[1] 'Ba' was her pet name in her own family, and Browning adopts it. Most of *his* letters begin, 'Dearest Ba,' and *hers* end, 'Your own Ba.'

[2] See *The Golden Butterfly*, ch. xxiv., by Besant and Rice.

Digitized by Google

rassed everywhere. Subtleties of thought which are not directly apprehensible by minds of a common range, are here as elsewhere in your writings—but if to utter things "hard to understand" from *that* cause be an offence, why we may begin with "our beloved brother Paul," you know, and go down through all the geniuses of the world, and bid them put away their inspirations. You must descend to the level of critic A or B, that he may look into your face. Ah well! "Let them rave." You will live when all *those* are under the willows' (i. 269).

Still she would have him as intelligible as possible, and with great good sense she writes:

'Do tell me what you mean precisely by your *Bells and Pomegranates* title. I have always understood it to refer to the Hebraic priestly garment—but Mr. Kenyon held against me the other day that your reference was different, though he had not the remotest idea how .... Tell me too why you should not in the new number satisfy, by a note somewhere, the Davuses of the world, who are in the majority ("Davi sumus, non Œdipi"), with a solution of this one Sphinx riddle. Is there a reason against it?' (i. 248).

The obedient lover replies that he will do as she suggests (he always does), and will make a note in a future number; and explains:

'The Rabbis make Bells and Pomegranates symbolical of Pleasure and Profit, the gay and the grave, the Poetry and the Prose, Singing and Sermonizing—such a mixture of effects as in the original hour (that is quarter of an hour) of confidence and creation, I meant the whole should prove at last' (i. 250).

But he does not appear to have fulfilled his promise quite as soon as she expected, for the persistent little lady returns to the charge five months later.

'Dearest, I persist in thinking that you ought not to be too disdainful to explain your meaning in the *Pomegranates*. Surely you might say in a word or two that, your title having been doubted about (to your surprise, you *might* say!), you refer the doubters to the Jewish priest's robe, and the Rabbinical gloss—for I suppose it is a gloss on the robe—do you not think so? Consider that Mr. Kenyon and I may fairly represent the average intelligence of your readers—and that *he* was altogether in the clouds as to your meaning—had not the most distant notion of it—while I, taking hold of the priest's garment, missed the Rabbins and the distinctive significance, as completely as he did. Then for Vasari, it is not the handbook of the whole world, however it may be Mrs. Jansson's. Now why should you be too proud to teach such persons as only desire to be taught? I persist—I shall teaze you' (i. 575).

But his mentor is also his staunch advocate.

Digitized by Google

'I have no patience,' she writes, 'of what is said [in a review in the *Athenæum*] of "mist," because I who know when you are obscure and never think of denying it in some of your former works, do hold that this last number is as clear and self-sufficing to a common understanding, as far as the expression and medium goes, as any book in the world, and that Mr. Chorley [the *Athenæum* critic] was bound in verity to say so. If I except that one stanza, you know, it is to make the general observation stronger' (i. 416).

And, again, after telling him how Mr. Kenyon had praised his *Luria*, she adds, 'And when he tried to find out a few darknesses, I proved to him that they were clear noonday blazes instead, and that his eyes were just dazzled' (ii. 82). In the same spirit she takes up the cudgels for him against Miss Mitford: 'I was writing to Miss Mitford and of you—we differed about you often,—because she did not appreciate you properly, and was fond of dwelling on the "obscurity" when I talked of the light' (ii. 243). She could do this with a clear conscience, for she had previously informed him with great satisfaction, 'The fact is, that your obscurities—as far as they concern the *medium*—you have been throwing off gradually and surely this long while—you have a calmer mastery over imagery and language, and it was to be expected that you should' (ii. 92). And she will take no credit to herself for the improvement: 'Now do observe the *Soul's Tragedy*, which is as light as day, I never touched with my finger, except in one place, I think—to say—"Just here there is a little shade"' (*ib.*).

But it is time to turn to another interesting feature of these letters: they give us a sketch of literary England, drawn by two highly competent persons who were in the thick of it, during a period which is too recent for history and too remote for contemporary recollection—except among the elders; and to these it will be most interesting of all, because it will remind them of matters of which they have probably only a dim remembrance, and which they were too young at the time to appreciate aright. It was the time when Carlyle was just reaching the zenith of his fame as the great prophet and teacher of the rising generation; when Dickens was delighting and amusing the nation with his earlier and better works; when Tennyson was beginning to be regarded by the more enlightened as *the* poet of the day, though still sneered at and abused by many; when Bulwer Lytton was generally regarded by the majority as the prince of novelists, and by not a few as a great poet and dramatist besides; when Miss Mitford had lately given her vivid pictures of village life, doing, as

Digitized by Google

Mrs. Browning herself observed, in prose what Crabbe had previously done in verse; when Mrs. Jameson was beginning to instruct us in what we sorely needed instruction, sacred and legendary art; when Serjeant Talfourd had suddenly leapt into fame as a poet and dramatist by his *Ion*; when Henry Russell was taking the town by storm with his songs; when Walter Savage Landor was still a name to conjure with; when the old literary lions, such as Wordsworth and Rogers, were retiring into the shade, but were still among us; when R. H. Horne was famous as a writer on all sorts of subjects, notably as an epic poet—alas! who knows anything about *Orion, an Epic Poem in Ten Books* now?—when Chorley in the *Athenæum* and Forster in the *Examiner* were critics before whom budding authors trembled. These were all known, more or less, to Mr. Browning and Miss Barrett, and we have shrewd and discriminating, but never unkindly or malicious remarks about them in the letters. There is something singularly generous in the attitude of both the writers towards Tennyson; for they must have felt that there was a sort of competition between him and Browning, and that all the popularity, and indeed all the substantial rewards, were going to Tennyson. The 'grand passages in *Œnone* and *Arthur*,' and 'the mystery of music in Tennyson's versification,' are warmly recognized by Miss Barrett (i. 97); and there is not one word of soreness or unkindness in Browning's allusion to the pension which had been granted to Tennyson—so different from Bulwer Lytton's escapade about 'School-Miss Alfred' in his *New Timon*—or when Moxon tells Browning, and *he* tells Miss Barrett, how well Tennyson's poems sell. 'I am glad,' replies Miss Barrett, 'both for the public and Tennyson, that his poems sell so well—and presently you will do as well or better—and I, half as well perhaps' (ii. 339). Both do full justice to Walter Savage Landor, Miss Barrett placing him, not among ordinary critics, but among 'the gods' (ii. 77), and Mr. Browning accounting his praise as 'a gold vase from King Hiram' (i. 287); Carlyle is, of course, an oracle with them both, and Mr. Browning frequently (see i. 152 and *passim*), and always kindly, refers to his interviews with him, while Miss Barrett even defends 'his mannerism' (i. 450). It must not, however, be supposed that their criticism of their literary contemporaries is merely indiscriminate praise—it would be deprived of all value if it had been. Both agree in thinking Bulwer Lytton no poet and no dramatist, Mr. Browning hardly doing him justice in the latter capacity; but they do

Digitized by Google

not quite agree in their estimate of him as a novelist; Miss Barrett 'could not deny a certain proportion of genius to the author of *Ernest Maltravers* and *Alice*' (i. 261); to which Mr. Browning replies, 'I have read those novels—but I must keep that word of words, "genius," for something different—"talent" will do here surely' (i. 162), in which posterity will probably agree with Mr. Browning. Again, both agree about the merits of *Ion*, but they cannot accept Talfourd as a great writer generally. 'Surely,' writes Mr. Browning, '*Ion* is a *very*, very beautiful and noble conception, and finely executed,—a beautiful work—what has come after, has lowered it down by grade after grade—it don't stand apart on the hill, like a wonder, now it is *built up* to by other attempts' (i. 318); and Miss Barrett, still more outspokenly, 'Certainly it is a noble play—there is the moral sublime in it: but it is not the work of a poet:—and if he had never written another to show what was *not* in him, this might have been "predicated" of it as surely, I hold' (i. 321). It must have been rather galling to Browning to know that his 'own *Paracelsus*, printed a few months before, had been as dead a failure as *Ion* a brilliant success' (i. 323), but he does not complain.

This, however, leads us to another point. It is difficult for a reviewer to read these letters without an uncomfortable feeling that *he*, too, may be in danger of making the absurd mistakes which reviewers, as good, or perhaps better than himself, made fifty years ago. In gratefully acknowledging a notice of *Paracelsus* from Mr. Forster in the *Examiner*, Browning tells Miss Barrett that 'before that *every* journal that thought worth while to allude to the poem at all, treated it with entire contempt.' Mr. Moxon, the publisher, playing the part of 'the good-natured friend,' showed him 'his [Moxon's] book, in which he was used to paste extracts from newspapers and the like,' and 'out of a long string of notices, one vied with its predecessor in disgust at my "rubbish," as their word went' (i. 324). It is really a serious matter to stop the utterances of one of the immortals, as these reviewers, whoever they may have been, did their best to do. Fortunately Robert Browning, with all his modesty, had faith in himself, and would not be stopped; and he had one at hand, on whose slightest word he hung, who persisted in believing and in telling him that the public would do him justice some day. Otherwise a great genius might have been nipped in the bud by the mischievous pens of the reviewers.

However, we would fain hope that criticism is in a more wholesome condition now than it was in 1846; otherwise it

Digitized by Google

is in a parlous state. The same 'good-natured friend' who showed Browning the notices of his 'rubbish' gives him the following portentous information: 'Moxon,' he tells Miss Barrett, 'was speaking of critics, the badness of their pay . . . and of the inevitable effects on the performances of the poor fellows. "How should they be at the trouble of reading any *difficult* book so as to review it,—Landor, for instance?" and so on, *da capo*' (see ii. 343–4). Reviewers told the same tale as publishers. Mr. Chorley, of the *Athenæum*, told Browning distinctly 'times were never so bad as now—people come without a notion of offending a critic, and offer him money—"will you do this for so much—praise this or blame this?"' (ii. 412).

It must, however, in common fairness to the critics, be remembered that when these letters were written Robert Browning had not done his best work. It was a far cry in 1846 to *Fifine at the Fair* and *The Ring and the Book*, but *Paracelsus*, *Pippa Passes*, *Luria*, *The Soul's Tragedy*, &c., were already before the world; and if all these were 'rubbish,' what shall be said of nine-tenths of the literature which finds a market every year? True, this literature is intelligible, so far as there is anything in it to be understood; and it is idle to deny that it requires an effort of mind to grasp the meaning of Browning's earlier works. The question naturally arose, 'Was the game worth the candle?' and it was not quite so easy a question to answer then as now. His obscurity is all the more striking because it is in such marked contrast with his personal character. 'Mr. Kenyon,' he tells Miss Barrett, 'says my common sense strikes him, and its contrast with my muddy metaphysical poetry!' (i. 79). But Mr. Kenyon also credited him with higher qualities than common sense. Little knowing the relationship between them, he remarked to Miss Barrett, to her great delight, '"How strikingly upright and loyal in all his ways and acts Mr. Browning is! how impeccable a gentleman, &c. &c.," and so on and on' (ii. 83); and on another occasion she tells him, 'Mr. Kenyon praised you as usual—for inexhaustible knowledge and general reasonableness, this time' (ii. 387). These qualities are strikingly illustrated in the letters before us. For instance, when poor Haydon, the disappointed painter, committed suicide, leaving his manuscripts to Miss Barrett, 'with a desire for her to arrange the terms of their publication with Longman' (ii. 304), with what fine indignation he dissuades her from the task!

'This disinspiriting bequest of poor Haydon's journal—his "writings"—from which all the harm came, and, it should seem, is

Digitized by Google

still to come to himself and everybody beside—let us all forget what came of those descriptions and vindications and explanations interminable; but as for beginning another sorrowful issue of them—it is part and parcel of the insanity—and to lay the business of editing the "twenty-six" (I think) volumes, with the responsibility, on *you*—most insane! . . . And then how horrible are all those posthumous revelations,—these passions of the now passionless, errors of the at length better-instructed! All falls unfitly, ungraciously—the triumphs or the despondencies, the hopes or fears, of—whom? He is so far above it all now!' (ii. 307-8).

How finely he brushes aside a piece of gossip about poor Haydon and Mrs. Norton! 'For the bad story,—the telling *that*, if it were true, is nearly as bad as inventing it. That poor woman is the hack-block of a certain class of redoubtable braggarts—there are such stories by the *dozen* in circulation. All may have been misconception' (ii. 313). Well would it have been if many others, who have been tempted to publish garbage, had had such an adviser at hand, and had listened to him! In the same spirit is his righteous indignation against the 'interviewers' (the *word* was not then known, but the *thing* was) of the aged poet-laureate, 'to try and inveigle Wordsworth into doing what he would hate most—to his credit be it said—why it is abominable—abominable!' (ii. 119).

The letters, of course, illustrate many a curious contrast between 1846 and 1899. Who, for instance, would recognize the present Finchley in this delightful sketch from E. B. B.?

'To-day we drove out as far as Finchley. Do you know Finchley? It is pretty and rural; the ground rising and falling as if with the weight of verdure and dew! fields, and hedge-rows, and long slopes of grass thick and long enough, in its fresh greenness, quite to hide the nostrils of the grazing cows. The fields are little, too, as if the hedges wanted to get together. Then the village of Finchley straggles along the road with a line of cottages, or small houses, seeming to *play* at a village. No butchers, no bakers—only one shop in the place—but gardens and creepers round the windows. Such a way from London, it looked!' (ii. 445).

And what an old world we seem to be living in when we read from the same pen:

'Mr. Kenyon (dear Mr. Kenyon, in his exquisite kindness!) took me to see the strange new sight (to *me*!) of the Great Western—the train coming in: and we left the carriage and had chairs—and the rush of the people and the earth-thunder of the engine almost overcame me' (ii. 234).

And then the difficulties about their proposed journey after

Digitized by Google

their marriage! How strange they seem now, when we can travel anywhere in rather less than no time! However, the difficulties were surmounted. The secret marriage, which took place 'in Marylebone Church,' September 11, 1846, is alluded to but not described, though eighteen letters are inserted which were written after the ceremony had taken place, but before the elopement—if elopement it can be called. The last words of the last letter are highly characteristic: 'Do you pray for me to-night, Robert? Pray for me, and love me, that I may have courage, feeling both.—Your own Ba.'

We may fitly conclude with two comments on the union from famous personages frequently mentioned in these letters. When Mrs. Jameson, the firm friend of both bride and bridegroom, heard of it she exclaimed, 'God help them, for I know not how two poet heads and poet hearts will get through this prosaic world!' We are sure the good lady would be delighted when she found they 'got through' better than she anticipated—in fact, extremely well. Wordsworth's remark was, 'So Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett have gone off together! Well, I hope they may understand each other—nobody else could!' a remark which we may put about on a level with Jeffrey's remark on *The Excursion*, 'This will never do.'

ART. IX.—'AUTHORITY AND ARCHÆOLOGY.'

Authority and Archæology Sacred and Profane. Essays on the Relation of Monuments to Biblical and Classical Literature. Edited by DAVID G. HOGARTH, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Director of the British School at Athens. (London, 1899.)

WE welcome the appearance of this volume because, whatever reasons we may have for differing from some of its conclusions, it brings our knowledge of what has been done recently in the matter of excavation and other archæological discoveries up to date. It is a book of great importance, whether we look at the qualifications of the essayists, or the range of inquiry proposed, or the general results of the comparison made between monumental and literary evidence. Professor Driver, of Oxford, stands in the first rank of Hebrew scholars, and whatever he writes respecting the

Digitized by Google

Old Testament deserves attention, and he has made the archæological study of the Bible in a special way his own. Mr. Francis Ll. Griffith, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Professor Ernest A. Gardner, and Mr. F. Haverfield are conspicuous in archæological researches, and Mr. A. C. Headlam is an authority upon all matters concerned with the beginnings of the Christian Church. Such a body of scholars must command respectful attention. And their information has been brought up to the present time, much of it being derived at first hand,[1] and the references show that the most recent literature has been consulted. The range of inquiry has been necessarily limited 'to the geographical area from which the culture of Christian Europe has directly sprung, namely, that debatable land of the Near East' (p. v); but it is sufficiently wide as it is, including Palestine, Egypt, Babylonia, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, besides other lesser fields of discovery. The writers act independently, the editor being responsible only for a prefatory chapter and his own essay; and this is in itself a gain, because here and there we are able to correct, or at least modify, a conclusion which has been drawn by one or other from his own sphere of investigation, without regard to a wider experience; and, on the whole, the attitude of the writers, though writing in the interests of archæology, is fair-minded towards what is called 'Authority.'

The importance of the book is enhanced by the absorbing interest of the contents. Nobody could say that the essays were dull, although they are crammed full of facts, and though many of the examples adduced have been already used by others. We do not mean that it is a book which the general reader would find altogether entertaining, for he would meet with many things which demanded some previous special knowledge in order to be appreciated; but we mean that the scholar, and specially the Biblical or classical student, would find the newest results of archæological research presented here in a most attractive way. What we say will apply to the whole volume, but more particularly to certain parts which we shall specify. In regard to the Hebrew literature, it may be that we have here comparatively little that is quite new, for the labours of Professors Schrader, Sayce, Hommel, and others have put us in possession of the inscriptions which throw light upon

[1] We notice a reference to the *Expository Times* of March 1899 (p. 44, note 2), and to 'the most recent excavation (March 1899)' in the editor's note on p. 184.

Digitized by Google

the Biblical history; but for the first time now in England we have the results of archæology presented in relation to the modern criticism of the books of the Old Testament, and that by one who is in the first rank as a Hebrew scholar, and who has taken a very definite attitude on the side of the so-called Higher Criticism. Professor Driver often appeals to those results which have been arrived at on 'independent' grounds, and he claims to show that archæology is on his side. In regard to the classical portion of the book, after Mr. Griffith's clear exposition of the Egyptian and Assyrian discoveries in their bearing upon Herodotus and other Greek writers, we have three delightful essays respecting Greece and Rome which would be sure to interest any person who had the ordinary knowledge of classical times to start with. Mr. Hogarth's argument may be a little complex, and Professor Gardner's may be somewhat technical, but Mr. Haverfield's reconstruction of the history of the Roman Empire is thoroughly clear and attractive. Indeed, Mr. Haverfield's essay (unless perhaps it be surpassed by Mr. Headlam's chapter upon the Catacombs) is the best of the whole series; but then Mr. Haverfield writes without the constraint, which the others for the most part have, of being obliged to compare archæological discovery with some particular literary evidence. He has no Herodotus or Homer to put to the test, and he dismisses Tacitus in one sentence (p. 299). Mr. Headlam in dealing with Christian literature has a less free hand; he is bound to vindicate his authorities. The accuracy of St. Luke, the credit of Eusebius, the tradition of early Church government, and the sacramental character of the first Christianity are all as so many standards by which he must test modern discovery, and he is able out of comparatively slight and unattractive material, such as Phrygian inscriptions, to rehabilitate the Church of the second century, and from the Catacombs he is able to make good the beliefs and practices of the earliest age, without being controversial. We trust that what we have written will send many students to the consideration of this volume; they will not lightly put it on one side.

The importance and interest of the book are further enhanced by the tone of the several writers. The tendency is upon the whole conservative, moderate, and to some extent constructive. It has encouraged us to look forward hopefully to the discoveries of the next twenty years. Archæology has been shown to be confirmatory of literary evidence; even in prehistoric times the results of excavation

Digitized by Google

and comparative archæology have not been as revolutionary as might have been expected, or as once was thought. Herodotus is found to be less contemptible than he was a little while since. Homer is found to contain the colouring proper to his age. Even 'legend' has an element of truth. The following extracts will, we believe, justify what has been said, viz.:

(1) 'The list of Manetho,' writes Mr. Griffith, 'contains sundry mistakes, and the names in it are often strangely deformed; yet on the whole it is confirmed by the monuments and by ancient lists drawn up in the time of the XIXth Dynasty. The kings, down to the conquest of Alexander, are arranged in thirty dynasties, the XXVIth Dynasty being headed by Psammetichus; and Egyptology has accepted his arrangement as a reasonable working basis' (p. 164; cp. also p. 169).

(2) 'The names and succession of the kings of the XXVIth Dynasty are accurately given by Herodotus, as well as those of the Persian invaders and rulers . . . who appear in one part or another of the nine books. Manetho's list confirms Herodotus' (p. 177).

(3) 'Greek legend,' writes Mr. Hogarth, 'which, as a living authority has declared, is not in the light of archæological discovery "lightly to be set aside," is strongly reminiscent of some great southward movement of men of the north not long before the opening of the Hellenic period' (pp. 242, 243). And again: 'To turn to archæological discovery—while that supports strongly the tradition that at the opening of the first millennial period B.C. some incursion of half-civilized but not wholly alien peoples eclipsed for a time a high precedent culture in the Peloponnesus' &c. (pp. 243–4).

(4) 'The revelation of the prehistoric age of Greece,' writes Professor Gardner, 'is perhaps the most remarkable of all the recent results of archæology; but the exact relation of the prehistoric to the historic, of Mycenæ to Corinth and Athens, offers a problem which still awaits its final solution. . . . The Homeric poems stand in the gap; it cannot be doubted that they preserve, on the one hand, many traditions of the glory of Mycenæ, nor that they shew, on the other hand, many indications of a new order of things. Chief among these is the prominence of the Phœnicians, both as makers of the finest works of decorative handicraft and as the chief traders and seafarers' (pp. 267–8).

(5) 'In these and other results,' writes Mr. Haverfield, 'which archæological research has gained in its inquiries into early Italy, one feature perhaps deserves notice. The results confirm strongly certain of the legends which the ancients themselves told about Italian origins, and in particular about the origins of peoples' (pp. 306–7). [The whole paragraph respecting the confirmation of 'legends,' by which are meant the traditions preserved in classical writers, is well worth considering.]

(6) 'Its tendency,' writes Mr. Headlam, in respect of the evidence of archæology, 'is constructive, and not destructive. It

Digitized by Google

supports, on the whole, the literary evidence' (p. 422). And elsewhere he writes: It 'certainly forbids us to adopt the attitude assumed by many critics that a statement in the New Testament must be wrong unless it can be proved to be right' (p. 360). [This refers to the corroboration of St. Luke's accuracy as a historian in the matter of 'the first enrolment' under Quirinius, but it is meant to bear a much wider application, and we think it to be equally true of a statement in the Old Testament.]

We have reserved judgment in respect of Dr. Driver's essay because we do not feel that his position is identical with that of the other writers. We think that his tone is less conciliatory and more controversial than theirs. He writes, as we believe, with a strong bias against the traditional view of the Old Testament, and he has done his case no good by it. A more calm and judicial tone would have been preferable, because what is really due to conviction and earnestness is likely to be taken for prejudice. The same kind of tone was apparent also in a former controversy with Professor Sayce,[1] and in a more recent controversy with Professor Margoliouth.[2] We regret this *animus* in such matters as the truth of the Old Testament, where calm and sober criticism has much more weight. We allude, of course, to the attitude of Professor Driver towards Professor Hommel and Professor Sayce (pp. 145, 146, 149, 150). No doubt Professor Driver had to put his case strongly—viz. that archæological discovery supports more than goes against the results of the so-called 'Higher Criticism'; but we think that much of what he has written is discounted by the principles laid down by his fellow-essayists, especially by Mr. Hogarth, Mr. Griffith, and Mr. Headlam. We feel that Dr. Driver is constantly running into that mistake against which Mr. Headlam has warned us—viz. 'that a statement . . . must be wrong unless it can be proved to be right' (p. 360)—and it is just here that we differ from those who press the argument from archæology as strongly as Dr. Driver does; we are content to regard our authorities as 'innocent' and trustworthy until they have been proved to be 'guilty' or false. Our English principle is preferable to that of other countries in all kinds of evidence equally with that of the law court. For estimating the tone of these essays one could not do better than, after reading Mr. Hogarth's preface, which is remarkably conservative, to go directly from Dr. Driver's three chapters to those of Mr. Headlam; and at once we feel ourselves to have passed from a storm-tossed sea into the

[1] *Guardian*, March, April, May 1896. [2] *Ibid.* July 1899.

Digitized by Google

stillness of a harbour. The difference of subject may account for the change, but we should prefer a more judicial tone (which is generally characteristic of these essays) to the apparent *animus* of the Hebrew Professor.

Something may be said, too, of the method of this volume. It consists of three parts—Hebrew, Classical, and Christian. Such an arrangement has its advantages, no doubt, but it is not wholly unobjectionable from our point of view. Under it, however, we are able to bring Mr. Griffith's and Mr. Hogarth's conclusions respecting Egypt and Assyria and Prehistoric Greece to bear upon the criticism of the Hebrew literature, and we find in them a corrective, especially in regard to the *absolute* value of archæology; and, again, we are able to some extent to bring the results of a reconstructed history of Greece and Rome to bear upon the Christian world. Mr. Headlam feels this when he speaks of 'Latin and Greek inscriptions' forming a 'background to Christianity,' and of our fresh knowledge of 'Greek organization for religious purposes' as showing how 'Christianity would have been likely to spread' (p. 337). And then, again, we have gained by the collection of these essays in one volume, because each writer is independent, the editor being under no obligation to bring their conclusions into line. Indeed, so far as we have noticed, Mr. Hogarth has added only one note to the other essays, viz. on page 184. And, as we have seen, a comparison of the several essays has shown us that archæological discovery does not necessarily revolutionize tradition, but rather tends to be confirmatory of it, and is largely constructive. This is indeed an advantage; but at the same time one may feel that to have kept the investigations of the Old and New Testaments separate from the discussion of classical literature would have been more in accordance with English sentiment, not to say with reverence. The Hebrew Scriptures are not a mere literature, but an authority for Divine knowledge, and the New Testament is the same; whereas Homer and Hesiod have no sacred character, and Herodotus or Diodorus can hardly be ranked with the books of Kings or Chronicles or Acts. Comparative study, however, is the order of the day; nothing is sacred from it; and we must only be glad that both the Hebrew Scriptures and the Christian literature can stand the test of archæology equally with, if not even better than, the Greek and Roman historians. The comparison has in their case served only to emphasize the truth.

Before we proceed to consider the contents of the several

Digitized by Google

essays it may be useful if we say something about the two subjects which together form the title of this volume, viz. (I.) Authority and (II.) Archæology.

(I.) By 'Authority' it is intended to cover all the literary evidence which can be adduced for the illustration of the history of the several peoples, and with it must be classed a great deal which is called 'tradition' or 'legend,' because in some of these essays, *e.g.* those of Professor Gardner and Mr. Haverfield, no particular authors are subjected to the test of archæological evidence, but there is an appeal to the constant beliefs of the peoples which have been embodied in their literature. The term 'Authority' is therefore employed somewhat loosely, and, as we have already pointed out, it means to us something very different when applied to the Bible from what it connotes when applied to classical authors, traditions and legends. It might have been better if some such term as 'history,' or 'written documents,' had been used, for fear that the Pentateuch should be put on a level with 'Prehistoric Greece,' or the beginnings of Christianity treated like Italian 'legend.' We do not say that the essayists have so treated 'authority,' but the collocation of these subjects might easily lend itself to such a view in the minds of less conscientious scholars. Of course, 'authority' means very different things in the case of Hebrew, Classical, and Christian literature. In Hebrew it can mean only the writings of the Old Testament, and even here the question of 'authority' is considerably modified when the Biblical theory is made to give place to the hypotheses of the New Criticism. It makes all the difference to the credit and value of the Pentateuch whether it be regarded as written from contemporary knowledge or made up in later times out of documents, some earlier and some later. In the one case its authority is absolute; it is what it professes to be, and embodies the carefully preserved traditions of a great people which had from the first realized its theocratic position; in the other case its importance is only relative, being an attempt to make history in order to explain how the nation came to be what it is, and to account for certain existing habits and customs. To our mind the authority of the whole Hebrew Scriptures is seriously impaired if the results of modern criticism are accepted. For to take but one example, viz. in respect of the 'Priestly Code': 'We are required to believe that the spiritual teaching of the prophets preceded the ritual teaching of the law'; 'that prophet and psalmist come first, and the Levitical sacrifice afterwards'; 'we are asked also to believe that the Temple

Digitized by Google

preceded the Tabernacle.'[1] The very background of the prophetical teaching is taken from us, and instead of history we have 'myth.' Under such conditions it is scarcely worth while to test the Pentateuch by archæology: it would be better to put it aside altogether as unhistorical. It has always seemed strange to us that the modern critics, after treating the Pentateuch as they have, should employ it as 'authority' for the history of Israel; it seems to us like arguing in a circle, first to disparage its value, and then to make use of it. Our own position is that the Pentateuch, equally with the historical books and the prophetical writings, is historical—that is, based upon well-preserved traditions, written documents, and contemporary knowledge, and composed in the age to which it professes to belong. In that case it is a real background to Israel's history, and an authority beyond question, and we do not fear for it the test of archæological discovery. Classical authority has quite another position. We are dependent upon late Greek writers for our historical knowledge of ancient Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria; and Herodotus, who is our chief authority, has many shortcomings. We are told that he lacked the power of observation, was a retailer of gossip, knew nothing of Egypt above Memphis, never went south of the Faiyûm; but at the same time he was generally accurate on customs, though at fault concerning religion; and yet he serves as a guide to the investigator (pp. 186–94). Mr. Hogarth is more tender than Mr. Griffith with the credit of Herodotus:

'Depreciation is often in the mouth of the professed student of the Lesser Archæology. "An inch of potsherd is worth all Herodotus." Why should the professed archæologist compare these at all—he whose science deals with the potsherd, but not with Herodotus, except as illustrated by or illustrating potsherds? It is rather for him to compare to whose end the end of Archæology is always relative: Herodotus will have all due honour from the historian' (pp. viii, ix).

It is allowed also by Mr. Griffith that in the later history Herodotus is accurate (p. 178). It is unnecessary to consider the value of Diodorus and the later writers referred to in these essays, and the value of Manetho's lists has already been mentioned (cp. p. 164). Mr. Hogarth has much to say that is interesting in regard to the Homeric Epics; they are 'a memorial of the passing away of the greatness of Mycenæ'—'possibly an early product of the Ionian "after-glow,"' presenting 'a striking series of coincidences between the Homeric

[1] Dean Payne Smith's 'The Mosaic Authorship and Credibility of the Pentateuch,' *Present Day Tracts*, No. 15, pp. 59–61 (R.T.S., London).

Digitized by Google

and the late bronze-age civilization.' 'Homer sings of the beginning of the age of iron; but the word "bronze" is still in use' (pp. 245–6). There are, however, serious divergences between the Homeric Epics and the 'Mycenæan' age (pp. 247–50), and yet the conclusion arrived at is:

'So we find that there is no sudden and violent breach between Mycenæan and Homeric civilization, just as the later Hellenes felt there was no sudden and violent breach between the Homeric world and their own. The spade gives corroborative evidence' (p. 250).

The effect of this is to make the Homeric poems a real and trustworthy authority for the age to which they belong—that is, an age of transition from the 'Mycenæan' civilization to the later Hellenic culture. As we have said above, Professor Gardner and Mr. Haverfield do not deal with the credit or defects of any particular 'authority,' but they have dealt with Greece and Rome in their own way, and therefore we need not ask what 'authority' means to them. But with Christian times we come back to that kind of authority which we had for the Hebrew literature, viz. writings which profess to belong to the age of which they are the record, and after the Apostolic age those writings which recount the beginnings of the Christian Church. Mr. Headlam does not think it likely that we shall get 'any fresh information about our Lord's life and words,' but 'we may gain a large amount of material for reconstructing the history, the traditions and the knowledge of the second century' (p. 346). He reminds us, too, that 'Eusebius had no sources of information at all authentic concerning the first century which we do not possess, nor can we hope to find anything that he had not' (p. 347). His three chapters are taken up (1) with points by which the records of the New Testament can be tested, especially the accuracy of St. Luke both in the Gospel and the Acts; and (2) with establishing the credibility of the early Church writers in regard to ecclesiastical organization, doctrine and practice. The skilful use that he has made of Phrygian inscriptions for the illustration of the second century of the Christian Church, and of the Catacombs for the elucidation of the early history of the Roman Church, has convinced us that our accepted authorities for the first ages of the Gospel are not likely to suffer damage by any modern discoveries. In regard to Gospel times the tendency of archæology is 'constructive, and not destructive' (p. 422). We may trust our 'authority'; we may assume it to be right until proved to be faulty (p. 360).

(II.) We turn now to Archæology, and at once we welcome

Digitized by Google

Mr. Hogarth's prefatory essay as defining for us the limits of the study as it is dealt with in this volume. He says that 'nowadays' the term has 'three connotations'—viz. (1) 'the propædeutic training of the æsthetic faculty by the study of style in antique art,' but with that we are not concerned here; (2) 'the science of all the human past' (Sir Charles Newton), or 'the Greater Archæology'; and (3) 'the study of *material* documents'; '*the science of the treatment of the material remains of the human past*,' or 'the Lesser Archæology'; and it is of this third kind that we have to think in this volume. This 'Lesser Archæology,' he says, is 'a science of first-rate importance to the end of history' (pp. vi, vii, viii, ix). Mr. Hogarth has many warnings to offer in regard to this study, which may serve to modify those hasty conclusions which have been drawn from archæology to the disparagement of written documents. For example, he says:

'The material documents of antiquity are often coloured by a subjectivity that will mislead—those inscriptions of kings and cities that were expressly intended to deceive contemporaries and posterity; those even not so intended, which may as easily deceive us, not knowing from other evidence the circumstances of their erection' (p. ix). Again, 'It [Lesser Archæology] suffers from the impossibility of verifying many of its hypotheses, especially in dealing with periods before written history, which are at once its opportunity and its occasion of falling' (p. x).

We are reminded here of a warning about the danger of trusting 'Egyptian materials' too implicitly, given by Mr. Griffith (p. 176), and one about the 'speculative element' in archæology, given by Mr. Headlam (p. 392). And we cannot refrain from quoting what Mr. Hogarth says of the relation of this 'Lesser Archæology' to history; for it is admirable:

'But the continual reference to literary documents, which will be noted in the essays that follow, is designed to keep in view the great fact that Archæology, understood thus as the science of the treatment of the material documents of the human past, is concerned with only one, and (if comparison need be instituted) not the most important, class of documents from which the life of past society is to be reconstituted. If all the material documents of antiquity had vanished off the earth, we could still construct a living and just, though imperfect, picture of antiquity. But were it, on the other hand, literature that had perished utterly, while the material remains of all past civilizations survived everywhere in soils as fecund and as preservative as the sands of Egypt, nothing of that picture could be drawn beyond the most nebulous outline. As things stand at this day, material monuments take a place, important or unimportant, in the historian's construction of the past according as they can

Digitized by Google

be interpreted well or ill by comparison of the monuments of letters' (pp. xiii–xiv).

All the essayists are careful to do honour to those pioneers and founders by whose patience, energy, and heroic studies archæology has made such strides during the present century. It is a pleasure to read what they have written concerning Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Schliemann, Theodor Mommsen, Layard, Grotefend, and others, and we welcome their full appreciation of Professors Sayce, Flinders Petrie, Ramsay, and Mr. A. Evans in our own day. Mr. Griffith (pp. 155–60), Mr. Hogarth (pp. 220–6), and Mr. Haverfield (pp. 309–13) may be cited as doing justice to those who have gone before; and the remarkable testimony, which comes out in these pages, to the forward position of English workers in all these fields of study is a cause for great happiness:

'British scholarship may well be proud of the part it has taken in the decipherment of cuneiform' (Mr. Griffith, pp. 159–60). 'We may congratulate ourselves that in this department at least [the recovery of lost works, such as Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*] the chief prizes have fallen to England; while in the application of the *data* acquired from inscriptions, from historical and topographical research, and from the many kindred studies that form the equipment of the geographical traveller, English scholars, from Leake to Ramsay, have held a foremost position' (Professor Gardner, p. 291).

We have already said something about the purpose of archæological study, but again referring to Mr. Hogarth (pp. vi–vii) we may learn that 'the seeking, examining, and ordering of all the documents of the human past' is the work proper to the archæologist, while it is the work of the historian to 'reconstitute the picture' of the past, and 'to apply the result to the life of man in the present and future.' Mr. Headlam also has some remarks upon the value of archæology which deserve attention:

'Archæology brings us new material: but it also helps in the development of a new method.' 'It teaches us to study the books of the New Testament and the writers of the early Church from the point of view of history.' 'A mind trained in an archæological method will be trained to interpret a book historically, and not to use it controversially without regard to the circumstances under which it was written or the meaning that the author intended to convey' (pp. 361–2).

Professor Driver, too, has shown the general result of archæology upon the history of Israel, viz.

Digitized by Google

'to take the Hebrews out of the isolated position which, as a nation, they seemed previously to hold, and to demonstrate their affinities with, and often their dependence upon, the civilizations by which they were surrounded' (pp. 6, 7). 'There are many representations and statements in the Old Testament which only appear in their proper perspective when viewed in the light thrown upon them by archæology' (p. 8).

But we think that Mr. Haverfield has a much truer view of the functions of archæology than Professor Driver; for while the Professor throws contempt upon some attempts to rehabilitate the patriarchal age, such as have been made by Professor Sayce and Mr. Tomkins (p. 149), his fellow-essayist has shown that the value of archæology is 'educational, not historical.'

'The amphitheatres of Thysdrus or Pola are not more instructive to the historian than a dozen less perfect—Varhely, Buda Pest, Carnuntum, and so forth. Their proper function is to convince the beholder of the reality of ancient life, quite as much as to increase his knowledge of it. An ancient model of an ancient building is better than a modern model, for it is more accurately vivid; but the material question is the vividness, and not the accuracy' (p. 331).

Surely, upon these principles Professor Sayce, who believes in the historical position of Abraham (which, apparently, Professor Driver does not), is quite justified in attempting to give to the age of Abraham and the other patriarchs the proper colouring and surroundings, as they can be ascertained from material monuments; for this is to make history 'accurately vivid,' instead of rejecting everything for which there is no positive confirmation from the monuments. Such a position (which, if we mistake not, is Professor Driver's, but not that of the other essayists in this volume) is to try to make archæology do more than its proper function of illustrating history. It is to make 'authority' dependent upon, not co-ordinate to, 'archæology'; and that, as we have tried to show, is not the general tendency of this volume.

We may now turn to a more detailed consideration of Parts I. and III. of this book; for in a Review of this kind the theological position is necessarily the most important, and we are bound to ask ourselves whether we feel that the Old and New Testaments have suffered any damage by the tests to which they have been put by the essayists. Our line of argument hitherto has been (1) that, on the whole, archæology is confirmatory, not subversive, of the traditional position; (2) that archæology is intended to be supplementary to and

Digitized by Google

illustrative of history; (3) that our authorities are to be trusted unless they can be proved to be wrong; and (4) that the discoveries of archæology are not necessarily to be regarded as infallible, both because of a certain 'subjectivity' underlying some of them (p. ix), and because we have evidence of 'restorations' at certain periods (p. 176), which make us suspicious of hasty conclusions. Our feeling is that while Professor Driver has made a strong effort in these essays to prove that archæological researches tell in favour of rather than against the conclusions of the Higher Criticism, yet he has not succeeded in destroying the historic position of the Pentateuch, nor has he convinced us that we are to give up our confidence in the books of Daniel and Chronicles. In other respects Professor Driver has stated the evidence of the monuments clearly and fairly, and he has taken great pains to illustrate words and names, customs and places. Our disagreement with him is due much more to his tone and attitude towards those from whom he differs, and his assumption of the late date of the Pentateuch, than to any use that he has made of the inscriptions. We do not hold a brief for Professor Sayce, who is made the scapegoat of those who take the traditional view—for we think that Professor Sayce sometime gives our case away, while he professes to uphold it—but we should have preferred the absence of any controversial tone from Professor Driver's essay. The change, to which we have already alluded, that we experience when we reach the smoother waters of the Gospel age is most refreshing. Mr. Headlam delights us, and we feel that we can trust our Christian tradition. We propose therefore to take some examples drawn from Parts I. and III. in order to test, if we can, the conclusions which have been drawn respecting them. In the Hebrew Scriptures we shall take (1) the story of Creation; (2) the history of Joseph; (3) the case of Manasseh; (4) the capture of Babylon. In the Christian writings we may examine what Mr. Headlam has to teach respecting (1) the accuracy of St. Luke as a historian; (2) the Church in Phrygia during the second century; (3) the teaching of the Primitive Church. After this we shall be able to draw some lessons for our own consolation.

(1) The cosmogony of Genesis i.–ii. 4 has been for many years (since the discoveries of Mr. George Smith in 1872–1876) compared with the creation-tablets of Chaldæa, and it has often been inferred that the writer of Genesis drew his knowledge from these sources; but, at any rate, it has been said that 'the Biblical cosmogony is, in its main outline,

Digitized by Google

derived from Babylonia' (p. 15). Professor Driver is careful to point out that the texts of these inscriptions are of two different dates and languages. There are both a Sumerian text—belonging, it may be, to 4000 B.C.—and a Semitic text, which Professor Sayce dates about 700 B.C.; and 'these texts shew that different representations of the course of creation were current in Babylonia' (p. 14). The only question that arises is, At what period did the writer of Genesis obtain his knowledge? Professor Driver admits that 'these elements were not derived *directly* from any known Babylonian source' (p. 15), but that 'the Babylonian myth must have been for long years transplanted into Israel' (pp. 15, 16); and he presents us with three views: (i) the traditional, viz. that it came with Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees; (ii) the critical, viz. in the time of Ahaz, when intercourse between Judah and Assyria was renewed; and (iii) the view which has been based upon the evidence of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, and advocated by Professor Sayce and others, that this knowledge of Babylonian lore was due to the long influence of Babylon upon Canaan, and that the Israelites gained it upon taking possession of the land. We have said above that we hold no brief for Professor Sayce, and we cannot see that anything is gained by this position: it is as much a conjecture as the modern critical view which takes the eighth century B.C. for the composition of certain parts of the Pentateuch. Professor Driver does not condescend to discuss the traditional view, simple and logical as it is, because he regards the 'early narratives of Genesis' as 'not historical,' but 'analogous to allegory and parable' (p. 35); and he takes the view of the Higher Critics as pretty well assured. We have two remarks to make about these creation-tablets of Babylonia, and we shall use the words of other writers:

(i.) 'Babylonian mythology from its nature passed through various stages of development and corruption in the course of generations. It has come down to us in a comparatively late stage,' 'largely from Assyrian tablets belonging to the reign of Assurbanipal (Sardanapalus) of the seventh century B.C.'[1] 'Even in the Babylonian legend of creation, we still find traces of this grand conception [the One God] in the statement that there was a time when the gods had not been called into being.' 'The discovery of these Chaldean legends seems decisive as to the fact that the author must have had Chaldean materials before him, and apparently at a time when they

[1] Rev. F. Watson's *The Book Genesis a True History*, p. 62 and note. (S.P.C.K. 1892.)

Digitized by Google

were not debased and degraded by the introduction of the puerile polytheism which now forms so large a portion of their contents.'[1]

Our contention is that here we have an example of that kind of 'restoration' in the seventh century B.C. in Assyria which Mr. Griffith has shown to have taken place in Egypt about the same period. We quote only one sentence: 'It is certain that in the XXVth Dynasty the archaistic tendency set in suddenly and strongly' (p. 176).[2] (ii.) The opinion of Professor Schrader[3] will sufficiently declare what we hold respecting the origin of those parts of the Pentateuch which have a Babylonian origin:

'I am also led to the obvious conclusion that the Hebrews were acquainted with this legend [of the Flood] at a much earlier period [than about 800 B.C.], and that it is far from impossible that they acquired these and the other primitive myths now under investigation as far back as in the time of their earlier settlements in Babylonia, and that they carried these stories with them from Ur of the Chaldees. The time when these legends as well as the Creation-story were remoulded in the spirit of Hebrew antiquity, must of course be placed subsequent to the migration of the Hebrews from their Babylonian home.'[4]

We can see no alternative between this, the earliest period of contact with Babylonia, and the period of the exile for the source of this knowledge, and Professor Driver by no means claims a *post-exilic* origin for these early narratives (cp. pp. 15, 16).

(2) The history of Joseph (Gen. xxxix.–l.), according to Professor Driver, shows a marked familiarity with Egypt, and nearly every detail can be illustrated from the monuments; but they 'do not help us, except indirectly, to fix the date of Joseph' (p. 51). The name of the Pharaoh is not mentioned in the Bible narrative, and manners and customs are not confined to one age only. Apparently Joseph's elevation took place under one of the later Hyksos kings. The names Potiphar, Zaphenath-pa'aneach, and Asenath have not been found as early as Joseph's age, 'and though future discoveries may correct the inference, it is impossible not to feel that it creates a presumption against their being

[1] Dean Payne-Smith's 'The Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch,' *Present Day Tracts*, No. 15, pp. 17, 25. (R.T.S.)

[2] We recommend our readers to weigh carefully what Mr. Griffith has said about 'restorations' and the effect upon the authority of Herodotus (pp. 176–7); they may serve to modify the absolute claim which is often made for the accuracy of the Assyrian annals.

[3] Quoted by Rev. F. Watson, *The Book Genesis*, p. 66.

[4] *Inscriptions of the Old Testament*, i. p. 54 and note.

Digitized by Google

historical' (p. 52). The land of Goshen, which has been identified by M. Naville with Kesem, or Geshen (LXX—'Gesem of Arabia'), was not a province in Joseph's time, but marshland. 'It is plain that the writer of Gen. xlvii. 11 must have transferred to the age of Joseph relations which did not begin to exist till long subsequently' (p. 54). Professor Driver sums up his conclusions on pp. 66, 67, which may be expressed in his own words: viz. 'the Egyptian inscriptions tend to show that the Biblical traditions respecting Joseph embody a genuine nucleus of historical fact' (p. 67). How very different is the conclusion of Mr. R. S. Poole (quoted by the Rev. F. Watson, *ut supra*, p. 60), who is quite as trustworthy a critic as Professor Driver in archæological matters:

'The Egyptian documents emphatically call for a reconsideration of the whole question of the date of the Pentateuch. It is now certain that the narrative of the history of Joseph and the sojourn and Exodus of the Israelites, that is to say the portion from Gen. xxxix. to Ex. xv., so far as it relates to Egypt, is substantially not much later than B.C. 1300; in other words, was written while the memory of the events was fresh. The minute accuracy of the text is inconsistent with any later date.'[1]

Professor Driver has to our thinking made too much, both in Joseph's case and elsewhere, of the absence of corroborative evidence from the monuments, especially of the *non*-mention of the *name* of either of the Pharaohs in the Book of Exodus as 'evidence that the narrative is not the work of a contemporary hand' (p. 68, note): he seems to expect that the Hebrew documents would be dated year by year exactly, in the way that the Assyrian annals were kept, and he presses the argument of Chronology too far (cp. pp. 32, 33).

(3) The case of Manasseh will afford us an example of how Professor Driver treats a statement of the Bible, against which there is no particle of evidence, but which, on the contrary, is rendered highly probable by the circumstances, and by analogy from the monuments themselves. In 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11–13 we are told that Manasseh was carried captive to Babylon, and was presently restored to his kingdom. This historical notice is not mentioned in 2 Kings, and is therefore held by some to be *un*historical (p. 115). The inscriptions do not decide the question: they show that it *might* have happened, not that it actually *did*; for in the case of an Egyptian prince—viz. Necho, king of Memphis and Sais, who was taken captive—we find that Assurbanipal

[1] *Contemporary Review*, xxxiv. 707.

Digitized by Google

treated him kindly, and sent him back to his kingdom and reinstated him (p. 116). Now, because there is no monumental evidence that this was done for Manasseh, Professor Driver is suspicious of the Chronicler's statement, and argues that the connexion of this unsupported statement with the account of Manasseh's repentance goes to show that the Chronicles are merely '"Haggadah," or edifying religious narrative, rather than history proper' (pp. 115, 116). This is the kind of position so often taken up in this essay, an attitude of *non possumus*—as much as to say, where a statement can be proved from the inscriptions it may be accepted; where it stands alone it must be regarded as suspicious until it has been corroborated: that is, to our minds, not a fair way of treating 'authority.'[1] In regard to Manasseh's case, we think that Professor Sayce has said everything that is necessary to show that the Chronicler's statement is trustworthy,[2] and, as Professor Schrader has pointed out, in this case the suspicions of the Higher Criticism are unfounded. We cannot understand Professor Driver's conclusion that 'no amount of evidence respecting other kings taken captive to Babylon and afterwards released can neutralize the special difficulties attaching to the particular case of Manasseh' (p. 144): this looks to us like prejudice only towards the Chronicler.

(4) The capture of Babylon has received new and full elucidation from the inscriptions, and we are compelled to modify some of our old notions both respecting Cyrus himself and the circumstances of the capture; but at the same time we have gained some points. It is quite true that we must give up the idea that Cyrus was a monotheist, that the waters of the river were diverted, that there was any siege, and that Babylon was at that time made a desolation; but we have learned that Cyrus was popularly known as 'King of Persia,' although strictly 'King of Anshan,' and we have confirmed the historical position of Belshazzar, although we know him now to be Nabona'id's son, 'the king's son,' and his father's general. But when Professor Driver proceeds to tell us, upon the slender evidence of the inscriptions, 'that the Book of Daniel is not the work of a contemporary hand, but springs from a later age, in which the past was viewed in a dim and confused perspective' (pp. 126-7); and that the inscription (p. 128: Cyrus's proclamation, the so-called 'Cylinder Inscription')

[1] Cp. Headlam, p. 360, quoted above.

[2] *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, pp. 458–461.

Digitized by Google

'shews that, although the general thought of the fall of Babylon before Cyrus, expressed by the Hebrew prophets of the Exile (Isa. xiii.–xiv. 23, xl.–xlviii., Jer. l.–li.), was fulfilled, yet the *details* by which they pictured it as accomplished did not, in many cases, correspond to the event' (p. 129),

we feel bound to raise our voice against the sweeping way in which the evidence of the Old Testament is treated, whenever it does not fall in with the interpretation of the monuments. We know, of course, that Professor Sayce has treated the Book of Daniel in much the same way as Professor Driver,[1] but he is careful to bring out any points in its favour which are supported by the inscriptions. Surely a great deal too much has been made of the omission of Nabona'id's name from the Bible, and of Belshazzar being called 'son' of Nebuchadnezzar and 'king of Babylon' in the fifth chapter of Daniel, for at least we have from the monuments a confirmation of the statement that Belshazzar was 'slain' on the capture of the city (p. 126). We acknowledge that 'Darius the Median' continues to present a difficulty, but this unknown name can scarcely destroy the historical character of the Book of Daniel, nor prove that it springs from a later age. There are other considerations which uphold the historical character of the book, in spite of its late admission to the Hebrew canon, but we cannot discuss them here. It is well known that our notions of the taking of Babylon have been largely coloured by the accounts in Herodotus, and we have been accustomed to read into the Hebrew prophets things that were not there; and now that Herodotus has been shown to be in error, there is a tendency to discredit the statements of the prophets—that is to say, what they describe poetically has been taken literally, *e.g.* 'Bel boweth down,' &c. (Isaiah xlvi. 1), as if it meant that Cyrus destroyed the gods of Babylon, or 'That saith to the deep, Be dry,' &c. (Isaiah xliv. 27), as if a diversion of the river must be meant. But Mr. Griffith has told us (p. 202) that Nebuchadnezzar had built a great wall from the Tigris to the Euphrates at Sippara, and intended to ward off attacks from the north by flooding the country above it. He continued this defence on the east of the Euphrates, behind Babylon, by a great wall and artificial marshes.

'Cyrus' trick of diverting the stream and entering along its bed may have been practised in reality for overcoming this outer defence at Opis and at Sippara, instead of at Babylon, as Herodotus represents.

[1] *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, pp. 524 *sqq.*

Digitized by Google

. . . It is quite intelligible that after such a disaster to the country the capital should have opened its gates to Gobryas' (pp. 202, 203).

It is interesting to observe how sometimes, if we wait a little, what has been hastily pronounced wrong will be corroborated by new evidence. Perhaps Herodotus may not be so worthless after all. Perhaps in the case of the taking of Babylon we may not have to give up so much as we have been asked to do. Then, again, does Isaiah xlvi. 1, 2, mean anything more than that Bel and Nebo have 'passed under the yoke of a foreign conqueror'?[1] And is it necessary to insist that the Hebrew prophets, when they foretell Babylon's destruction, can refer only to the capture by Cyrus? This is what Professor Driver appears to assume (p. 129). We are inclined to believe that the Hebrew prophet often sees the whole range of a nation's history spread out before him, and does not stay to distinguish the nearer and the more remote; and so we find no difficulty in applying 'the magnificent description of the death of the last Babylonian monarch on the battlefield, and his descent into the under-world which we read in Isaiah xiv.,' to Nidinta-Bel,[2] and the siege and destruction of Babylon to Darius, son of Hystaspes, the real founder of the Persian Empire. That is to say, we think that in the interpretation of the prophetical books we ought not to be bound down by a hard and fast rule, either to interpret their language with absolute literalness, or to limit their range of vision to this or that one period. Professor Driver is as conscious of this as we are, and therefore we regret the more that he has made the assertion above—viz. 'yet the *details* by which [the Hebrew prophets] pictured [the fall of Babylon] as accomplished did not, in many cases, correspond to the event' (p. 129).

When we pass from Part I. to Part III.—that is, from the Hebrew to the Christian literature—we feel that we have got into another atmosphere, and can breathe freely; for, besides the difference of tone and the absence of controversy, we realize that the purpose of the essayist is constructive, and that he views archæology as supplementary to the written records. Mr. Headlam is also constantly laying down principles and criteria, some of which have obviously a wider application than to the particular case which is before him. We have quoted or referred to one of these more than once, viz. it [St. Luke's accuracy] 'certainly forbids us to adopt the

[1] Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Monuments*, p. 150.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 151.

Digitized by Google

attitude assumed by many critics that a statement in the New Testament must be wrong unless it can be proved to be right' (p. 360); and we have made use of the principle for another purpose. But here is another, which might well be applied to the remarkable knowledge of Palestinian geography which is exhibited in the Pentateuch, viz.:

'It is an almost infallible sign of a later or a forged document, that it blunders in the minor points of local government and geography.' 'If, then, we find that the accuracy of a work in geographical and administrative details is largely corroborated by inscriptions, it is strong presumptive evidence of its historical value as a document' (p. 338).

We cannot help setting this over against a statement of Professor G. A. Smith, quoted with approval by Professor Driver, in reference to the topographical accuracy of the Old Testament, viz.

'"that a story accurately reflects geography does not necessarily mean that it is a real transcript of history." "While we may have other reasons for the historical truth of the patriarchal narratives, we cannot prove this on the ground that their itineraries and place-names are correct"'[1] (p. 148).

No wonder, then, Professor Driver holds that 'exploration in Palestine' . . . 'has contributed but little towards solving the great historical problems which the Old Testament presents' (p. 148). We think otherwise, supported, as we hold, by Mr. Headlam's canon.

One more of these principles, laid down by Mr. Headlam, may be quoted with advantage, viz.:

'Literature has generally preserved for us what is most valuable; archæology gives us what is commonplace and unimportant: yet the commonplace may often enable us to get a safer and deeper insight into historical questions than what is intrinsically more valuable' (p. 363).

We feel that such a canon fully justifies Professor Sayce and others (p. 149) in trying to reconstruct and illustrate the age of the patriarchs from monumental sources.

But we must turn now to the Christian literature, and inquire what archæology has done to supplement our knowledge about the early days of the Church. Mr. Headlam enumerates (1) the discoveries made in the Egyptian desert, the papyrus fragments, and the contents of the rubbish heaps of Oxyrhynchus; (2) the inscriptions and other monumental remains;

[1] *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 108.

Digitized by Google

and he shows how both these have their value, either as illustrative or critical. He points out, too, how the Acts of the Apostles can be checked and illustrated from our improved knowledge of imperial and provincial organization, and how much the religious guilds permitted by the State contributed to the growth of Christianity in the Roman Empire. He touches briefly upon the fragments of the Gospels found in the Fayûm, and the Gospel of Peter [concerning which he has an amusing comparison to make with a certain popular 'Life of Christ' (p. 344)], and the Logia discovered by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt in 1896; and he has some interesting examples of *libelli* (*i.e.* certificates of having sacrificed), belonging to the Decian persecution, to tell us of (p. 347). But it is when he examines the Acts of the Apostles by the light of the inscriptions that the real purpose of his first chapter is seen, viz. to test St. Luke's accuracy as a historian; and the light now thrown upon the words 'the first of the district' (Acts xvi. 12), in relation to Philippi, by the use of the word *μερίς* in documents found in the Fayûm (p. 350), is most valuable. And the evidence of local knowledge at both Philippi and Thessalonica, as Mr. Headlam shows, is dead against any theory of the Acts being written in the second century. The accuracy of the historian is likewise tested in relation to the date of Christ's birth upon the lines of Professor Ramsay's treatise, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* and it is shown conclusively that the periodical census, which began in 9 B.C., was carried out in Palestine under Herod the Great about the year 6 B.C. (p. 359). The second chapter is concerned with Phrygian inscriptions, and the object is to show that the Christian Church was very considerable and influential in Phrygia during the second century, and quite distinct from the Montanist heresy. By far the most valuable point established in this chapter is the verification of Avircius or Abercius, bishop of Hierapolis in Central Phrygia, by Professor Ramsay's discoveries, and his identification with Avircius Marcellus, the leader of the Anti-Montanist party between 190 and 200 A.D., who was known previously only from Eusebius (v. 16) and a notice by Symeon Metaphrastes (pp. 367–73). The other inscriptions discussed are interesting for the light that is thrown upon the large numbers of the Christians in Phrygia, and the figurative language which they were compelled to employ so as not to excite heathen enmity. Many of the inscriptions given would be quite intelligible to the members of the Church, while they would pass unnoticed by the heathen

Digitized by Google

population. Christianity was not as yet a *relligio licita*, and therefore only by means of burial-clubs could the Christians act in concert (pp. 382–4). It is remarkable, too, how, about the year 314 A.D., there appear inscriptions showing 'a series of high priests,' just after the last persecution of the Church, which exhibit 'an imitation of Christian language'; for this corroborates a statement of Eusebius (for which no reference is given) that 'Maximin had organized a heathen priesthood on the analogy of the Christian hierarchy' (pp. 387–8). Mr. Headlam infers therefore that in Phrygia the Christians 'were not only actually but relatively numerous,' and that 'Christianity spread early, so as to be, not the religion of a small body of persons removed from the life of the place, but of a section of the population' (p. 392). He does not believe in the modern view that Montanism represents 'primitive Christianity asserting itself against a dominant ecclesiasticism,' but rather that it was 'the Phrygian character asserting itself under Christian forms,' and that, of itself, it witnesses to 'the widespread character of Christianity in the district,' to which the inscriptions also testify (p. 393).

The last chapter, on 'the Catacombs at Rome,' deserves to be printed and published as a separate pamphlet (pp. 396–422); it is thoroughly sound and interesting. He insists upon their being 'definitely Christian,' 'the work of Roman Christians,' 'excavated for the purpose for which they have been used,' 'constructed according to a definite plan by a body of professional diggers,' apparently 'organized into a guild, and incorporated to some extent in the Roman clergy'; 'the catacombs were not made for the purposes of concealment,' though so used in the Diocletian persecution. After pointing out that the provision of these burial places (p. 398) was in some cases the work of the rich, in others of some burial-guild acting for the whole body of members, he says that the inscriptions 'help to bring out the importance in early days and the widespread character of this side of Church organization. It enabled the Christian community to exist as a legal body even when Christianity was an illegal religion, and to hold property for the purpose of burial' (p. 400). Mr. Headlam attributes five cemeteries to the latter part of the first century, four others to the second century, and that of St. Callistus to the third. They were used continuously till the peace of Constantine, and often afterwards, but cemeteries above ground were then purchased, and in the middle of the fourth century pilgrimages to the Catacombs began, and Pope Damasus (366–384 A.D.) de-

Digitized by Google

voted himself to their adornment and improvement. In 410 A.D (Gothic invasion) the use of the Catacombs ceased (pp. 400–402). We cannot follow Mr. Headlam's discussion of the inscriptions, fascinating as the account is, but we must hasten to his conclusions respecting the importance of the evidence supplied by the Catacombs and their contents, and we shall give it in his own words:

'In the first place, the Catacombs add little or nothing to the evidence of the Fathers; they present it only in another form. We may, or we may not, approve of prayers for the dead; but the Fathers teach it, and the Catacombs suggest it. We may doubt whether St. Peter visited Rome; but the Catacombs and Fathers both imply that it was the fixed belief of the Roman Church at a very early age that he did. The Catacombs show how large a part Baptism and the Eucharist played in the early Church; but so do the Fathers, from Hermes [*sic*] and Ignatius onwards. In the second place, much that is in the Catacombs, being symbolical, can be interpreted just in accordance with the prepossessions with which we approach such symbolism. . . . And then, thirdly, modern controversial questions largely turn on distinctions which were not present in the mind of the early Church. . . . It is not as controversial documents that the Catacombs are valuable. It is to take us out of controversy. It is because they represent to us the life, or rather a phase of the life of the early Church. . . . They exhibit to us its abiding faith in the Resurrection, its intense concentration of mind on the Person of its Redeemer, its life permeated by 'the symbolism of the two great Sacraments' (pp. 420–1).

We have quoted enough to show how much Mr. Headlam has to teach us from archæology respecting the beliefs and practices of the early Roman Church; we hope our readers will study the whole of his essay.

Our conclusions upon the whole volume must be very brief, for we have tried to make the essays tell their own tale.

We have no cause to be disappointed at the results of archæological research. We believe that, on the whole, the traditional view of the Bible has gained by being tested with the new evidence, and we think that another twenty years of patient research and study will confirm its position, much in the same way as Schliemann's views twenty years since upon prehistoric Greece, after being ridiculed, have been amply justified (p. 226). We look forward to further excavations, especially in Palestine, for the Tel-el-Amarna tablets encourage us, and we hope that before long the site of Kirjath Sepher (or Kiriath-sopher, as it apparently should be spelt, p. 70) may be identified and made to disclose its treasures.

Digitized by Google

We are quite as desirous as Professor Driver and Mr. Griffith (pp. 152 and 218–9) that systematic excavation should be carried on, and we can readily echo the sentiment of the Hebrew Professor that 'to the open-minded lover of truth, whether [the results of archæology] correct or confirm [present opinions], they will be equally welcome' (p. 152).

ART. X.—DEAN LIDDELL.

Henry George Liddell, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. A Memoir. By the Rev. HENRY L. THOMPSON, M.A., Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, sometime Student and Censor of Christ Church. With Portraits and Illustrations. (London, 1899.)

THE Memoir of the late Dean of Christ Church, for which we have to thank one so eminently qualified for the task as the Rev. H. L. Thompson, will be heartily welcomed by very many Oxford men because of personal friendship or acquaintance, or because of the services rendered by the late Dean to Christ Church and the University, or even perhaps in some cases because of the recollection of a dignified figure and handsome face which it is impossible to forget. But it would be a great mistake to suppose that the interest of the Memoir will be confined to these. To say nothing about Old Westminsters, Liddell's name is known wherever the use of the best of Greek Lexicons has extended, and there is much in the memoir which deserves the attention of any educated and thoughtful student of biography.

Henry George Liddell was born near Auckland in 1811. His father, the Rev. Henry George Liddell, was a younger brother to Lord Ravensworth; his mother was a niece of the Earl of Strathmore. When he was eight years old, he was sent to a private school, described by Mr. Thompson as 'a rough place, with little kindness, unintelligent teaching, the frequent use of the cane, and the inevitable bullying' (p. 3). At the age of twelve he went to the Charterhouse, which, like his former school, he 'detested' (p. 5). There he came to know Thackeray, and was confirmed by Bishop Blomfield. He left in 1829, being at that time—in the words of the MS. autobiography he wrote for his children, which, unfortunately, ends at the year 1834—'a fair grammar scholar, but with very little classical reading.' He had read 'four or five Greek

Digitized by Google

plays with Porson's notes, two or three books of the Iliad, a little Pindar, Cicero's Offices and some of his Orations.' He had learnt by heart the Georgics of Virgil and the Odes and Epodes of Horace, and had 'also read most of the Satires and Epistles.' 'Greek prose was almost untrodden ground,' Herodotus and Thucydides he knew only by name. He had read the Apology of Plato, 'devoured a large quantity of English literature,' and 'amassed a good deal of general information' (p. 11). In 1830 Liddell entered into residence at Christ Church; in 1833 he took a Double First; in 1836 he became Tutor of Christ Church; he was ordained deacon at the end of the same year, and priest two years later; in 1845 he was appointed Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy, Censor of Christ Church, and Whitehall Preacher; and in 1846 he became Proctor. In September 1846 he began work as Headmaster of Westminster, and in 1855 returned to Christ Church as Dean. He resigned that high office in 1891, having refused the Deanery of Westminster ten years before.

The Memoir does not ignore the Dean's private life. The bright happiness of the home of his boyhood, the triumphant joy with which he shot his first stag, his grief at his sister's death in 1838, his deep affection for his wife and children, the care taken to spend some part of every day with them, even when the demands upon his time were most pressing, his simple tastes and abstemious habits, the courtesy which did something to make up for his lack of 'small talk' while it added to his powers of conversation on the many subjects of which his knowledge was both wide and accurate, the pathetic death of his daughter Edith, and the quiet closing days of his life, are all touched on with delicacy and skill. And Mr. Thompson has done well in adding to the excellent illustrations contained in the book reproductions of four of the famous 'blotting-paper sketches,' with the drawing of which it was the custom of the Dean to beguile the weary meetings which filled up much of the time of his university life.

Mr. Thompson has performed his task with befitting seriousness and dignity. But he has not thought it necessary to exclude some of those humorous elements which make a biography so much more readable. It is delightful to have an old epigram about a former Dean of Christ Church and a former Warden of All Souls recalled to mind:

> 'Gaisford and Sneyd each other's lectures seek:
> The one learns manners, and the other Greek' (p. 138).

The excellent story of Dean Gaisford's two letters to Lord

Digitized by Google

Grenville in connexion with his appointment as Regius Professor of Greek is told in Dean Liddell's own words (pp. 138–9). The examples of the Westminster boys' epigrams include one on the thesis 'Scribimus indocti doctique,' which ran—

> 'Two men wrote a Lexicon, Liddell and Scott;
> Some parts were clever, but some parts were not.
> Hear, all ye learned, and read me this riddle,
> How the wrong part wrote Scott, and the right part wrote Liddell' (p. 109).

There is an entertaining account how the Dean, through beginning to speak without turning round from his desk, inflicted a severe rebuke, intended for some one else, on a gifted undergraduate who was then of blameless character and, as his distinguished successor, was destined to impart to the governing of Christ Church valuable features which in Dean Liddell's time it lacked (p. 171). And, if there is an element of sadness in the record of Dean Stanley laying down in the University pulpit as the 'first rule' for 'abating' the 'evils of theological controversy' the maxim 'Never condemn a book unless you have read it,' and in the evening of the same day describing a recently published volume on Church History as 'not worth much' and then adding 'indeed I haven't read it' (p. 185), we are able to enjoy without any such drawback the inscription which Dean Liddell wrote for the 'earlier statue' of Dean Fell when it was removed from Christ Church to 'quiet seclusion in the garden of Nuneham Park':

> 'Effigies quam aspicis viri optimi qui cur homuncionibus quibusdam displiceret ipsi nesciebant in Aede Christi minio semel atque iterum illita hoc in recessu requiem obtinuit A.D. 1887.'

The 'modern statue' of Dean Fell which, by Liddell's gift, took its place in Christ Church, bore the inscription—

> 'Johanni Fell
> H. G. L.
> Decano Decanus
> MDCCCLXXVII' (p. 164).

One service which this Memoir renders is to show the importance of Dean Liddell's rule as Headmaster of Westminster. At the time of his appointment many improvements and reforms were needed. For much which was carried out with great wisdom, the Dean and Chapter deserve part of the credit, and the Headmaster was greatly helped by the Under-

Digitized by Google

master whom he found, the Rev. T. W. Weare, and the assistant masters whom he himself chose. When all this has been allowed for, it remains that the work of the Headmaster was of the very highest value. Mr. Thompson gives a very interesting account of it from the pen of the Rev. James Marshall, who was assistant master for nearly thirty years, and adds some reminiscences from other sources, from which we may quote a description of the Headmaster's teaching power:

'Gradually, to the feeling of awe was added that of affection, as the boys rose in the school and came under his personal instruction in the Sixth Form. For he was an admirable teacher: thorough, clear, suggestive, stimulating; exacting in the care which he demanded in the preparation of book-work, but singularly interesting in the instructiveness of his comments and the wide range of his illustrations. He was not a mere textual scholar, but an historian and statesman. His Juvenal lesson still lingers in the memory as a model of what a lesson should be; the boys were not only well drilled in the text and allusions, but were referred to the best modern satires, and indirectly led to an appreciation of much of the noblest English literature. He was fond of poetry, and taught the elder boys to recite it well. During a portion of the year there were "speeches" in the great schoolroom on Friday mornings at the end of the lesson, in the presence of all the boys, when the members of the Sixth Form stood up by the Headmaster's table and repeated passages of English poetry which had been previously selected. On one occasion, when the present Vicar of St. Peter's, Bournemouth, had recited the whole of Gray's *Elegy* with faultless taste and without a single mistake, an emphatic "Thank you, Fisher," gave an apt expression to the feeling of all the listeners, and a more than ample reward to the reciter.

'In those ancient days, a rudimentary knowledge of Hebrew was most wisely required of the elder boys who were candidates for the Universities. Liddell taught this subject in a very interesting manner, although it was generally believed that he had acquired all his knowledge in the short interval between his appointment as Headmaster and his entering on his office' (pp. 106–7).

The great Greek Lexicon had been begun while Liddell 'and Robert Scott were still Bachelors of Arts, perhaps as early as 1834.' The first edition of it was published in the summer of 1843, three years before Liddell became Headmaster of Westminster. But, as may be seen in a moment by a cursory glance at the different editions, the publication of the first edition meant anything but the completion of the arduous toil of the task. The 'summer of 1843,' writes Mr. Thompson,

'marks the completion of only the first stage in an undertaking which was continued almost to the close of his life; the eighth edition

Digitized by Google

being published, after careful revision, in 1897. The Lexicon was his constant companion in term and in vacation. His spare moments were regularly devoted to the task of revising, correcting, and enlarging its pages, and bringing it up to the level of advancing scholarship. For many years with Scott as his coadjutor, and then for many years unaided, he continually endeavoured to make the bulky volume as perfect as possible ; and to this unremitting care is due the permanent success of the work. There has been no room for a rival : it has never become out of date ' (p. 65).

Even the first edition of the Lexicon was the outcome of most strenuous work. Until it was published there was no Greek-English Lexicon which approached either adequacy or scientific method. A valuable, though not sufficiently methodical, Greek-German Lexicon existed, the work of Professor Schneider of Breslau ; and an improvement of this, so far as the vocabulary of Homer, Hesiod, and Herodotus is concerned, had been published by Professor Passow, also of Breslau. Passow's work was taken as a foundation by the two English scholars, but it was necessary that they themselves should add the most exact study of the Greek writers, and the most careful use of many lexicons and indexes to the materials which they found in Passow. It was their custom to meet in Liddell's rooms and 'work away from seven to eleven each night' (p. 73) ; Liddell 'resolutely gave up to the work all his Long Vacations, with the exception of that which followed his sister's death' (p. 74) ; and a letter written during the Long Vacation of 1842 shows how much of his time was given to this work :

'I get up,' he writes, 'at 5 every morning, work hard till about 6.30 or 7, have a cup of coffee and a bit of bread, work hard till about 11, have breakfast, work hard till 2, go out with Vaughan or alone, walking or skiffing, dine at 5, work a little at night, and have tea (if any) with Vaughan, and go to bed at 9.30. I have got through a good deal of work, and hope that, so far as the Lexicon goes, I have broken the neck of it. We are going merrily along, and the printers, as well as myself, seem not a little glad that we are nearer the end than the beginning' (p. 75).

Mr. Thompson tells us that

'sometimes Liddell's older friends, who had known the range of his artistic tastes, and remembered the rare promise of his younger days, were inclined to regret that he had devoted so much of his life to the drudgery of Lexicography' (p. 81).

Among these friends was Mr. Ruskin, who wrote of Liddell as one who had disappointed his hope, as 'a man sorrowfully under the dominion of the Greek *ἀνάγκη*,' in

Digitized by Google

whom 'the prosaic and practical element' had 'prevailed over the sensitive' (pp. 30, 81). Some very interesting letters from the same great art critic, printed in the Memoir (pp. 216–28), show how highly he regarded the Dean's judgment. It is, indeed, impossible to say what splendid use Liddell might have made of the time spent on the Lexicon during a period of sixty-three years. It is no less impossible to estimate the value of the continuous labour which culminated in the magnificent monument of learning and industry which is afforded by the last edition of 'Liddell and Scott.' It is hard to picture, even in imagination, any work of scholarship which could be better worth doing or better done.

The Memoir contains little which bears on Liddell's theological opinions. That little comprises what is of great interest. In 1836 Liddell in a letter to his father, after speaking favourably of Dr. Hampden's personal character describes him as 'unhappily distinguished for very strange, undefined, and almost unintelligible notions on theological subjects' (p. 32). In the same year he did justice to the high motives by which Pusey, Newman, and others who opposed the appointment of Dr. Hampden were actuated, and condemned as 'shocking and unchristian' the attacks made upon them by Dr. Arnold in his famous article in the *Edinburgh Review* (p. 35). Writing on the same subjects at the age of eighty-two, after reading these letters of his younger days, he described them as 'on the whole' 'moderate and impartial' (p. 36). Mr. Thompson tells us that he was 'untouched' by the Oxford Movement (p. 41), though 'he was an occasional attendant at the meetings of Dr. Pusey's Theological Society' (p. 42),[1] translated 'some passages' from St. Ignatius for the *Records of the Church* (p. 43), and in a sermon preached in 1890 bore impressive testimony to the high gifts and character of Cardinal Newman and Dr. Liddon (pp. 42–5). His interest in the 'Martyrs' Memorial' appears from a letter in 1838 to have been merely architectural (p. 45). He was Select Preacher for the first time from 1842 to 1844, and the subject of a sermon in 1844 was 'Unity, not Uniformity,' 'an attempt to persuade people to agree to differ,' in which he was assured by Dean Gaisford that he had 'handled the matter so as not to appear a partisan, or to attack any persons specially' (p. 52). When he was Vice-Chancellor he took great pains in the selection of the preachers of university sermons, and the list of his appointments contains such different names as those of Pusey, Liddon, the present Bishop of Lincoln, Stanley,

[1] This is mentioned also by Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey*, i. 337.

Digitized by Google

Jowett, and Mr. Stopford Brooke (p. 235). Mr. Thompson does not dwell at any length on the Dean's own sermons. He mentions Sir Henry Acland's 'most enthusiastic admiration for Liddell as a theologian' and insistence on 'his richly-stored mind, his well-balanced judgment, his uncontroversial temper, and wide charity;' he quotes Mr. Goldwin Smith's testimony to the 'one or two very able sermons of a liberal and philosophical kind' which the Dean preached 'in the midst of the theological fray at Oxford between the Oxford school and its opponents;' and he himself refers briefly to the 'very remarkable sermon on the philosophic basis of the doctrine of the Real Presence,' preached in Michaelmas Term, 1867 (pp. 246–7). Towards the end of his life Liddell wrote two terrible sentences about the treatment of the Prayer Book by the Disestablished Church in Ireland:

> 'I think it is a pity that our Irish Church did not avail itself of the opportunity to make some greater alterations in the Liturgy. The high doctrines of the sacraments might well have been relaxed, and with such relaxation much of the sacerdotal stiffness of Pusey, &c., might have been abated' (pp. 275–6).

Had his theological opinions been drawn out at length, it would probably have been our duty to express no small amount of dissent. As to the reality and earnestness of his personal religious life, there is happily no room for controversy or question. The 'early Abbey' for the Westminster boys (pp. 112–13) was representative of much besides; 'reading the Bible' was 'the only thing in which' he could 'find lasting relief' after his sister's death (p. 49); and his pathetic language at the time of his ordination as deacon (pp. 40–1) and as priest (pp. 49–50) was a sign of the high spiritual tone which, if it was sometimes unduly concealed, marked his personal character in his long life.

Dean Liddell will be longer remembered as an administrator at Christ Church and for his University policy than as a theologian. On one point, at least, those who differ most about this important part of his life will probably be agreed—as to the earnestness of his desire to be perfectly just, and the habitual success with which he gave effect to this desire. To this feature of his character Mr. Thompson repeatedly refers. 'Inflexible justice' (pp. 169, 245), 'grand and' 'rare impartiality' (p. 245), 'entire impartiality and clear sense of justice' (p. 232), are among the phrases which testify to this high quality. And one passage seems to us so well calculated to remove misunderstandings which have been some-

Digitized by Google

what widespread that we will venture to quote a great part of it at length:

'*Harsh*, perhaps, never; but *stern* words, often, at least in his earlier days. Many men who were undergraduates during his long reign would, if asked their impression, recall this special characteristic, that he was stern. It was not that he was naturally severe; we know that he was gentle and tender-hearted; but he was shy and reserved; there were traditions of the Decanal office not associated with suavity of demeanour; he was the official mouthpiece when fault had to be found; and he was always sparing of praise. The result was that the more industrious members of the College sometimes felt that they scarcely received their due meed of commendation and encouragement, while the less deserving experienced justice at his hands, untempered by leniency. . . . Men did not understand that beneath that cold and imperturbable presence there lay hid sympathy and tenderness which would have gladly found expression under different circumstances. . . . A less strong, less dignified, less majestic figure would have suffered from this sternness of demeanour; but Liddell's straightforward simplicity and aristocratic bearing atoned for much, and, especially in his later years, he was universally venerated, while his manner became gentler, and his whole attitude towards undergraduates grew to be more fatherly, sympathetic, and genial. And when some young man who had gone through the experience of undergraduate days at Christ Church was exalted to the position of Tutor, he came to appreciate much that he had not known before, and to regard the Dean with profound and affectionate respect. He discovered that his chief always made the most generous allowance for errors of judgment and immaturity of cnowledge in the young Tutor; that he gave to him the utmost enkouragement and the wisest guidance; and that he always supported the authority, even if privately he could not always commend the discretion, of every member of the educational staff. And so as the years passed, and Censors and Tutors came and went, there was one judgment which never faltered, one experience which extended over many generations; a pillar of strength on which all came to rely with implicit confidence and grateful unanimity' (pp. 169–72).

But, apart from the strength and justice of the Dean's rule, it is necessary to devote some space to the marked and definite policy which he supported and carried out at Christ Church and in the University. He was one of the commissioners under the first Oxford University Commission in 1850. He was absent from only one of the eighty-seven meetings of the Commission. He had already taken interest in the subject of University Reform. The recommendations of the Commissioners were not in every respect what he himself wished carried out; but he, like the other members of the Commission, approved of the 'spirit and tendency' of 'all the more important' (p. 127). The chief reforms recommended were

Digitized by Google

'the revival of the Ancient House of Congregation, upon a reformed basis, as an effective legislative body; a reconstruction of the Professorial system, so as to give it a leading place in the educational machinery of the University; the relaxation of the obligation to take Holy Orders as a condition of the tenure of Fellowships; the removal of local and other restrictions on the tenure of scholarships and Fellowships; the distinction between Nobleman, Gentleman Commoner, and Commoner; and the introduction of a new class of students not belonging to any College or Hall' (p. 126).

Part of the outcome of the work of this Commission was the Ordinance of 1858, which made important changes at Christ Church.

'The Dean and Canons were still to be the sole governing body, the sole administrators of the property; but in place of the large body of students appointed—except the Westminster men—by a system of private nomination, there were now created twenty-eight senior studentships and fifty-two junior studentships, twenty-one of the latter to be connected with Westminster School. All the rest, both senior and junior, were thrown open to public competition. The senior students would rank as fellows of colleges—but without the real position and authority of fellows—the junior students, as scholars. The canonries were reduced from eight to six. In order to secure an effective and impartial electoral Board, the election of students, whether senior or junior, was placed in the hands of the Dean, six canons, and six senior members of the Educational Staff. Thus, for the first time, the students had equal powers with the canons in this important matter; and the system of private nomination was abolished for ever. But the appointment of the college officers (Censors and Readers) still rested with the Dean and canons; and their authority, in all matters connected with the property of the College, was in no respect curtailed' (pp. 142–3).

Carrying out other recommendations of the Commissioners, the Ordinance of 1867 abolished the distinction between Noblemen, Gentlemen Commoners, and Commoners (pp. 175–6). In the same year the 'Christ Church Oxford Act' vested the 'government of the Foundation and the disposal and management of its possessions and revenues' in the hands of the Dean, canons, and senior students (pp. 144–5). And in 1868 a new departure was taken in University matters by

'the establishment of a class of students unattached to any college or hall, but in all other respects members of the University, and subject to proper supervision in regard to studies and discipline' (p. 198).

Of the whole line of policy inaugurated by the Commission of 1850, and carried out to further issues by the Commission of 1877, Dean Liddell was the warm supporter. It

Digitized by Google

was a policy which met with strong disapproval and strenuous opposition. When Liddell wrote to tell Dean Gaisford of his appointment on the Commission of 1850 he received a chilling reply, in which it was said:

'As to the Commission itself I feel, in common with almost everyone both at Oxford and Cambridge, that it is a measure which can be productive of no good, and may eventually breed discord and disunion, and destroy the independence of those bodies' (p. 128).

At the time of the Ordinance of 1858 Dr. Pusey wrote:

'I have done what I could towards retaining the old Christ Church. *Fuit Ilium.* The Commissioners, with yourself and Dr. Jacobson, will be responsible for the new' (p. 143).

For good or evil, the changes thus advocated and thus opposed have become accomplished facts. The policy of Dean Liddell is that which has triumphed. The Oxford of to-day differs in innumerable respects from the Oxford of the period preceding the first University Commission. It can hardly be denied that there have been great gains. It may well be suspected that much has been lost. For many weak points in the completed changes, and for some forebodings which have been strikingly fulfilled, we may refer to an article which appeared in our pages more than eighteen years ago.[1] And even in those many features in which the events of the last fifty years have been productive of much good, it is needful to remember that in the work of reform, the criticism and resistance of the more conservative party are not seldom as necessary to an ultimate success as the zeal and enterprise of those who are bent on the removal of abuses and the introduction of what is valuable as well as new. In the carrying out of needed reforms it was much that among those largely responsible for them Dean Liddell, with his high character, strong will, and unflinching justice, should have great influence. It was much also that in the opposite camp, doomed though it was to failure on many specific issues, there was the vast knowledge and conscientious judgment of Dr. Pusey.

Mr. Thompson has produced an admirable Memoir of his distinguished friend. Here and there we have noticed a slip which the author will doubtless himself correct in the second edition. We should have liked to see a reference to the graceful consideration by which, at the restoration of the

[1] See *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1881, pp. 201-42, 'Recent Fortunes of the Church in Oxford.'

Digitized by Google

cathedral the sandstone slab on Mrs. Pusey's grave was left undisturbed.[1] Two or three sentences more would, without entering into a painful controversy already sufficiently discussed, have done fuller justice to the Dean's share in the solution of the difficulty about the endowment of the Regius Professorship of Greek than the brief note on page 185. And we miss some reference, which need not have been a long one, to the Dean's action about the portrait of Pusey.[2] All this, it may be said, can be found elsewhere. Still, if our regret at what seem to us omissions is hypercritical, it is hypercriticism in the interest of that which Mr. Thompson has at heart.

The Memoir ends with a comparison of the late Dean with some of the most distinguished of his predecessors, at the conclusion of which Mr. Thompson says:

'Dean Liddell, as we have seen—if this brief memoir has not failed in its purpose—may worthily rank with the greatest of his predecessors, in regard to learning and intellectual power. His devotion to Christ Church was unsurpassed; his services to it were singularly great and various; and his majestic bearing, high authority, and unswerving rectitude raised him to a very lofty position among the rulers of Oxford. Humble and reverent, nor caring for or seeking praise, he lived a long life of singular integrity; he might have been assigned a higher place than any of his predecessors, if he could have thrown off his shyness and reticence, and allowed himself to show and express how warmly he shared the interests of those over whom he was set, how keenly he rejoiced in their successes, and how eagerly he desired to encourage their efforts and to repress with a strong hand the idleness and extravagance which in every generation are apt to prevail among the wealthier undergraduates of our Universities.

'Assuredly it may be asserted that, as his term of office was unequalled in duration, so it was unequalled in importance. He witnessed and guided the transition from the old to the new Christ Church; and has left a lasting memory of a rule marked by august dignity, by strenuous labours, and, above all, by dauntless equity' (pp. 279–80).

[1] See Liddon, *Life of E. B. Pusey*, ii. 104.
[2] *Ibid.* iv. 326-9.

Digitized by Google

ART. XI.—GALTON'S MESSAGE AND POSITION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The Message and Position of the Church of England: being an Inquiry into the Claims of the Mediæval Church. With an Appendix on the Validity of Roman Orders. By ARTHUR GALTON, B.A., Curate of Windermere. With a preface on the Royal Supremacy by J. HENRY SHORTHOUSE, Author of *John Inglesant*, etc. (London, 1899.)

THREE facts give this volume an importance it would not otherwise possess, and have led to our devoting an article to the consideration of it. In the first place, it is dedicated to the Bishop of Carlisle, in recognition of his 'great kindness' to the author. Secondly, there is a preface by the eminent novelist, Mr. J. H. Shorthouse. And, thirdly, the author, though he has now been ministering for over a year in the Church of England, was, nineteen years ago, ordained priest in the Church of Rome.

It is a matter for sincere regret that a writer who has done so much good work as Mr. Shorthouse should have allowed himself to be so greatly under the sway of passionate feeling, as he evidently was when he wrote the preface to this book. Our own pages have often borne witness to the strength of the conviction with which we reject the Papal claims, and Roman Catholic writers of eminence have themselves admitted the sad 'state of personal religion in Italy, and France, and Spain'; but no rejection of Roman theology, or recognition of Rome's moral failure in many places, can justify the language of the last paragraph of Mr. Shorthouse's preface. According to him

> 'the Papal system never was a Church. It never was anything but a propagandist machine for extracting forced obedience and alms from an ignorant, a deceived, and a terrified world. The Papal Curia . . . always has been, and is now, the enemy of the Human Race' (pp. xiii–xiv).

Words of so great violence, and so obviously unjust, can only defeat their own end.

Mr. Shorthouse is hardly less unhappy in what he says about the Church of England than in his statements about 'the Papal system.' He makes the inquiry, 'What is the sense and what the fabric of the English Church?' His answer is,

Digitized by Google

'His Sacred Majesty, the anointed of God, the Lords temporal and spiritual, the King's Commons in Parliament assembled—that is, the entire Church. There is no antithesis here, of secular or spiritual, the entire State is the Church' (p. x).

We are fully aware of passages in the writings of Hooker which probably were in Mr. Shorthouse's mind when he wrote these astounding sentences. But, whatever value Hooker's theory of Church and State may have possessed in the reign of Elizabeth—and even at that time there was very much to be said against it—the changes which have taken place in England have certainly made it untenable. On Mr. Shorthouse's view, part of the Church of England consists of unbaptized persons, it may be Jews, it may be unbelievers; another part of it consists of those who, if baptized, are not in communion with the Church of England, and are her bitter enemies. Such a theory refutes itself. The assertion of it is tantamount to describing the Church of England as a non-Christian body. If the acceptance of it were necessitated by Establishment, it would be the immediate duty of every Churchman who remains a Christian, as the condition of his loyalty to our Lord Jesus Christ, to throw the whole weight of whatever influence he may possess into supporting a demand for Disestablishment.

Mr. Galton's book is not so wholly bad as Mr. Shorthouse's preface led us to anticipate that it would be. There are parts of it which we have read with interest, and not without agreement. There is a fairly useful summary of the objections to the Papal interpretation of St. Matthew xvi. 18 (p. 28). If the elaborate discussion of the Greek text of this verse (pp. 28–36) does not give much confidence in Mr. Galton's scholarship, it helps to bring out part of the reasons against the Roman explanation. The description of the influence of the Forged Decretals (pp. 37–42) has merits. It is of some importance that such a writer should allow that the doctrine of the Eucharist 'laid down by the English formularies' is that of 'the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament,' and the same as the Eucharistic doctrine of 'all the Eastern Churches' at the present time, and as the 'primitive belief' (pp. 42–3). There are fairly good statements on the ignorance of the mediæval Church (pp. 58–9), the results of the restriction of the view of Western Christians in the middle ages to the West (pp. 60–2), and the causes of the Reformation (pp. 65–92), which is rightly regarded as having extended from 1529 to 1662 (pp. 112–3). About the reign of Edward VI. there are useful remarks:

Digitized by Google

'Under Edward VI. the nation fell into the hands of men who used religion as a pretext for their own advancement. The extreme Protestant faction made a bad and greedy use of their opportunities. We need only remark that the extreme Reformers were never able to insert their private opinions into the official declarations of the Church' (p. 119).

There is a recognition of the standing appeal of the Church of England 'to a full and free council of the whole Church' (p. 127). And, while Mr. Galton's appreciation of Hooker, Andrewes, and Herbert (pp. 156-7) does not appear to have brought him to a position to which it might be thought likely to lead, it is at least satisfactory that it should exist.

So much it is only fair to say in approval of parts of Mr. Galton's book. In justice to our readers we must point out that, as a whole, and in many details, it cannot be commended.

Mr. Galton appears to us to have an altogether perverted idea of the history of the early Church. It may, perhaps, be due to polemical bias and to a reaction from his former acceptance of the Papal claims that he should say that there is 'not much historical foundation' for the 'tradition' 'that St. Peter was crucified in Rome' (p. 24), that it is 'dubious' 'whether St. Peter was ever in Rome' (p. 25), and that the 'bishops of Rome,' when 'immersed in temporal concerns, and soiled by the ambitions and cares of government,' 'exercised such duties as representatives of the civil authority' (p. 20). Even anti-Roman polemical bias can hardly account for the extraordinary assertions about the relation of the Emperor to the Church. 'All persons,' it is said in one place, 'clerical and secular, owned the Supreme Headship of the Roman Emperors, both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs' (p. 10). The 'undivided Church of the whole Roman Empire' is described elsewhere as 'acknowledging the Supreme Headship of the Emperor, who summoned and presided over its general Councils, making their decrees valid by his approval' (pp. 17-8). 'In the only centuries,' it is said again,

'when the whole Church was united . . . the centre and bond of unity was the throne of Caesar, who was the only Supreme Head on earth of a Church containing many nations, using many languages, and worshipping through many diverse liturgies' (p. 19).

At the end of Mr. Galton's survey of 'the thousand and odd years of Popery, from the break up of the old united Church and Empire to the beginning of the sixteenth century,' he calls attention to

Digitized by Google

'the damage caused both to States and Churches by the abolition of the old Supreme Head, the Emperor; and the usurpation of his office and authority by an ecclesiastical power' (p. 53).

Of the period 'between 323 and the close of Justinian's reign' he says:

'the Bishop of Rome was one among four or five Patriarchs, with co-ordinate and equal powers, and all recognizing the imperial supremacy, which was the bond of unity and the source of jurisdiction and of order' (p. 114).

Anything more unhistorical, or more practically mischievous at the present time, than these assertions that the Emperor was the 'centre and bond of unity' and 'the source of jurisdiction and of order,' and that his 'approval' made the 'decrees' of 'general Councils' 'valid,' it would be difficult to conceive.

It naturally follows from Mr. Galton's perverted view of the history of the early Church that he approves of the trial of ecclesiastical causes in civil courts and by the Privy Council. This is a subject which we treated so fully in a recent number[1] that we need not dwell on it at length now; but since Mr. Galton has revived an old sophistry, it may be worth while for us to recall very weighty words, in which, almost fifty years ago, it was exposed by Dr. Pusey. In speaking of legal decisions on ecclesiastical matters by the civil courts, Mr. Galton says:

'With regard to our own Established Church, the courts . . . . have never defined nor altered any article of the Christian faith. They have only decided the legal meaning of the Anglican formularies; and the further question, whether the utterances or practices of this or that accused person are, or are not, in agreement with those formularies. Their decision may be right or wrong. It cannot affect the truths, which our formularies are taken to express. It can only affect the incriminated person. I cannot see that it matters who try such questions so long as they be competent; and the presumption is that lawyers, guided by trained theologians,[2] are likely to be the most competent. The law courts do not make the faith of the English Church. They only interpret those articles of faith which have been accepted both by Church and State as the legal expression of it' (pp. 133-4).

When a similar consideration was put forward prominently

[1] See *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1899, pp. 19-30.

[2] The value of this sentence, of course, depends on what the word 'guided' means, and who the 'trained theologians' are. It is obvious that Mr. Galton does not mean such a compulsory reference to, and acceptance of the decision of, the bishops as has been advocated by some.

Digitized by Google

on the occasion of the Gorham Judgment, Dr. Pusey wrote as follows in 1850:

'The civil judges indeed disclaim deciding whether doctrines brought before them are "theologically sound or unsound." But they claim to decide on points, as they think, not before decided, whether "certain opinions are contrary or repugnant to the doctrines which the Church of England, by her articles, formularies, and rubrics, requires to be held by her ministers." And to this end they claim, as their office (and indeed it is essential to the other), "to ascertain" for themselves "the true meaning of the articles, formularies, and rubrics." In a word, they hold that they might not decide what is the truth; but they might decide what, whether true or false, is to be held to be consistent with the formularies of the Church of England.

'The exercise of this claim seems to have startled every religious body which has heard of it, abroad or in England. The English had not thought much of the principle when dormant, or not exercised on matters belonging to the very Creeds themselves. We are, above others, a practical people. We do not see things in their abstract bearings. We do not feel wrong principles until they issue in wrong actions. . . .

'We have now seen an article in the Creed decided upon in ignorance. The very article is mentioned incidentally in the judgment. "'One baptism for the remission of sins' is acknowledged by the Church." It is quoted in proof that baptism is not to be repeated; but without the slightest apparent consciousness that it had any bearing upon the heresy upon which the court was called to pronounce.

'Articles of the Creed then are within the range of the subject-matters whose true meaning the Privy Council has to determine. The question then is forced upon the Church, What are its qualifications for the office; and does the supremacy of the Crown "over all causes" involve the continuance of such a court to decide in matters purely spiritual?

'A court-martial to determine a question of heresy would sound absurd. . . . Why should this seem absurd and the judgment by the Privy Council sound and good? I ask in all earnestness, In what way are Christian officers less qualified to judge on points of doctrine than the judicial members of Her Majesty's Privy Council? . . . *The* disqualification alike of a naval or military officer, or of a civil judge, to decide in questions of heresy, is that they have received no commission to do it from our Divine Master. The most difficult office of the Church herself, to "determine controversies of faith," is not to be taken as a mere by-occupation, alternating with Admiralty causes. . . .

'The Privy Council cannot continue to be the judge of heresy in the English Church. Points of faith will not be accounted of less moment than points of honour. Civil courts are not thought the best tribunals to decide on military discipline, cowardice, and

Digitized by Google

obedience. Are the Eternal Sonship of God the Son, or the Being of the All-Holy Trinity, or the extent of Christ's redemption and of His love for all our infants, subjects less deep, less essential to our well-being or to our peace? Common-sense, natural feeling, instinctive reverence, coincide with the rules of the Church, and the practice of Christendom in all ages, which requires that matters of faith should be referred to those who are, by God's appointment, "overseers" of the Church of God, whom the Church requires to vow before God that "they will banish and drive away all erroneous or strange doctrine contrary to God's Word"—the special guardians of the faith.'[1]

This quotation, and indeed the whole treatise in which it occurs, deserves and will repay careful thought, and is of special value at the present time.

We do not anticipate that any words of Dr. Pusey will do more than form an additional reason to Mr. Galton for adhering to his own unhistorical view, since his enmity to the Oxford Movement is a feature of his book. He refers to a sentence of Keble's, lately quoted by Lord Halifax, to the effect that Churchmen should treat the wrong decisions of civil courts 'as dissenters treated certain Acts of Parliament, *i.e.*, to disregard them and to take the consequences,' as 'a wrong and foolish saying' (p. 139). Keble's argument on the subject he deems a 'false analogy' (p. 140); and the 'reasoning' on which it is based is to be classed among 'fallacies' (p. 141). He is guilty of the phrase, 'one of Newman's worst fallacies' (p. 161); and is so far from appreciating the strength and balance and reserve which characterised the Tractarians, that he writes of 'the excitement and excesses of the Oxford Movement' (p. 161), and 'the haste and crudeness of the Tractarian party' (p. 201).

Mr. Galton, then, is a bad guide alike about the history and constitution of the early Church and about the present needs of the Church of England. We have already referred to passages in his book about the mediæval Church in the West as having some value. These, however, are unbalanced by recognition of any other side than that upon which Mr. Galton dwells. The Western Church of the middle ages had its weaknesses. It had also its strong points. Mr. Galton has a very keen eye for the weaknesses. He does not appear to realize the strong points. In the domain of action there can be little doubt that the Papacy, in spite of many failings and sins, during some parts of the middle ages exercised a beneficial influence in preserving unity and in maintaining the faith.

[1] Pusey, *The Royal Supremacy not an Arbitrary Authority but limited by the Laws of the Church, of which Kings are Members*, pp. 192-6.

Digitized by Google

In the domain of thought, the mediæval theologians had their merits as well as their limitations. St. Thomas Aquinas, for instance, was hampered in almost innumerable ways, of which we may mention the impossibility of his possessing critical knowledge of either the Old or the New Testament; the supposition, inevitable in his time, that the Forged Decretals were genuine and trustworthy documents; the want of an uninterpolated text of the Fathers; and the exaggerated importance he attached to some lines of thought. It is possible to recognize all this, as in substance it was recognized by one of the greatest of the English theologians of the seventeenth century, and at the same time to be aware, with the same great theologian, that the scholastic writers had in some matters special qualifications for the discussion of theology, and that the scholastic methods have merits of their own.[1] We do not find fault with Mr. Galton for stating with much clearness the weakness of the mediæval theologians. That is not a satisfactory treatment which points out weakness and is silent about strength.

Nor does Mr. Galton's recognition that the Reformation extended from 1529 to 1662 (pp. 112–3) save him from a very serious blunder. In the course of his description of the work accomplished by Queen Elizabeth for the Church of England—and we agree with Mr. Galton to the extent of believing that the services rendered by the Queen to the Church were far greater than is generally recognized—he writes as follows:

'We owe to Elizabeth the Act of Uniformity behind which there should be no appeal, either to the Prayer Books it superseded or still less to any mediæval precedents in belief and ritual. What would be thought of an army in which any officer gave himself a licence to ignore the standing orders, to defy all the existing regulations, and to drill or clothe himself, at his individual fancy, according to fashions and ways long obsolete, on the pretence that such old uniforms and postures had not been expressly and singly repealed? (p. 129).

Now, in this statement Mr. Galton, as it seems to us, ignores the course of action taken by the great and wise men who were responsible for the Prayer Book of 1662. They had to consider whether they should make terms with the Puritanism which would never have been satisfied without effecting a breach between the reformed Church of England and the historical Christian system which had survived all

[1] See Pearson, *Lectiones de Deo et attributis*, Lectio i. (*Minor Works*, ed. Churton, i. 1–9.)

Digitized by Google

the moral and theological corruptions of the middle ages. As a result of this consideration they came to the conclusion that, while much tenderness and caution were to be exercised in many directions, no terms could be made with the essential features of Puritanism. As a consequence, to quote Mr. Wakeman's clear statement of the facts, 'Puritanism had to go forth into the wilderness. The Reformation struggle was ended. The Church of England, reformed on Catholic lines and freed from Puritanism, was able to discharge her own duties to her own people in her own way.'[1] In coming to this conclusion and carrying out this policy the Church divines placed the 'Ornaments Rubric' at the beginning of their book. In so placing it, they did not refer, as the rubric of 1559[2] had referred, to the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity. They did not assert, as the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity had asserted, any such power of altering the ornaments of the church and the ministers as that formerly ascribed to the 'authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her Commissioners appointed and authorized under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this realm.' The rubric which they enacted is strikingly different in these respects from either the rubric or the Act of 1559. The Act of 1559, indeed, the penal statute by which the civil legislative body had enforced the use of the book which they revised, they placed at the beginning of their own book, of which it formed, and was intended to form, an integral part, as is shown by the pagination and by its following and being included in the table of contents. Whatever their object in so doing may have been, there can be no doubt that their own position and law were given in the rubric no less than in the Act; and that the authority of the rubric, either as to its positive commands or as to the principles which it embodied, can no more rightly be ignored than the authority of the Act included in the Book of Common Prayer. The position was that they went back behind the complications of the reign of Elizabeth,

[1] Wakeman, *Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, p. 388.

[2] We must remember, however, when we speak of the 'rubric of 1559,' as the *Times* has rightly observed (September 20, 1899), that, 'as a matter of fact, the Elizabethan Prayer Book was not "annexed" to the Act of Uniformity, and the Ornaments Rubric in that Prayer Book *had no legislative authority*, but was a mere summary of the thirteenth section of the Act, prefixed by the publisher as a sort of prefatory note.' The importance of what we have said above lies in the fact that the rubric which the printer prefixed was before the revisers of 1661.

Digitized by Google

the time when the struggle with Puritanism was in progress with doubtful issues, and behind the Puritan domination which had characterized the greater part of the reign of Edward VI. It was their earnest desire to complete the Reformation of the Church of England on Catholic lines. One outward token of this policy was that in the 'Ornaments Rubric' they showed that their liturgical standard was that which was to be found before the Puritan influences to which the Prayer Book of 1552 was due had acquired force. To direct the use of the 'ornaments of the Church and of the ministers' of the 'second year of the reign of King Edward VI.' was to assert the continuity of the reformed Church of England with the historic Church of Christ. From the 'second year of the reign of King Edward VI.' to 1661 there had been much confusion. To get clear of that confusion, to make plain the historical and liturgical continuity of the Church of England, was one great object of the Church divines to whom we owe the Prayer Book of 1662. To say, as Mr. Galton says, that 'behind' Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity 'there should be no appeal,' is to contradict the principle on which the compilers of the present Book of Common Prayer in their wisdom acted, and to forget that both Act and Prayer Book were intended by them to work in harmony. Moreover, the Church of England needs greater freedom for the constitutional action of her synods. The first step to this freedom and to a right use of it is to be found in fidelity to the policy embodied in the Prayer Book of 1662, to the meaning of which the 'Ornaments Rubric' supplies an important key.

It is unpleasant to be obliged to notice one fact which Mr. Galton's book records. He ceased to minister in the Church of Rome because he believed that Roman Orders are invalid (p. xv). That belief he still holds and maintains at some length in this volume (pp. 219–32). Yet he is now ministering as a priest in the Church of England on the strength of the ordination the invalidity of which he asserts! It is no excuse to say that, while he 'cannot believe' 'in the validity of Roman Orders,' he has 'left the responsibility' of his present ministrations to 'the bishop,' 'submitting' his 'own opinion' to the 'belief and practice of the English Church' (p. xvi). On such a course of action it is unnecessary to say more. We have no doubt that both Mr. Galton and the Bishop acted conscientiously. Charity compels us to take refuge in *aposiopesis*.

It would be easy to go on finding fault with Mr. Galton's

Digitized by Google

book. We have, we think, said enough to show that it will afford little, if any, help to those who wish to understand the 'message and position of the Church of England.' The Church of England, indeed, has her 'position' and her 'message'—her 'position' as the divinely appointed organ of God in this country, protected by Providence through past perils of the most terrible danger, and destined, we earnestly believe, to be brought through present and future difficulties by the same supernatural aid; her 'message' to hand on the one faith which once for all was delivered to the Saints and is enshrined in the Creeds, and to teach that union with God is to be found by means of her sacramental system. At the present time, as often before, she is passing through days of trial. As Dr. Pusey used to say, *Pejora passi.* If Churchmen now are true to their Catholic heritage, they have good reason for hoping for the continued protection of God.

ART. XII.—THE DECISION ON INCENSE AND THE HEARING ON RESERVATION.

1. *The Archbishops on the Lawfulness of the Liturgical Use of Incense and the Carrying of Lights in Procession.* Lambeth Palace, July 31, 1899. (London and New York, 1899.)
2. *The Times*, August 1, 1899.
3. *Sir W. Harcourt's Letter to the Times*, August 8, 1899.
4. *The Guardian*, August 9, 1899.
5. *Reservation of the Sacrament. Mr. Dibdin's Speech* at the recent hearing before the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, at Lambeth, July 1899, and some of the evidence. With Notes and Appendices. By J. S. FRANEY, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. (London and Derby, 1899.)
6. *Reservation.* A letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. By the Rev. T. A. LACEY, M.A., Vicar of Madingley. (London, 1899.)
7. *Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the Sick Lawful.* By the Rev. N. GREEN-ARMYTAGE, M.A., Incumbent of St. Aidan's, Boston. (London, 1899.)
8. *The Times*, July 18, 19, 20, 21, 1899.
9. *The Guardian*, July 19, 26, 1899.

THE Archbishops have 'spoken' and given their decision against the present legality of the ceremonial use of incense

Digitized by Google

and processional lights, and a few words are needed on our part to show why we believe that loyal Churchmen should frankly accept that decision and regard the 'cause' as 'ended.'[1]

In the first place we must clearly distinguish what seems to be in some danger of being confused. There is the Archbishops' decision; there are the reasons on which it is based, which the Archbishops have thought proper to make public; there are the interpretations put upon those reasons by anxious friends or aggressive enemies of the Church; and there are the possible effects of obedience or disobedience upon the Church of England in her own life and in her relation to other parts of the Body of Christ, of which she is a true and living member.

The Archbishops' decision, in our view, is morally binding on the clergy, altogether apart from the reasons on which it is based. It has been suggested[2] that it would have been well if the decision had been given alone, with no reasons. It is true that the Archbishops were not legally bound to give their reasons. But there is a certain kind of moral obligation to tell men who are very much in earnest why they may no longer do what they have been doing. The clergy are not children nor schoolboys, and we doubt whether the bare decision would not have called forth some clamour on the score of autocratic dealing. Allowing, however, that the Archbishops adopted the wiser, if the much more difficult course of explaining their action, we are bound to say that we consider obedience to be due to the decision as such, without reference to the reasons. We cannot imagine any more spiritual or ecclesiastical 'hearing' possible than that which has been obtained by the bold simple following of the Prayer Book. We cannot imagine any hearing under conditions of disestablishment, about which some appear able to talk so

[1] We may in self-defence say that we adapted St. Augustine's *locuta est* to our purpose, and sent it to the printer before Sir William Harcourt made use of it in his erroneous statement about the English Church Union, in which he mistook the individual opinion of Lord Halifax for the formal expression of the Council of the Union, by which alone the members are strictly bound, as Sir T. C. Hope points out in the *Times*, September 12, 1899. The *Times* itself has ceased to speak of the corporate contumacy of the English Church Union. 'We are glad to note indications that the influence, unfortunately great as it seems to us, of the English Church Union may not, after all, be directly exercised in the support of disobedience to Church authority' (September 14, 1899). The relation of the Union to its President has now become a matter of pressing interest, as Sir H. Howorth shows (*Times*, September 20).

[2] *Guardian*, p. 1077.

Digitized by Google

thoughtlessly, which would give the Church such entire freedom from the interference of the secular power. The decision which follows such a hearing is morally binding, we hold, on all who acknowledge the provincial authority of the Archbishops.[1] The burden of the decision lies absolutely upon the two Archbishops. If they have given it upon Erastian principles,[2] assuredly they will have to answer for it before the supreme tribunal of the Divine Head of the Church; for the burden is theirs, and in no sense whatever does it lie upon the shoulders of those who render obedience to the Archbishops as their spiritual rulers. Nothing can be clearer than this in the solemn claim which the Archbishops make upon the obedience of the clergy:

'We think it our duty to press, not only on the clergy that have appeared before us, but also on all the clergy alike, to submit to episcopal authority in all such matters as these. All alike have consented to the Book of Common Prayer; and the Book of Common Prayer requires all persons, not only if they doubt but if they find that others disagree with them concerning the meaning of the directions contained in the Book, to resort to the Bishop of the diocese, who may, if he thinks fit, send the question to the Archbishop for his decision. In order to give the fullest opportunity to any who diversely take any question of this kind to give reasons for their opinion, we have suspended our decision until we had heard the matter fully and learnedly argued before us; and we have now given our decision as the Prayer Book requires us to do. We entreat the clergy, for the sake of the peace of the Church, which we all so much desire, to accept our decision thus conscientiously given in the name of our common Master, the Supreme Head of the Church, the Lord whose commission we bear.'[3]

If we could satisfy ourselves that no ulterior aims and objects lurked behind the clamour of extremists for incense, we should not for a moment attempt to disguise our wish that the decision had been a different one, because we regard the liturgical use of incense as Scriptural, instructive, spiritu-

[1] To acknowledge the 'binding force' of the decision upon the consciences of the clergy seems to Mr. Green-Armytage (letter to the *Guardian*, August 30, p. 1181) to recognize the germs of an Anglican papacy, and to Mr. Bayfield Roberts (*ibid.* September 6, p. 1209) to acquiesce in a novel and indifferent imitation of the Roman method. But the Prayer Book itself provides for a reference to the archbishop, and this sustains the principle of the jurisdiction, although, as the *Guardian* truly observes (August 6, p. 1110), 'it may have been originally designed to meet a different need.'

[2] Father Puller (*Guardian*, August 30, p. 1181) says that 'full justice ought to be done to the completely un-Erastian character of the Archbishops' decision.'

[3] *Times*, August 1, 1899.

Digitized by Google

ally uplifting, and eminently calculated to help people to realize the true Catholicity of the Church of England. But obedience to lawful episcopal authority is also a plain mark of Catholicity, and we have not a trace of hesitation in urging that the decision should be obeyed. There should be no difficulty about obedience in the conscience of any clergyman when he ponders the terms of that appeal—'for the sake of the peace of the Church' and in the most sacred of all names. In its claim on our obedience the decision stands entirely by itself.[1]

As, however, the Archbishops have given their reasons, it is not improper to examine them, if we recollect that such an examination is to be kept quite distinct from the question of obedience. The reasons are an interesting glimpse into the archiepiscopal mind, which enables us to see how the Archbishops justified their decision to their own consciences, and how they would defend themselves when questioned by their Master upon the exercise of their sacred trust. It was argued that the use of incense was practically sanctioned by the Ornaments rubric. According to the Archbishops, it is not sufficient to show that censers were in use in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI. It must be shown also that the ceremony of using them in public worship is enjoined or authorized in the Prayer Book as it now stands. But this cannot be shown. Therefore the ceremony in question is forbidden by the Act of 1559, which clearly forbids any ceremony not ordered in the book of 1552.[2] At the moment this Act did not receive the assent of the Convocations of the Church, but the Church fully accepted the Act at the time, its authority was never questioned, the thirty-sixth Canon covers practically the same ground, and 'in the manuscript Prayer Book signed by Convocation on December 20, 1661, and then presented to the King, the Act of 1559 is set forth at full length in the beginning, and is thus formally adopted by the authority of the Church.' Further, 'there was nothing to prevent the use of incense for the purpose of

[1] As an example of the spirit in which we hope that the decision will be received, we cannot do better than refer to Mr. Eden's letter to his parishioners printed in the *Guardian*, p. 1083. We are pleased to see in the *Guardian* of August 16 several letters written in a similar spirit, and in the issue of September 6, p. 1197, an admirable statement from the Rev. the Hon. James Adderley.

[2] The *Church Eclectic* for September, p. 561 (erroneously numbered on the cover as p. 564), has an interesting 'editorial,' chiefly on the meaning of 'gesture' and 'ceremony.' The editor thinks that the case for Incense submitted to the Archbishops was decidedly weak (p. 563).

Digitized by Google

sweetening the atmosphere of a church wherever and whenever such sweetening was needed,' and 'it would always be possible, if some great occasion made it suitable for the sovereign, with the advice of the Primate, to order a great ceremonial in which the use of incense should form a part.'[1] So the Act allows, and it is very difficult to see how a charge of Erastianism can be sustained against this chain of reasoning, when the Church of 1662, which determined the law under which we now use the Prayer Book, so fully endorsed the Elizabethan Act.[2] The Archbishop of Canterbury himself is very clearly conscious of the rights of his office, as he shows in the brief letter which he sent from Grasmere to an impertinent correspondent:

'The Prayer Book assigns to the Archbishop of the province the duty of interpreting the directions of the Prayer Book, and I call upon those who value the Prayer Book, to which they have solemnly assented, to help me in the discharge of that duty.'[3]

[1] *Times* Report of Archbishops' decision, August 1, 1899.

[2] A copious correspondence has arisen on the relation of the Church to the Act of Uniformity, and is still being continued up to the time of our going to press. But the true facts which have come to light have abundantly proved that the Archbishops made a correct historical statement when they said that the Act of 1559 was accepted and endorsed by the Church in 1662. The crucial letters on the point have been written by Mr. Denny (*Guardian*, August 16, p. 1123, August 30, p. 1182, September 13, p. 1235), Canon Hammond (*Church Times*, August 18), the Bishop of Edinburgh (*Guardian*, August 23, p. 1153, September 6, p. 1208), Dr. Bright and Sir T. C. Hope (*ibid.* September 6, p. 1208). The only extracts which need be made—though the whole correspondence deserves to be read and the matter set at rest—are from the Bishop of Edinburgh's letter of September 6: 'The Act of Uniformity of 1559 was not only set forth in full in the beginning of the manuscript signed by Convocation [December 20, 1661], but . . . it was expressly *named* and *numbered* under the heading "The contents of this book . . ." The whole manuscript, including the Act of Uniformity of 1559, exactly makes 544 pages'—and the Bishops expressly say that they subscribe to these 544 pages. Father Puller and Mr. Denny (*Guardian*, September 13, p. 1235) both think that the 'Letters of Business' militate against 'direct and explicit acceptance,' and are still unconvinced. The point which we would urge upon them is that in 1661 the Bishops did not profess to be engaged in the business of passing, revising, or putting Acts of Parliament into force. What they did was to write out the whole Act of 1559 and assent to it with their whole hearts on behalf of the Church. And we are all involved in their action, in our opinion happily. Correspondence as to 'constructive or implicit acceptance' is still proceeding. Canon Holland (*ibid.* August 30, p. 1181) usefully reminds us that the Act of 1559 rescued the Church from Puritan anarchy, although, as the *Guardian* leader of that date (p. 1166) observes, by somewhat 'irregular action.'

[3] *Guardian*, p. 1083.

Digitized by Google

Of course prejudice and malice can read anything into the reasons given for a decision upon a complicated problem. It was only what might have been expected that Sir William Harcourt should attempt to improve the occasion for his own political ends.[1] But we are not compelled, thank God for it, to take our interpretation of the Archbishops' reasons, or of any ecclesiastical document at all, from Sir William Harcourt. If his utterances gave any proof of the existence in his breast of that charity that thinketh no evil, or if we had reason to believe that he was a diligent observer of the Prayer Book rule of life and zealously encouraged those who strove to obey all the directions of that book, we might listen with more deference to his ecclesiastical letters. As it is, we recognize in him the true note of hostility to the best interests of the Church, and Church history teaches us who is certain to be the conqueror in that warfare.[2] It is with more concern that we have read the interpretation which certain clergymen have so readily put upon the Archbishops' deliverance. Letters and reports of sermons and speeches have already appeared, and others doubtless will be forthcoming, in which it is assumed that the decision proves that the Church is bound hand and foot in all her spiritual activities by Parliament, that disestablishment is inevitable, that obedience will fetter posterity, that the Church is not a living body, but a dead corporation, strangled in the grave-cloths of enactments coming down from a period of emergency and panic, and we know not what besides.[3] We fear that those who use such

[1] Lord Hugh Cecil answers some of the wilder passages of Sir William's letter in the *Times*, August 11, 1899, and in the same journal on the same date the Rev. J. H. Cooper pertinently calls attention to the duties of the laity to which the Act of 1559 refers. In his second letter (*Times*, September 7) Sir William returns to the red rag of Sacerdotalism, and makes what capital he can out of the Dean of Rochester's hasty withdrawal from the English Church Union, and Lord Halifax's advice to the lay members of the Union to stand by their priests.

[2] Tu vicisti, Galilæe!

[3] *Guardian*, p. 1083. Perhaps they will listen to Dr. Pusey's words to Dr. Liddon, written in 1877 in reference to the Ridsdale judgment, and quoted by Mr. Henson in the *Times* of August 28 last: 'Disestablishment would be hopeless disruption, in which the only gainer would be Rome' (*Life*, iv. 289). Mr. Green-Armytage thinks that what he calls 'an Anglican papacy' would be a worse evil than disestablishment (*Guardian*, August 30, p. 1181). A writer in the *Guardian* of August 30, p. 1182, calls attention to the need of a spirit of humble penitence for past neglect rather than of efforts to break loose from existing obligations. He quotes *Tracts for the Times*, No. 86, on 'indications of a superintending Providence in the preservation of the Prayer Book, and in the

Digitized by Google

language are little likely to listen to what we say, but we would very earnestly implore them as priests of the Church of God to clear their minds of cant and read once more the Archbishops' decision, especially its concluding paragraph, the like of which no Erastian document ever contained.[1] We might even ask them to consider the Duke of Argyll's letter on Church government,[2] and reflect how impossible it is that the relation of the Church of England to the State can ever resemble that of the Presbyterian body in Scotland, as they seem to think. We trust that the solid strength and the pastoral appeal of the decision itself will not be permanently obscured by the clouds of individual interpretation which for some time may be expected to fly round about it.[3]

It is not well to prophesy about the probable effects of the decision, and it is too soon to do more at present. We may, however, notice one or two comments that have been made by interested parties rather than by those who have talked just for the sake of talking, who need not be taken into account. 'If incense is illegal we are cut off from Christendom.' This is a fine example of the wild talk which is always rampant in times of excitement. Such words die a natural death. But it is just worth while saying that only a certain use of incense—to wit, its liturgical use—has been pronounced to be at present illegal. As the Archbishop says—and many bitter Protestants may note it well—the Church has never spoken of incense as an evil thing, and even the liturgical use of incense is not by law permanently excluded from the Church's ritual. Let those who speak about being cut off from Christendom, and especially from the sympathy of the Eastern Church, satisfy themselves of their continued union with the whole Church by the regular use of fumigatory incense if they will,

changes which it has undergone.' We earnestly commend his letter, as well as a second from him, both signed 'A Churchman,' in the *Guardian*, September 13, p. 1237.

[1] To make this perusal easy we may expressly say that the 'decision' is published by Messrs. Macmillan in a shilling pamphlet, and the full text is printed in the *Church Eclectic* for September (p. 505).

[2] *Times*, July 31, 1899.

[3] It is just to Mr. Green-Armytage to give further publicity to his categorical denial that before the receipt of any communication from his own bishop he authorized the statement that the worship in his church would be continued as before, though we may not agree with him in his view of what is Erastian. See the *Guardian*, August 30, p. 1169. But since that communication Mr. Green-Armytage has announced the continuance of incense in his church. See the *Guardian*, September 13, p. 1240. And in the issue of September 20, p. 1283, a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln from him is published setting forth his refusal to obey.

Digitized by Google

as Father Puller urges,[1] and let them remember that the unity of the Church is not broken by the observance or disuse of any one Catholic custom, which rests upon the sanction of custom and nothing more.[2] The unity of the Church, as they may learn from St. Cyprian and a study of national Church life, lies deeper than that. But absurd exaggerations about the disuse of an ancient and widely spread custom cutting us off from Christendom need not lead us to forget that the customs of the family of God should be dear to all the members of the family. Some have forgotten that about incense, and we have no sympathy with them.

But, again, it is urged that the decision is the thin end of the wedge, and that logically much else must be condemned on the same principles. In the exuberance of the moment Sir William Harcourt evidently hopes in both his letters, but especially in the second, that this is the beginning of the end of the whole movement of 1833, to say nothing of the destruction of much that was most justly prized in the English Church by the great men of 1549 and the Caroline divines. The wish is father to the thought, and Sir William is famous—shall we say notorious?—for being obtrusively sanguine when he is most hopelessly beaten. But after electioneering speeches follows the poll, as for example at Derby; and after the hilarious leadership of a beaten cause there has sometimes come retirement, at least professedly, into comparative privacy; and after all this patronizing

[1] Letter in the *Guardian*, August 30, p. 1181. Lord Halifax's opinion is that incense may still be used 'in processions before the Holy Eucharist begins,' or, as Mr. Foote offensively says, 'before the Parliamentary office proper of the Holy Communion begins.' But there seems to us to be grave moral danger in drawing fine distinctions in this way, not to speak of their effect on those who look at incense from Mr. Llewelyn Davies's point of view, as a mediæval usage betraying ignorance of sanitation (*Times*, August 5), or at the whole dispute from outside, as Mrs. Humphry Ward (*ibid.* September 5), or as the working men mentioned by Mr. Handley (*ibid.* September 7). Mr. Westall's letter to the Bishop of London is dignified, but 'obedience without love' is not what we understand by full loyalty (*Guardian*, August 30, p. 1167). We must frankly confess that our moral sense is profoundly shocked—we wish to say so as plainly as possible—when we read that Mr. Ram can suppose himself to be doing his duty by using neither incense nor processional lights during the Communion service, but both beforehand, the altar being censed and lights carried in procession (*Times*, September 11). At all events, let us be honest in drawing the line between ceremonial and fumigatory use, and avoid even an appearance of violating supreme moral obligations which will excite the just contempt of Englishmen. Let us not play Balaam with our consciences.

[2] The last paragraph of Article XXXIV. surely covers such a matter as the mode in which incense shall be used.

Digitized by Google

attempt to show the Church of England her true duty, there may, as we trust, be an awakening to the fact that she is in stronger hands and under the direction of wiser heads than are found in the second rank of politicians. There are letters, too, as we have already noticed, in which fear betrays 'the succours which reason offereth,' fear lest the decision involved hopeless submission of the Church to the State in doctrine as well as in ceremonial; lest advantage should be taken of submission in the direction of further surrenders on our part or on the part of those who come after us; lest we lose what good we have gained. We hope that we shall be forgiven if we say that many of these letters seem to be written in the heat of the moment; that others show but a very partial acquaintance with the facts of the case in point and with the general course of the constitutional history of the English Church; and that others lose themselves in the vague mists of very foolish generalization. No doctrine is at stake under the Archbishops' decision, and no new relation between Church and State is set up by the reasons which they have given. The Church is as free from, and as much bound up with, the State as before. Any new case brought before the Archbishops under the Prayer Book will be heard, we may be sure, on its own merits, with the same impartiality, the same integrity of purpose, the same fearless attitude as on the present occasion. We sincerely trust that the steadiness of the Archbishops will prevail over the spirit which has prompted these letters, some of which seem to us to have been not only written in indecent haste, but also animated by scanty respect for the heads of the Church.

Some time is required to take account of the probable effects of such a decision,[1] and one correspondent reminds us

[1] For example, how far the principle of the decision would carry with it the condemnation of mitres, pastoral staves, various episcopal functions, fancy flower services, 'Benediction,' and the like. Any who regret the Archbishops' decision on the ground of the palpable injustice of singling out the liturgical use of incense for condemnation, while every conceivable eccentricity has been episcopally tolerated for years past, must remember that these vagaries have never been formally brought up for 'hearing.' When such a hearing takes place many popular oddities in the way of toy services, such as the *Guardian* (August 30, p. 1161) dryly observes to have been 'unknown in 1559,' will, we hope, disappear from our churches. We confess that we should regard stringency as cheaply bought if it made it impossible for a clergyman to provide as the sole Sunday morning service in his parish church hymns, the Ante-Communion service, and sermon without the Church Militant Prayer. Yet this use was actually encountered by the present writer on August 27 last. The locked churches and the omission of the daily services of the Prayer Book, which are an outrage on devotion,

Digitized by Google

that such a decision may turn out to 'give' as well as to 'take' in unexpected ways if logically pursued. He does not perhaps sufficiently bear in mind that in theology and religious affairs the function of logic, as Mozley has taught us, is strictly limited; that we are not accustomed to pursue all our ecclesiastical transactions to their logical conclusions. But he certainly makes an interesting point when he says that the Archbishops' reading of the Ornaments rubric might logically be used for the total suppression of the surplice and the restoration of the alb and vestment in the Communion Service, not to mention other possibilities which might carry the Archbishops, the clergy, and Sir William Harcourt much further than they are prepared to go.[1] We may expect showers of letters on the effects of the decision, and we have no doubt that many of them will contain instructive observations. But we trust that nothing will disguise from the English clergy what we believe to be their clear duty and their truest wisdom—to obey the decision of the Archbishops solely on the ground that it comes from them. It comes, we are well assured, out of a single-hearted desire to promote the well-being of the Bride of Christ in this land. And obedience has been made much easier by the wise letters in which the Bishops of London[2] and Rochester,[3] for example, have laid the matter before the clergymen in their dioceses who are affected by the decision. The Bishop of Rochester in particular has hardly ever so signally exhibited his extraordinary power of looking fairly at both sides of a complicated question. Lord Halifax's address, with which Canon Carter of Clewer desires to associate himself, in the *Times* of September 6, contains some passages which seem to us to be demonstrably erroneous, and others which carry with them the force of glowing truth. It need hardly be said that we do not endorse the comments which have been made on the address in the *Times* leader of September 1, or in Sir W. Harcourt's letter (*Times*, September 7), and we are full of hearty admiration for very much that Lord Halifax has done for the Church of England. But in the face of the

also call for wholesome stringency. 'Loyal obedience and stringency all round' would be an immensely powerful lever in a Catholic direction under our present circumstances. We should surrender less than we should gain. May we quote St. Mark x. 29–30 and Philem. i. 15?

[1] *Times*, August 15, 1899: a letter signed 'F. N. Oxenham.' Mr. Adderley in his statement quoted above also characteristically sums up the gains of the decision, and Lord Halifax points out what 'impartial enforcement' would involve (*Guardian*, August 30, p. 1180).

[2] *Times*, August 23. [3] *Guardian*, September 6, p. 1196.

Digitized by Google

letters to which we have referred we cannot see how the four passages can stand in which Lord Halifax complains that the decision is based upon an Act of Parliament in defiance of the Church, not to say that he appears to forget the allusion to the authority of Parliament in the Ornaments Rubric. And in the *Times* of September 5 the Bishop of Chester produces facts which should lead Lord Halifax to correct his statement that 'the use of the surplice dates from the twelfth century,' though the controversy turns on a verbal point, what sense is affixed to the word 'surplice'?[1] We regret exceedingly the passage which speaks of compliance to be yielded 'grudgingly and of necessity,' and the like—a passage which seems to ignore the whole spirit of the decision, and to place weapons in the hands of enemies who are not slow to use them, as Sir W. Harcourt does in the *Times* of September 7. On the other hand Lord Halifax most justly draws attention to the effect of applying the principle of the decision all round; to the clamour which has led to the chaining down of the use of incense by a process of exclusive dealing; to the long period—at least forty years[2]—of its undisturbed permission, now broken by sudden stringency; to the singular argument which the Archbishops draw from the Biblical record of the Institution; and to the curious limit which they assign to antiquity. We do not attach any extravagant value, as some appear inclined to do,[3] to Dr. Sanday's pamphlet on *The Catholic Movement and the Archbishops' Decision*.[4] Dr. Sanday's interventions in Tractarian and Ritualistic controversies deserve attention chiefly on the ground that he succeeds in the literary feat of being precisely fair. He has the intellectual interest of academic detachment in the Oxford movement, and a

[1] See the *Times*, September 11, where Mr. Nightingale has an interesting letter.

[2] Forty-two years, says Mr. Jervois (*Guardian*, September 6, p. 1197). What would be said if a Protestant congregation were so deprived of some pet usage, unanimously beloved? if we may use an *ad hominem* argument.

[3] The *Guardian*, September 13, p. 1222, goes so far as to speak of Dr. Sanday's pamphlet as 'far and away the wisest, the most timely, the most statesmanlike, the most Christian utterance that the decision has called forth.' Has the *Guardian* forgotten the Bishop of Rochester's letter, not to speak of many of the letters which we quote, and which we should say are far more valuable than Dr. Sanday's pamphlet? For once in this controversy, at least, we find ourselves in full accord with the very able if brief remarks of the *Times* (September 20) on Professor Sanday's pamphlet, which is said to be an attack 'based on mistakes,' and not likely to promote obedience.

[4] Longmans (London, New York, and Bombay, 1899).

Digitized by Google

wholesome dislike of the practice of vulgar controversy which ascribes opinions to others which are not really theirs. We are glad to see him pointing out the distinction between Catholic and Roman (p. 5), producing some early evidence of the use of incense ceremonially and in a sacred building (pp 11, 12), and urging the duties of justice upon his Broad Church friends and others (pp. 3, 18). But we feel that the Oxford movement has the attention of the writer from outside rather than his hearty sympathy, and we cannot think that his limited interpretation of 'none other or otherwise' is correct (p. 8). We should have thought that the correspondence in the *Guardian* on the Act of Uniformity in 1559 and its subsequent history was quite voluminous and convincing enough to enable Dr. Sanday to make up his mind, if he had not told us otherwise (p. 7). As it is, we are surprised that a great scholar should step aside so widely from his own line. The so-called 'statement of argument against obedience from' a canonist in the *Guardian* of September 20 (p. 1282) would seem to make every man his own judge on matters of Catholic usage.

It is time to turn from the 'decision' to the 'hearing.'

The Archbishops have not yet published their decision upon the subject of the Reservation of the Holy Sacrament when these lines are written, and although their opinion may be known before we go to press, we shall not forget that the matter requires careful treatment while it is still pending. There are certain observations which ought, we consider, to be made on Mr. Lacey's letter and Mr. Green-Armytage's pamphlet, and there are certain reflections which may not improperly be made upon the reports of the 'Hearing' which appeared in the *Guardian* and the *Times.* The spirit in which the *Church Quarterly Review* approaches the subject is, we trust, sufficiently well known.[1] We desire with our whole heart to be loyal to the intentions of the Book of Common Prayer as it now stands. We desire to give full weight to all that can be said on either side in regard to this particular matter of Reservation, and we trust that there will be a readiness on both sides to abide by the Archbishops' conclusion when they declare their minds upon it. Thus much we say by way of preface in the promotion of what we believe to be the true interests of the Church.

There are three aspects of Reservation which demand

[1] We had no hesitation, in October 1887, in showing the mixed va'ue of the essay on *Reservation* by the Rev. T. W. Kempe, M.A.

Digitized by Google

consideration, the legal, the doctrinal, and the practical; and it will be our endeavour to put what we want to say under these heads in order.

There are doubtless many important doctrinal and practical considerations which have affected the law of the Church of England upon Reservation in the past, and which should be carefully weighed in view of any proposed change in the law in the future. But it cannot be too clearly understood that doctrinal and practical considerations are entirely beside the point which has been placed before the Archbishops in the recent hearing at Lambeth. The exact nature of that point can be stated in the simplest terms. It is simply what is the law of the Church of England as it now stands on the subject of Reservation? It is not whether doctrinal or practical reasons can be urged in favour of any alteration of existing law. Both sides agreed in their pleadings before the Archbishops that the object of their appearance was to ascertain the law, and to obtain the opinion of the Archbishops upon that point. Mr. Kempe[1] opened by observing that it was his duty to assist their Graces 'in arriving at a correct conclusion in regard to the law on this very important question.' Mr. Dibdin[2] said that the question which they had been summoned to discuss, and as to which the decision of their Graces was sought, was 'Whether the Reservation of the Eucharist for any purpose was a lawful or an unlawful practice in the Church of England?' Mr. Talbot[3] urged that it was 'the duty of every one concerned first of all to ascertain what the law of the Church of England was.' Mr. Hansell,[4] last of all, said that 'the only question which was before their Graces was, "Is, or is not, the Reservation of the Holy Sacrament lawful according to the present law of the Church of England?"' This being the admission of both parties, we find it very difficult to see how any one can deny that much of the material that was laid before the Archbishops was irrelevant, as both Mr. Kempe and Mr. Dibdin pointed out.[5] The questions, on which so much evidence was adduced, whether the arrangements made by the Prayer Book for the Communion of the sick are adequate, and whether Reservation for the sick is desirable in the Church of England, were not really before the Archbishops at all. The admission of remarks on these points was a striking proof of the desire of the Archbishops to hear all that any of

[1] *Guardian*, p. 1026.
[2] *Speech*, p. 14.
[3] *Guardian*, p. 1029.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.* p. 1027; Mr. Dibdin's *Speech*, pp. 14, 86.

Digitized by Google

the parties wished to put before them, so as to convince all that they had received full toleration and considerate hearing. And the eagerness and persistency with which these extraneous arguments were advanced show that those who used them would desire a change of law, in the event of the Archbishops' decision against the legality of Reservation. They have, therefore, an importance which may be greater or smaller according to the result of the hearing. The determination of the question of legality itself was very fully argued before the Archbishops. Only the trained lawyer and the expert will be free from surprise at the large amount of argument and evidence which was accumulated, and at the entirely opposite deductions which the respective counsel were able to draw from the facts. In addition to the study of the speeches and the examination of witnesses at Lambeth, it will be necessary to pay careful attention to the restrained language of Mr. Lacey's open letter to the Archbishop, and to the much freer pamphlet of Mr. Green-Armytage. Some reference might also be made to the more general subject of the principles upon which the Archbishops are proceeding, as Sir William Harcourt seems desirous of maintaining that the decision on the ceremonial use of incense and lights is founded on reasons which make it cut 'at the very roots of the whole system and plan of operation of the "Catholic Revival."' [1]

The legal evidence involved allusion to many historical incidents, which may be said to have shown what the laws and customs of the Church have been in the past, rather than to determine the answer to the precise question what the law of the Church is now. But these historical references to the past undoubtedly throw light on existing law, and in particular the appeal to primitive practice is of special importance because the reformers' whole drift was to go back from mediæval Roman accretions to primitive and Scriptural custom. When a matter of primitive teaching was at stake the reformers did not hesitate, as Sir William Harcourt would have us to forget,[2] to restore any conspicuous ceremony which long-continued custom had not sanctioned, to whatever extent it might change the general aspect of the service. There is much to be said, of course, for the sound Conservative argument of long-continued custom, but Sir William must not outstrip his Tory friends in his application of it. The appeal to primitive custom, then, may fairly be made in illustration

[1] *Times*, August 8, 1899: Letter on 'the resolution of the Archbishops.'

[2] *Times*, August 8, 1899.

Digitized by Google

of the legal position, as being truly in the spirit of the reformers. Mr. Hansell in opening his case said that he had never met with an ecclesiastical writer who denied that Reservation for the sick 'was a custom of immemorial antiquity, reaching back to the earliest times of the Christian Church.'[1] He referred to the quotations and authorities given in Bingham,[2] and in particular to the passage in St. Justin Martyr which says that the Eucharist was conveyed to those who were absent. This certainly appears to us to involve the principle of Reservation, and we do not see what is gained by the Bishop of Durham's unpractical proposal to imitate what he calls this 'coincident and not subsequent administration to the absent,' and then to meet the charge that he had authorized Reservation in certain cases by saying 'I have not done anything of the kind.'[3] He allowed the Sacrament to be carried out of the Church, and he believes this 'to be legal.' After referring to other early evidence, such as the story of Serapion[4] and the thirteenth Nicene Canon, Mr. Hansell quoted two passages from Bede[5] in illustration of Anglo-Saxon practice, and then referred to various English constitutions as applying and enforcing the practice. Though he did not base the legality of Reservation upon these constitutions, he added his own belief that they were binding in point of strict law by virtue of the statute of 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, s. 7. In support of the extent of the practice he referred to the universal custom of the Greek Church and the Episcopal Church of Scotland. Coming then more closely to the legal point, he approached the consideration of rubrics and articles, and submitted that although rubrics were in a certain sense statutory they were directory[6] rather than imperative, and were to be construed with such adaptation as was suitable to the circumstances of the time. He contended that the sixth post-Communion rubric was framed to prevent the conversion of the surplus of the consecrated species to profane uses, and that the Twenty-eighth Article merely meant that the Sacrament need not be reserved as a necessary part of the ordinance. The Latin Prayer Book of 1560 was mentioned as 'the strongest possible evidence of the legality of Reservation,' and Sparrow's *Rationale* as

[1] *Guardian*, p. 993. [2] *Antiquities*, i. 777.
[3] *Guardian*, p. 1029; Mr. Dibdin's *Speech*, p. 89.
[4] Euseb. vi. 44. [5] iv. 14, 24.
[6] The illustration given was that the rubric 'Then shall follow the sermon' does not forbid the celebration of the Holy Communion unless a sermon has been preached beforehand. Compare Mr. Lacey's *Letter*, p. 51.

Digitized by Google

making clear that Reservation was regarded as perfectly legal after 1662. He did not, perhaps, sufficiently reckon with the probability that common sense is apt to take a swift stride over this argument and declare with blunt honesty that nothing can be recognized in the Latin book which is not sufficiently supported by the English book. And Sparrow's evidence is not admitted to be so clear as Mr. Hansell assumes. Mr. Macklin followed with an 'ingenious and learned argument,' as the Archbishop of York called it,[1] upon the rubrics which affect the subject. He argued that the rubric of 1662 was declaratory of the existing law, that the subject of the rubric was the proper construction of the rubric of 1552, that the need of a new rubric arose from the misconstruction of the rubric of 1552, and that the abuse to be checked and remedied was the irreverence arising from that misconstruction. He maintained that the revisers of 1661 did not intend to make Reservation for the sick illegal, and that the revisers of 1552 left it legal, as they found it, and as it had been from Justin Martyr downwards. He dealt also very ably with the impossibility of contending that disuse in itself made illegal that which was legal at common law, and pointed out that if there was disuse between 1552 and 1662 there was no need for the new rubric of 1662, while if reservation was in use between those years Cosin and his party would have been the last persons to prohibit it. It must be noted that Mr. Macklin's view of the rubrics was of a very much stricter kind than that of Mr. Hansell, or, we may add, of Mr. Lacey.[2] Mr. Thurnam next offered a few considerations on the formularies and practices of the Scottish Church, valuable as illustrations of the existing customs of a part of the Church which is in full communion with the Church of England, but not strictly bearing upon the legal point.

It will be convenient here to notice the historical and legal contentions of Mr. Lacey's open letter, as they form a lucid and calmly reasoned statement of the case in favour of Reservation by a very well equipped expert. Mr. Lacey adopts a middle course, dear to the Anglican mind, and often dear with reason. He does not try to prove that Reservation

[1] *Guardian*, p. 995; but Mr. Kempe afterwards urged that Mr. Macklin confused 'lawful' with 'efficacious' in his illustration (*ibid.* p. 1026). Mr. Hansell dealt further and at considerable length with the point in his reply (pp. 1029–30), his real purpose being to show that two rubrics of different dates might be cumulative and not substitutionary.

[2] Compare *Guardian*, pp. 994 and 995, and Mr. Lacey's *Letter*, p. 46.

Digitized by Google

is legal. He earnestly deprecates an unregulated practice of Reservation, such as inevitably must come into vogue when individual priests determine to do what seems right in their own eyes. He endeavours to show that the practice is not either explicitly or implicitly forbidden, and defends its discretionary use and proper regulation, on principles of moral theology. He takes in order the Twenty-eighth Article, the Service for the Communion of the Sick, and the rubric at the end of the Communion Service upon the Consumption of the Consecrated Elements. From the history of the language of the Article itself he concludes that it cannot be taken to contain any condemnation or to imply any prohibition of Reservation, or anything else but a statement that Reservation was no part of the actual institution of Christ (p. 17). He points out the distinction to be drawn in examining the language of the commentators between Reservation for Communion and for other purposes (pp. 15, 26). He urges that the provision actually made by the Church of England for the Communion of the sick does not imply the prohibition of Reservation, does not *proprio vigore* exclude the more effective provision. He produces evidence to show that the omission in 1552 of the modified Reservation ordered in 1549 was indeed made in deference to a theological opinion, which however, did not prevail in the Church of England. He claims that, according to the teaching of English theologians, Reservation for Communion is neither contrary to Christ's ordinance nor forbidden by the Church. In noticing a minor point, that the order for the Communion of the Sick was no more a bar to Reservation after 1662 than before that time, Mr. Lacey gives some interesting evidence to show that Bishop Sparrow's argument in the *Rationale* has been misunderstood (p. 40). The final rubric about the consumption of the Elements is expounded by Mr. Lacey rather by an appeal to the nature of rubrics than to the argument, which he regards as sound historically, that Cosin explained its true scope. The two modes both lead to the same conclusion in Mr. Lacey's view that the rubric is a reference to an ancient law which was in no respect inconsistent with Reservation (p. 50). As the Bishop of Durham believes that he was doing a legal act when he allowed the Holy Sacrament to be carried out of the Church for 'coincident' administration to the absent, we presume that he agrees with Mr. Lacey in considering that the language of the rubric does not apply to such an act at all. Mr. Lacey then concludes that Reservation does not come within

Digitized by Google

the category of things illegal. He does not claim that it is legal. It is therefore discretionary; and this conclusion brings him to the question, Where does that discretion reside? His answer will be a surprise to many; and it is outside the scope of the present part of our article —the consideration of the legality of Reservation—but we may just briefly say that Mr. Lacey considers the discretion in this matter to be included in the 'government of the Church' which is committed by the bishop to a curate in the instrument of institution to a benefice (pp. 54–5). He guards this conclusion by adding that the bishop has the power to regulate the practice, and even to forbid it in particular places.

Mr. Green-Armytage would no doubt repudiate as a slander any suggestion that his pamphlet was composed in the middle voice, and would quote the message to the Church of Laodicea to justify the disgust which the moderate man excites in his breast. But he will pardon us if we say that the first twenty-eight pages of his more popularly written pamphlet contain on the whole a very fair and precise account of the chief historical and legal evidence which we have been considering, though provocative statements are not entirely absent.

The pleadings against Reservation were opened by Mr. Kempe, and before he got well on the way, he made an observation which led to an interesting interposition on the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who definitely declared that the Archbishops were sitting under the section in the Prayer Book 'concerning the services of the Church.'[1] Mr. Kempe said that it was somewhat remarkable that the other side seemed almost to have overlooked the Acts of Uniformity altogether, and urged that after the passing of the Act of 2 & 3 Edward VI. c. 1, it was neither lawful to reserve beyond the day on which notice had been given by the sick man of his desire to have the Holy Communion administered to him, nor to carry the Host about, nor to hang it up in the Church. After referring to the opinion of some reformers who would carry Mr. Kempe a good deal further than many of his friends would probably like to go, he proceeded to argue that the Twenty-eighth Article was not an historical statement but an injunction upon Reservation, and that the second Act of Uniformity (5 & 6 Edward VI. c. 2) and the Prayer Book under it swept away Reservation altogether. He grounded this last contention on the fact that the new

[1] *Guardian*, p 1026.

Digitized by Google

book gave a definite order for the Communion of the sick, and the Act applied all the provisions of the previous Act to the new book, and prohibited any other order, form, or manner of administering the Sacrament to the sick than that given in the new book. He alluded, in passing, to the restoration of the old order under Queen Mary, to decrees which would have been unnecessary and would have had no purpose if Reservation had not been previously abolished, and to the visitation articles of Cardinal Pole. He urged that the statutes of Elizabeth in 1559 again made Reservation unlawful as it was before Mary's interruption, by reviving and re-affirming the second Act of Uniformity and the second Prayer Book. He noted that the Thirty-nine Articles were submitted to Convocation in 1563, ratified by Queen Elizabeth in 1564, and sanctioned by Parliament in 1570. Finally, he dealt with various arguments connected with the pyx, the cogency of some of which appears to us to destroy that of others. For example, if the evidence of the destruction of pyxes is to prove their illegality, there is no room left for the argument that when the communicant received in both kinds the pyx would no longer be used for carrying the Sacrament. The important part of Mr. Kempe's contention, however, is that the pyx was not a lawful ornament under the Second Prayer Book, and that that book was restored by the statute of Elizabeth. He urges that the retention of the pyx under the section of the statute which is familiar to us from the language of the Ornaments Rubric would involve a practice undefined either by the statute or the Prayer Book.[1]

The legal argument was very ably taken up by Chancellor Dibdin, whose most able speech has just been issued in a very convenient form with good notes and appendices by Mr. Franey.[2] In them will be found a most useful collection of extracts from original documents, including the 13th Nicene Canon, Peccham's constitutions, the rubrics in successive editions of the Prayer Book, passages from various Reformation controversies, the Articles, the Council of Trent, and other pertinent sources. Mr. Dibdin's view of the evidence of the first two Prayer Books was that in 1549 an attempt was made to provide for Reservation for Communion while abolishing Reservation for adoration, and that this being found to be

[1] In the *Guardian* report of Mr. Kempe's reference to Burnet's *Exposition* (p. 1027), 'Thirty-eighth Article' is a misprint for 'Twenty-eighth.'

[2] One or two misprints have escaped correction: for example, Brookes' for Brooke's, p. 87; Peecham for Peccham, p. 92.

Digitized by Google

impossible, in 1552 Reservation was abolished altogether. He regarded the Twenty-eighth Article as an absolute provision of Church law prohibiting Reservation, and produced evidence to show that the Article was a counterblast or an answer to a canon of the Council of Trent, and that Reservation was generally treated as passed away by the writers of the Elizabethan age and of the next generation. In fact, he had found nothing that pointed the other way, and contended that the Latin Prayer Book of Elizabeth's reign incorporated serious alterations from the First Prayer Book, made by Ales in 1551. He held that Sparrow's *Rationale* was not sufficiently clear to be quoted on either side, and that the rubric of 1662 was not primarily aimed at Reservation at all.

Among important points in Mr. Hansell's reply were his contentions that the Acts of Uniformity dealt only with open prayer, and had nothing whatever to do with ministrations in private houses; that Haddon did not slavishly insert the alterations of Ales in the 1560 Latin Prayer Book; and that it was likely that Reservation should fall into disuse when celebrations of the Holy Communion became as unfrequent as they did become.

The impression which the pleadings on both sides produce upon us is that the heart of the purely legal aspect of the matter is to be found in the Twenty-eighth Article. It is perhaps arguable whether the provision made by the Prayer Book for the Communion of the sick excludes any alternative use or not; but it is hardly likely, after the full discussions of counsel, that the sixth post-Communion rubric will be again regarded as referring to Reservation so unmistakably as before.[1] The crucial point on which the Archbishops are about to pronounce is whether the concluding statement of the Twenty-eighth Article forbids or allows Reservation. It would not be right for us at present to say what answer we should give to that question, but we must say with the utmost plainness that we shall accept and urge others to accept with entire loyalty whatever ruling the Archbishops may be guided to make on this matter.

[1] We notice, however, that Dr. Brand in a very able reply to the Bishop of Fond du Lac in the *Church Eclectic* (August 1899, pp. 433-41) considers that the rubric, which in the American Prayer Book does not substantially differ from our own, definitely excludes Reservation. He avoids the difficulty of answering the Bishop's contention that the rubric refers to all that is not required for Communion, on the part either of those present or of the sick, by refusing to take the Bishop seriously. Mr. Dibdin very expressly maintains that the Prayer Book and the rubrics 'lay down a rule which is repugnant to, and inconsistent with, Reservation' (*Speech*, p. 66).

Digitized by Google

We are as profoundly convinced of the gravity of the doctrinal and practical issues of the question of Reservation as of the desirability of keeping them distinct from the legal point, and we have much more to say on these issues than our space allows. We will take doctrinal aspects first. The relation of parts of the body of Christ to the whole is involved in the inquiry whether the Church of England has the right to forbid what was so generally practised in the early Church. Mr. Lacey, quoted Beveridge, thinks that the question is not to be lightly answered, though he passes it by because he does not believe that the Church of England has ever forbidden or attempted to forbid the practice (p. 13). Mr. Green-Armytage defiantly declares that Reservation is a part of the constitution of the Holy Church throughout all the world, and so 'not within the province of any one part of the Church to abolish' (Pref. p. viii). Mr. Hansell deprecated the disallowance of the practice as a very great departure from the custom of the universal Church, and prophesied that the result would be of the most serious and grave import.[1] Mr. Altham thought that it would be a sad thing if they had to acknowledge that in a matter of such importance the Church was unprimitive;[2] but he perhaps forgot that the Church herself in the Commination Service has recognized the discontinuance of a primitive practice, the restoration of which she even frankly confesses is much to be wished. No part of the Catholic Church to-day is fully primitive in the sense which Mr. Altham's argument would require; nor is it desirable that it should be so, for we are not placed in primitive surroundings. A more serious doctrinal point is, to what is Reservation likely to lead? We are fully prepared to say that the Lord Jesus Christ is to be adored with the adoration due to God alone, wherever and whenever He may be pleased to make His blessed presence felt and known, in and by the Sacrament, or in other ways and at other times. And we take His Word for it that after the consecration of the Eucharistic elements He is there to be so worshipped and adored. We say, further, that no adoration should be paid to the bread and wine, which after consecration are the visible signs of His most gracious presence, and that continual watchfulness is required lest they should be so adored instead of Him. And having said thus much, we are not alarmed when we hear of devout Christians who pay every honour to the Lord in the Sacrament of His love. But that the Reservation of the Sacrament is exceedingly likely to lead to the abuses connected with the Roman service

[1] *Guardian*, p. 993. [2] *Ibid.* p. 995.

Digitized by Google

of Benediction seems to us to be plainly written upon the face of history, and Mr. Lee's evidence at Lambeth repeats the warning in a startling fashion.[1] Mr. Green-Armytage indeed, who so eagerly pleads for Reservation, does not hesitate to call Benediction 'the Roman analogue' of evening Communion (p. 3); and those who pleaded for Reservation at Lambeth were very definite in saying that they pleaded for Reservation for the sick alone. The question is whether history leads us to suppose that they will be able to keep the desires of their congregations within the limits of their present intentions. There is a further question, whether the practice of praying before the reserved Eucharist at all times and apart from Communion is or is not likely to lead to the forgetfulness of the general promise: 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.' In the Holy Eucharist our Lord vouchsafes His presence chiefly in order that we may plead the merits of His sacrifice before the eternal throne, and feed upon Him. But He is ready to manifest Himself to us in His Incarnate glory whenever we desire to commune with Him, apart from the special mode of His approach in the Holy Eucharist; and it is well that we should act upon that readiness as a general rule, and be very jealous of any practice that may appear to ignore it. Mr. Dibdin quoted some language from a small current pamphlet[2] which maintains that 'the chief devotional use which the faithful ordinarily desire to make of the reserved Sacrament is to go and pray before it,' and which may easily lead to the error about which we are speaking. The Archbishop of Canterbury elicited from Mr. Altham, in a question which appeared to drive that reverend gentleman into a hopeless corner, that there is supposed to be some difference between the fitness of a room for consecration and administration. Mr. Altham said something about the feeling of the sacrifice of the Lord's death which comes about at the moment of consecration; but we fail, as did the Archbishop,[3] to get any clear conception of his drift. And so, lest we do him an injustice, we will not comment doctrinally on the episode.

[1] *Guardian*, p. 1029; and see the excellent report of Mr. Lee's evidence in Mr. Dibdin's *Speech*, pp. 1–13. Mr. Lee admitted that he had had a service of Benediction, but gave it up in obedience to the Ordinary (cp. pp. 80, 83). Mr. Dibdin did not forget Jewel's belief that Reservation cannot be separated from its abuses (*Speech*, p. 79), and he endorses that belief to-day (p. 84).

[2] *Guardian*, p. 1029; Mr. Dibdin's *Speech*, pp. 83–4.

[3] According to the *Times* report the Archbishop said, 'I confess I do not understand' (*Times*, July 21, 1899).

Digitized by Google

We now turn to the practical question, How far is Reservation necessary? All the evidence at Lambeth was produced by those who thought that the observance of the practice was imperative. Mr. Dibdin said that he and his friends were able to produce any amount of evidence on the other side, if the Archbishops desired to hear it.[1] The Archbishops did not call it, and we do not see how they could if they believed that their function was simply to determine the existing law. As, however, the evidence on the other side was heard, as the Bishop of Durham seems to have found it necessary to allow coincident administration outside the Church[2]—academically distinguished from Reservation—and as Mr. Lacey appends some (p. 67) and Mr. Green-Armytage (p. 45) much evidence on the same side to their respective pamphlets, it is very proper that Mr. Dibdin indicated that a great body of diverse evidence is forthcoming. Mr. Green-Armytage holds, indeed, that Reservation is desirable as avoiding the consecration of the Eucharist in an unhallowed room (p. 56)—what will not be held?—and though we may not lay much stress on such arguments as that, we may freely admit that there are often many difficulties in the way of private celebrations.[3] Indeed, the evidence forthcoming on this point is convincing. We may also be thankful that the need has become pressing in these days, because we recognize in its rise the result of faithful pastoral teaching on the part of the clergy, and devout response on the part of the children of the Church: the one desiring to give and the others to receive the Bread of Life and the Cup of Salvation. But for arrival at a true estimate of the position of affairs we wish that the evidence of which Mr. Dibdin spoke could be examined beside the rest. We have before us a letter from a devout woman who has worked for some forty years in a London parish, which contains some valuable testimony:

'I have been present at numberless communions of the sick and dying, and have never met with the slightest obstacle to a perfectly decent and reverent consecration, no matter how rough and irreligious

[1] *Guardian*, p. 995; see Mr. Dibdin's *Speech*, p. 86.

[2] The Bishop's plan involves a spare priest and a convenient distance. It would be utterly useless, for example, in the large agricultural parish in which these words are written, where there are thirty-four miles of main roads and one priest.

[3] Mr. Dibdin (*Speech*, p. 17) rests the case for the justification of the English Church in directing the Eucharist to be consecrated in private houses on a passage from Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ* (ii. 229), and he urges that the Church of England has deliberately preferred such a consecration to Reservation (p. 87).

Digitized by Google

the people in the house or the relatives of the sick person may be, and you know the roughness of —— Place; the very fact that a "Church service" is to be performed in the house seems to produce a feeling of awe, and I have often known the children sent out for fear they should make a noise, and this by parents who were not religious. It seems to me a shocking thing to deprive the sick person of the comfort of the service in the Prayer Book; surely if he is not in a condition to participate in the service, he can hardly be in a condition to receive the Holy Communion. I cannot conceive anything more irreverent than carrying the consecrated Elements into a sick room and then and there administering them. Also, what would be the effect on relatives who knew nothing of these things? They would look upon it as a sop, a medicine, or a charm.'

We may add one other sample of similar evidence from a widely different source. Dr. Brand, who has been a rector in a district of Maryland for fifty-six years, in all this time *has never felt the need of Reservation for the sick*, and quotes the observation of an invalid negro in Baltimore, who having received the Reserved Sacrament said, 'Sir, I thank you for the blessing you have brought me, but cannot you sometimes give me the comfort of the Communion service?'[1]

SHORT NOTICES.

The Catholic Movement and the Archbishops' Decision. By W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church. (London: Longmans, 1899.)

THE pamphlet which has just been issued under this title is the most conspicuous effort which has hitherto been made to criticize the Archbishops' 'opinion' as to the legality of incense and processional lights. The position of the writer, who stands in the first rank of English theological students and enjoys a deserved reputation for intellectual independence and detachment from ecclesiastical prejudices, gives a weight to his utterance which his opening words show that he fully realizes:

'If I am not much mistaken the English nation is at the present moment in danger of committing a serious injustice. . . . It is not a light matter to me thus to accuse my countrymen. . . . When the English nation goes wrong, I believe that it is rarely from rooted unfairness, but rather from want of knowledge,' &c.

[1] *Church Eclectic*, August 1899, p. 441. We should be glad to think that Dr. Brand's communication was being read in England, but we have not yet learned to imitate the *Eclectic* methods of 'borrowing' (see Exod. xii. 35, 36) whole articles from our transatlantic neighbours, and therefore cannot print all of it.

Digitized by Google

It is exactly this want of knowledge which the public turn to such a man as Professor Sanday to remedy. It is disappointing, therefore, to find the Professor failing at this very point, and failing so entirely as to deprive his pamphlet of value as a serious criticism of the Archbishops' opinion. He begins with some true but rather trite observations on the distinction between 'Catholic' and 'Roman Catholic' usages, and then says—surely without warrant—that the question before the Archbishops was the authoritative definition of the word 'Catholic,' but that 'they have not considered the questions submitted to them quite in this light.' The question which the Bishops referred to the Primates, and which was elaborately argued before them, was the lawfulness or unlawfulness of incense and lights in the public services of the Church of England; and although, in dealing with this question, great attention was naturally paid to 'Primitive' and 'Catholic' usage, it would have shown an almost inconceivable incapacity to grasp a practical issue if the Archbishops had floated away into academic disquisitions of what ought or ought not to be deemed Catholic, instead of deciding, aye or no, ***whether the clergy who use incense and lights are breaking the law of the Church.*** But Professor Sanday proceeds to discuss the Archbishops' treatment of what he considers the regrettably narrowed issue before them. He conceives them to have invented what he describes as a 'short cut' to a decision by selecting the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity and by relying on the second section,[1] which requires the Prayer Book to be exclusively used, and penalizes the use of 'any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper' or other public service. The Archbishops held that the ceremonial or liturgical use of incense and lights, not being prescribed by the Prayer Book, was by this enactment proscribed. Professor Sanday seems to think that in taking this view the Archbishops hit upon a new device of their own, and he discusses the matter as if until the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity incense had been admittedly allowed in the Church of England. He says, 'The use without doubt existed in our own Church on the very eve of Elizabeth's first [*sic*] Act of Uniformity.' But in truth the Elizabethan Act is referred to because it is the latest of the series of Uniformity statutes in which the penal and prohibitory clauses are set out which are binding and operative at this day. Every judge (including under that description Archbishop Benson in the Lincoln case) who has had to consider the legality of a ceremony has come to the same conclusion on the same grounds. The language and the purpose of successive Acts show, we should have said, but for Professor Sanday, without dispute and decisively, an intention to prohibit any *ceremony* not mentioned in the Prayer Book. The conflict hitherto has not been as to this, but on two other points—namely, (1) whether the practice which happened to be in question was a ceremony, and (2) whether clergymen are bound in conscience to obey Acts of Uniformity. The first Act of Uniformity, which

[1] Throughout this review the sections of Acts are numbered according to the *Statutes Revised*. The numeration is different in the old editions.

Digitized by Google

brought in Edward VI.'s First Prayer Book, strictly tied the clergy down to the ceremonies of that Book and no other. Not only was incense not mentioned in the First Prayer Book, but the parts of the Communion Service in which, under the Sarum Missal, incense was used were entirely cut out, so that the whole context of incense was bodily removed. Instead of the clergy being left in possession of their old service books, as would have been necessary if the old practices were to go on, the old books were by statute required to be given up, in order, as was expressly stated, that the clergy might use nothing except the Prayer Book. The rigour of the enforcement of the First Prayer Book was repeated on each revision. Nothing was done to legalize the ceremonial use of incense in the later Books, unless the Ornaments Rubric had that effect, as to which a word will be said presently. So that unless incense remained legal under the liturgy of 1549 it is unlawful now. Professor Sanday's treatment of the history is, if we may say so with respect, misleading. Incense was in use, as he says, on the very eve of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, but only because it had been revived under Mary. No evidence of the ceremonial use of incense has been found under the First Prayer Book of Edward; and the inventories of Church goods and Churchwardens' accounts in many different parts of England all agree in a remarkable way in telling the same story. It is this: incense and censers and processional lights were laid aside as soon as the First Prayer Book came into use; they were not heard of again until Mary's accession; then they were expressly revived by injunctions, and they remained until Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, when they at once and finally disappeared.

Professor Sanday argues that the enactment on which the Archbishops rely (1 Eliz. chap. 2, sec. 2), and which, unfortunately, they do not cite *in extenso*, does not, when properly construed, cover the use of incense; and he quotes Archbishop Benson's Lincoln judgment with approval, under the impression that it is inconsistent with the recent pronouncement. But, led astray probably by the Archbishops' incomplete quotation, he has made the extraordinary mistake of overlooking most material words and of confining his attention to a portion only of the Act under consideration. He supposes the Archbishops to have decided that the obligation to administer the Sacraments 'in such order and form' as is mentioned in the Prayer Book and none other is the only statutory prohibition of incense; and he quotes the Lincoln judgment as laying down that the words 'order, form, and manner' refer only to the use of any service book other than the Prayer Book. But the section not only makes illegal any other 'order, form, and manner,' but also any other 'rite or ceremony' not mentioned in the Book; and Archbishop Benson in the passage quoted (*Read* v. *Bishop of London*, 1891 [P], pp. 77–80), which is really a discussion of the whole enactment in question, holds that although the words 'order, form, and manner' have the limited meaning Professor Sanday relies upon, the word 'ceremony' is not thus limited and applies 'to an action or act in which material objects

Digitized by Google

may or may not be used, but is not itself any material object.' Archbishop Benson actually mentions 'the carrying of lights in procession' as one of the practices which 'come under the accepted definition of a ceremony.' It was on this ground—namely, that no 'ceremony' not mentioned in the Prayer Book could be legal—that the 'mixing' of the chalice during the service was declared in the Lincoln case to be illegal, although the administration of the previously mixed chalice was declared lawful. In other words, Archbishop Benson took exactly the same view of the meaning of the Act of Uniformity as Archbishop Temple has taken, and by anticipation came to the same decision so far as Processional Lights are concerned. Incense stands on precisely the same footing.

Professor Sanday supposes the Archbishops to have been led into what he deems to be their novel and erroneous view of the meaning of the Act of Uniformity by their 'hesitation to regard omission as prohibition,' *i.e.* their unwillingness to rest their decision on the ground that mere omission means prohibition. But here again the Professor has, we venture to think, fallen into some confusion. The canon of construction that on each revision of the Prayer Book omission of something contained in the Book before revision meant the prohibition of that thing, may be right or may be wrong, but so far as we remember it has never been applied to a case of a 'ceremony' which if not mentioned in the Prayer Book is excluded by the express terms of the Act of Uniformity. The area in which this now discredited proposition has been brought into play is quite a different one. For example, the administration of the mixed chalice required by the First Prayer Book was subsequently 'omitted.' After a conflict of judicial opinion it was finally decided in the Lincoln case that omission was not prohibition in this instance, and that therefore the mixed chalice might be used; but that the mixing must not take place during the service, not because 'omission was prohibition,' but because the mixing would constitute 'an additional ceremony' and therefore be 'against the law of the Church' (*Read* v. *Bishop of Lincoln*, 1891 [P], pp. 29, 30).

Professor Sanday, although disclaiming a lawyer's acquaintance with Acts of Parliament, naïvely suggests a doubt whether the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity can be considered in force since the Caroline Act of 1662. 'It seems natural to suppose that the later Act would supersede the earlier.' Perhaps! But if the Professor had looked at the Acts before standing forth to prevent the 'English nation going wrong' 'from want of knowledge' he would have observed that section 20 of 14 Chas. II. chap. 4, expressly embodies the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, with which it is, in effect, to be read as one statute, the penal clauses not being repeated in the later Act.

It seems to be clear, therefore, notwithstanding Professor Sanday's criticism, that all ceremonies not mentioned in the Prayer Book are prohibited, not, as he says, 'swept away by silence' nor by the application of any rigid rule that 'omission means prohibition,' but by the express and positive and unequivocal language of the second

Digitized by Google

section of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity. But it remains for us to see whether the Ornaments Rubric does not alter the position by indirectly authorizing ceremonies otherwise forbidden.

In order to understand Professor Sanday's treatment of the Ornaments Rubric it is necessary to bear in mind one or two facts. The original of the Ornaments Rubric is a section (1 Eliz. chap. 2, sec. 13) in the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity. The second section having, as we have seen, prohibited any ceremony not mentioned in the Prayer Book, the thirteenth section enacts that such ornaments shall be retained as were in the Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI. The Prayer Book to which the Act refers is the Second Prayer Book of Edward, with one or two changes detailed in the Act itself. It was not 'annexed' to the Act, and as authorized by the Act the Prayer Book contained no Ornaments Rubric. But when the Book was published a condensed form of the thirteenth section of the Act was inserted as a prefatory note, and this, slightly altered and developed, became in the present Prayer Book of 1662 (annexed to the Caroline Act of Uniformity) the Ornaments Rubric as we have it to-day. The Courts and, we believe, liturgical authorities on both sides of the great controversy which has raged for so many years round the Ornaments Rubric, are agreed that the Ornaments Rubric in the Elizabethan Prayer Book had no authority whatever, but was, as we have said, a prefatory note intended to draw attention to the statutory enactment which it summarized and to which—or rather to the whole Act of Uniformity—it expressly referred.

So far as the legality of incense and lights is concerned two points have been raised with regard to the Ornaments Rubric by the advocates for the use of these adjuncts to worship. (i.) It is urged that the Ornaments Rubric authorizes the employment of such ornaments as were in lawful use in the second year of Edward, *before* the First Prayer Book, which it is alleged was not enacted till the third year. (ii.) It is argued that, as censers and candlesticks were in use until the First Prayer Book, the effect of the Ornaments Rubric is to authorize their use now in the accustomed manner, and so to legalize the ceremonial use of incense and lights. It is obvious that the second of these points assumes the first.

The Archbishops held that it was needless to settle the first point, because on the second they were of opinion that the section which we have called the original of the Ornaments Rubric could not be construed as applicable to ceremonies. Occurring in the same Act which rigorously prohibits any ceremony not mentioned in the Prayer Book, its purpose is simply to provide what ornaments are to be used in the 'ministrations' ordered by the Book. In other words, a clergyman's duty under the Act was to use the ceremonies mentioned in the Book with the appropriate ornaments, ascertained in the manner directed by the Ornaments section.

Professor Sanday entirely dissents from the Archbishops' opinion, but unfortunately he does so on grounds which will not bear investigation. On the first point, as to the meaning of 'use in the second

Digitized by Google

year' of Edward, he is content to regard it as a moot point, and to leave it open. But this surely is impossible for those who desire to press the Ornaments Rubric as an authority for the use of censers and lights. Unless the 'second year' points to a use at a time *prior* to the First Prayer Book instead of use *under* the First Prayer Book, as has been held by the Courts over and over again, the suggested interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric as applicable to ceremonies does not assist its advocates, because there is no evidence of the use of censers or processional lights under the First Prayer Book. If, therefore, the use in the second year means use under the authority of the First Prayer Book, incense and lights do not come in. To exclude the, so to speak, received construction of the words as to the second year is a condition precedent to success in the attempt to use the Ornaments Rubric in defence of incense and lights. Professor Sanday does not profess to disprove the received construction of the words as to the second year, and is apparently unaware of the formidable difficulties in his way. Although he 'leaves the point open' he gives as his only contribution towards settling it Bishop Sandys's well known letter to Archbishop Parker in 1559, in which he refers to the Ornaments section of the Act of Uniformity, then passing through Parliament, as 'a proviso to retain the Ornaments which were used in the first and second year of King Edward VI.,' and the Professor describes this letter as a 'contemporary interpretation' of the disputed words, and in a note states that the Privy Council in *Westerton* v. *Liddell* 'do not seem to have had it before them.' Sandys's letter was, of course, contemporaneous with Elizabeth's Act, but it was written ten years after the 'second year of Edward,' and the reference is plainly inaccurate, for the 'first and second year' is not the 'second year,' any more than it correctly describes an Act passed in the session of the second and third years. Probably Bishop Sandys made a slip of the pen. At any rate the Professor is in error in supposing the Judges in *Westerton* v. *Liddell* were not aware of the letter.[1] But it is a matter for surprise that Professor Sanday should have thought this letter of sufficient importance to give, and yet have ignored (i.) Edward VI.'s diary, which describes the first Act of Uniformity as passed in his second year, and (ii.) the probably decisive fact that in 5 & 6 Ed. VI. c. 1, sec. 4 the first Act of Uniformity is definitely described as having been 'made in the second year of the King.' It would require a great deal of argument to convince the public that the Judges have all been wrong in holding that Parliament meant in 1559 the same thing by 'second year' as it undoubtedly meant in 1551.

But Professor Sanday's criticism of the Archbishops' refusal to apply the Ornaments Rubric to ceremonies is again founded on a pure mistake. He says:

'They try to make the Elizabethan Act taken with the Ornaments Rubric contradict itself: but they only do so by *assuming* the correctness of their own interpretation. The other alternative is more natural, that the

[1] Moore's *Special Report*, p. 140.

Digitized by Google

Act is consistent and the interpretation wrong. The Ornaments Rubric was itself part of the annexed Prayer Book, and if it applies to ceremonies at all, governed the ceremonies appertaining to the Prayer Book.'

The Professor does not tell us how he proposes to interpret the part of the Act which prohibits any ceremonies not mentioned in the Book, so as to be consistent with the part of the Act which it is suggested requires the ceremonies to be those in use in 1548, whether mentioned in the Book or not. But he has an ingenious way of getting over the difficulty. It is this: He says the Ornaments Rubric was part of the Elizabethan Prayer Book, as that Book was 'annexed' to the Statute. When, therefore, the section relied on by the Archbishops confines the clergy to the ceremonies mentioned in the Book, that includes the ceremonies authorized by the Ornaments Rubric, and, therefore (let us assume), incense and lights. But Professor Sanday is under a grave misapprehension fatal to his argument. The Elizabethan Prayer Book was not annexed to the Act, and the Ornaments Preface printed at the beginning of that Prayer Book had no authority, and was not part of the Book as authorized by the Act of Uniformity. It was, as we have said, a mere publisher's note summarizing the Ornaments section of the Act. It is useless after this to follow the Professor's discussion of the Ornaments Rubric any further. As handled by him, when his mistakes have been corrected, it is entirely ineffective to shake the conclusion which the Archbishops, following Archbishop Benson and the lay Judges, have arrived at, viz. that the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity prohibits any ceremonies not mentioned in the Prayer Book, and that 'Prohibition means Prohibition.' We cannot follow Professor Sanday in his somewhat fragmentary references to the use of incense in the early Church. To do so it would be necessary to invite attention to much more than the two or three citations which he has given, and the result would, we think, confirm the conclusion arrived at by the Archbishops, and, if we remember right, also by the 'Experts' who defended the use of incense at the recent hearing.

It is satisfactory to note that Professor Sanday at the end of his pamphlet has not 'really any doubt that, whether right or wrong in the nature of things, the decision ought to be obeyed.' It is perhaps a little difficult to see how the publication of a series of arguments all intended to show that the decision is 'wrong,' and the grounds of it 'untenable,' can help towards its being obeyed. But we are glad to think that, in inviting a reconsideration of the matters on which the Professor's criticism is founded, and in removing, as we venture to hope, some considerable misconceptions, we are assisting in the realization of the noble aims which Professor Sanday himself eloquently proclaims. We sympathize deeply with his concern at the 'want of knowledge' on this difficult subject, which he notices all around, and, without attempting to compete with the Professor in his great enterprise of enlightening the whole English nation, we humbly venture to offer, to any who care to listen, the considerations which have convinced us that it is the arguments of the critic and not of the Archbishops which call for revision.

Digitized by Google

The Gospel according to St. Mark. The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices. By the Rev. H. B. SWETE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1898.)

Two years ago we had to point out the very serious blemishes of Professor Gould's work on St. Mark in the series of 'International Critical Commentaries,' while we readily acknowledged that it bore marks of industry and scholarship. It is now our pleasing duty to say that Dr. Swete is not less industrious and scholarly than his predecessor, and at the same time his book is free from those grave faults to which we were obliged to allude. To say this, however, is not to say enough. A commentary on St. Mark's Gospel must of course enter into some discussion of the personal history of the Evangelist, the peculiarities of his contribution to the Gospel record and its relation to the work of the other three Evangelists; and on these matters Dr. Swete has written an introduction of very high merit for the benefit of his readers, selected and compressed from masses of additional notes and dissertations which the author hopes to elaborate and issue in the future. But with a true regard to crucial matters Dr. Swete knows that these important topics occupy a subordinate place. They are helps which guide the student on the way towards the great Object of his study. They lead him to the Person Whose life is described in the fragmentary outline of each Gospel, before Whom he worships and adores. It is the conspicuous merit of Dr. Swete's commentary that amid the most careful analysis of the materials of scholarship he never allows the reader to forget that he is near to the living figure of his incarnate Lord, and that we maintain is the highest end of a Gospel commentator. Dr. Swete knows too much about the Gospels to pretend that he has achieved what is impossible—the production of a complete commentary on them, or on any one of them. But his modest way of speaking about his own work does not hide from us its excellence, and we thank him for assisting students 'to understand, and in turn to interpret to others, this primitive picture of the Incarnate Life' (Pref. p. vi). He is worthily sustaining the Regius Chair of Divinity in his University, and the appearance of the book reminds us that no great theological volume has issued from the corresponding Chair at the sister University since the days of Mozley. Will not Dr. Ince give us a volume of the sturdy lectures which he used to deliver in the Latin Chapel?

The first two sections of the Introduction, in which an account of the personal history of St. Mark and of the history of the Gospel in the early Church is given, have in part already appeared in the *Expositor*. The most interesting passages here are those which give samples of the use of the name Marcus in various parts of the Empire (p. ix), or discuss the meaning of the epithet κολοβοδάκτυλος, quoted by St. Hippolytus of the Evangelist (p. xxi), or examine the causes of the relative neglect of this Gospel in early times, and its place in early catalogues and manuscripts (pp. xxviii, xxx). After producing briefly the evidence which shows that the Gospel was written at Rome, probably between the death of St. Peter and St. Paul

Digitized by Google

and the destruction of Jerusalem, and in Greek, Dr. Swete summarizes the results of enormous labour in some lists of words and phrases which illustrate the vocabulary, grammar, and style of St. Mark (p. xxxviii).[1] A table is given which enables us to compare the capitulation of Codices A and B with the paragraphs in the Westcott and Hort text (p. xlv), and an excellent conspectus shows how Dr. Swete himself has arranged the contents of the Gospel (p. xlix). This brings the reader to the consideration of St Mark's plan and the sources from which he drew his narrative. Dr. Swete notices the characteristics of the two great sections of St. Mark on the Galilean Ministry and the Last Week at Jerusalem, observing that the first fourteen verses of the Gospel are evidently introductory, and the last twelve 'have the character of an appendix which links the Gospel history with the fortunes of the Church in the Apostolic age' (p. lii).[2] He is disposed to see a more continuous adherence to chronological arrangement in the first section than Mr. Turner, and although he fully recognizes the peculiar features of the second section he retains a strong sense of the unity of the work. He assumes as a working theory of the origination of the Gospel that its main source is the teaching of St. Peter, especially in the first section, and considers that allowance must be made, especially in the last six chapters, for the use of other authorities, some at least documentary. Dr. Swete does not discuss the literary problem which is presented by the first three Gospels. He contents himself with some remarks on the distinctive features of the second Gospel as compared with the first and the third as bearing upon its origin and character (p. lx). He concludes that the relation of St. Mark to the other Synoptists is that of an early but fragmentary record towards records of a somewhat later origin and more complex character (p. lxix). A short examination of the sixty-seven references in St. Mark to the Old Testament is followed by a particularly interesting description of the external conditions of our Lord's life in this Gospel (p. lxxv), and this is the porch of a more important matter still—St. Mark's conception of the Person and office of our Lord (p. lxxxiv). A careful list of authorities for the text (p. xc) is the prelude to an examination of the 'alternative endings' of the Gospel. The defects of the external evidence and the internal characteristics of the last twelve verses lead Dr. Swete to the conclusion that 'they belong to another work, whether that of Aristion or of some unknown writer of the first century' (p. cv). Finally there is a brief account of existing commentaries, in which we are pleased to see that Dr. Swete has paid a tribute to the 'insight and devotion' of 'our countryman' Bede (pp. cvii–cviii). A facsimile of the Edschmiatzin MS. will be found facing p. civ, but the maps which

[1] Compare also the full list of 'Greek words used by St. Mark,' pp. 386–401.

[2] In the *Church Eclectic* for August 1899, p. 404, Dr. E. P. Gray pleads very earnestly and with much reason and ability against affixing any note of doubt to these verses.

Digitized by Google

are said to face p. lxxviii in the table of contents are wanting in the copy before us.

Of the detailed notes perhaps the most important are those which comment on the Christology of the Gospel. They will for the most part be found under the word 'Christ' in the index to the introduction and notes. On xiii. 32, in the course of a very valuable note which includes a paragraph, with references, upon the patristic treatment of the passage, Dr. Swete says:

'By the Father's gift all things that the Father hath are the Son's (St. John v. 20, xvi. 15), and as the eternal Word He cannot be ignorant of this or any other mystery of the divine Will (St. Matt. xi. 27; St. John i. 18). But the time of the predestined end is one of those things which the Father has "set within His own authority" (Acts i. 7), and which the Son, though He [by a misprint he] knew it as God, had no commission to reveal (St. John viii. 26, 40, xiv. 24, xv. 15)' (p. 297).

We may add to this the warning that we are not told whether there are any other matters on which our Lord imposed any similar limitations upon his human faculties, and it is more than hazardous to generalize by logic upon such mysteries as this. The note on our Lord's cry from the twenty-second Psalm is curiously deficient in that it makes no allusion to its dogmatic import (p. 363). Flowing from the conception of our Lord's Person and Work there are the passages which refer to the ministry and the Sacraments which He instituted. The mission of the Apostles, says Dr. Swete in a good note, 'was identical in its purposes with His, but secondary and dependent on His gifts' (p. 56). In the note on the great passage in xvi. 16 Dr. Swete points out that baptism is distinctly associated with salvation in the Apostolic writings, though he does not forget to add the necessary caution that 'shall be saved' is not an unconditional promise of final restoration (pp. 381–2). The passage about the blessing of little children, x. 13–16, shows that 'the youngest were not too young for His (our Lord's) benediction' (p. 207), and we are properly reminded that the incident 'seems to have been urged in support of infant baptism as early as the time of Tertullian' (p. 208). The doctrine of the Holy Eucharist is chiefly indicated in the note which gives references to the Fathers, to Hooker and Pusey upon xiv. 24. Among other notes of doctrinal importance are those on the sin against the Holy Ghost (pp. 64–5), and on the Lord's 'brethren,' where we are much surprised to notice even a slight leaning on Dr. Swete's part to the Helvidian view (p. 107). Many of the notes strike us as being extremely thin in dogmatic material. For example, the notes on the Kingdom of God (p. 13), Jewish demonology (p. 23), the leprosy (p. 26), the Transfiguration (p. 176), are of much less relative merit than those on such subjects as Pontius Pilate (p. 346) and *νάρδος πιστικός* (p. 302). The dissertations which Dr. Swete one day hopes to publish will have to be very strong in dogmatic theology to make up for the disappointment which we have felt on turning to many passages, a disappointment which is all the keener because we know so well that Dr. Swete has large stores of dogmatic theology in reserve.

Digitized by Google

The Counter-Reformation in Europe. By A. R. PENNINGTON, Canon Non-Residentiary of Lincoln and Rector of Utterby. (London: Elliot Stock, 1899.)

A MELANCHOLY interest is attached to this book from the fact that it had hardly been given to the world, when its venerable author was suddenly called to his rest. In reviewing it, however, there is not the slightest occasion to act on the *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* principle, and to deal with it more leniently than strict justice untempered by mercy would compel us to do. It is quite able to stand on its own merits, and can well afford to dispense with any adventitious interest it might derive from the peculiar circumstances of its publication. In fact, as we first read it, knowing that the author was well advanced in his eighty-sixth year, our predominant feeling was one of astonishment at the vitality, the fire, freshness and energy—we had almost said, *youthful* energy—which breathed in its every page. But, on the other hand, there was also evident a maturity of knowledge, which on such a subject it was hardly possible for a young man to possess, as it was obviously the result of many years' study. In short, it is not too much to say that the book combines, in a marked degree, the enthusiasm which belongs to youth with the ripeness which belongs to age. The subject is a singularly interesting one, but at the same time a most difficult one to deal with in the short space of a single volume of 276 pages. The very title, *The Counter-Reformation in Europe*, implies that the reader will be carried from country to country—Italy, Spain, France, Germany, England, Poland, the Netherlands, Sweden, &c.—with bewildering rapidity; that he will have names brought before him, with which, unless his reading is exceptionally wide and varied, he is quite unfamiliar; that politics and even wars, as well as theology, will have to be touched upon, for these too had their share in the 'Counter-Reformation.' That a writer, who had long passed the allotted age of man, should have grappled successfully with all these difficulties, and given us a book, which is not only valuable, but eminently readable, and indeed vivacious, is to our mind really marvellous. To illustrate the difficulties he has surmounted, we may venture to compare his work with one published ten years ago, with a similar title, 'The Counter-Reformation,' by Professor A. W. Ward, written for that excellent series, *Epochs of Church History*, of which the present Bishop of London, then Canon Creighton, was the editor. It goes without saying that Professor Ward was an extremely competent writer, and that the editor of the series was an extremely competent editor; and yet one could not help feeling that the book was too crowded with matter to be really effective. Until Canon Pennington's volume appeared, we thought this was a necessary result of attempting to deal with so large a subject in so short a space. But there is little difference between the space filled by the two writers; and, while fully appreciating the ability and industry of the earlier, we are bound to say that the later has given us a far more vivid, intelligible, and impressive sketch of the great subject.

But comparisons are proverbially odious; let us confine ourselves,

Digitized by Google

therefore, to the contents of Canon Pennington's volume. By the Counter-Reformation is, of course, meant that remarkable turn of the tide, rightly described by Lord Macaulay in his review of Ranke's *History of the Popes* as that by which 'the Church of Rome, having lost a large part of Europe, not only ceased to lose, but actually regained nearly half of what she had lost.' In accounting for the phenomenon, it will be remembered that Lord Macaulay, *more suo*, takes occasion to glorify as 'the very masterpiece of human wisdom' the Church of Rome, to which he did *not* belong, at the expense of the Church of England, to which he professedly *did* belong. It will also be remembered that Mr. Cotter Morison, in his very able monograph on 'Macaulay' in the *English Men of Letters* series, shows to demonstration how utterly fallacious the contrast is: that 'the profound wisdom he [Macaulay] ascribed to the Church of Rome existed only in his own fancy,' while, 'on the other hand, of all long-suffering Churches, tolerant and docile of contradiction to the verge of feebleness, the Church of England is perhaps the most remarkable.' Mr. Morison will hardly be suspected of an undue bias in favour of the Church of England. It is simply as an historian that he protests against the vast superiority in point of wisdom which Macaulay claims for the Church of Rome, as shown in the Counter-Reformation. One of Canon Pennington's avowed objects, as he tells us in his preface (p. viii), is to correct the errors of Macaulay; and he has done so most effectively in almost every page of his book, by showing us what the Counter-Reformation really was; and when reduced to plain prose we see that there was really nothing extraordinary in it—nothing requiring 'the masterpiece of human wisdom' to effect it at all. One of the chief causes is, indeed, highly creditable to the Church of Rome itself—that we fully admit—viz. a most vigorous and drastic reform of its own practical, not doctrinal, abuses. As Canon Pennington truly points out, the abominable corruption of the Papacy (p. 13), the actual wickedness of some of the Popes, which more enlightened times would not tolerate (pp. 17–19), the 'Babylonish captivity' when the Popes resided at Avignon, the schism of anti-Popes, the revival of a taste for ancient literature, which led to scepticism, and nowhere more than at Rome itself, were at least predisposing causes of the Reformation. After the shock which that convulsion caused, Rome wisely girded herself to set her house in order; a new religious spirit arose which led to the formation of new orders and reformation of the old (p. 35): the reform of the Mendicant Orders, notably through the Capuchin Friars (pp. 38–9), the formation of the Order of Brothers of Charity (p. 40), of the Theatines, or congregation of regular clergy (p. 414), and, far above all, of the Order of Jesuits (p. 50), were among the proximate causes of the Counter-Reformation. To these should be added the far higher character which the Popes in the age after the Reformation bore than those in the age before the Reformation, and the rise of others who were not only Christians, but saints, and who threw their influence into the scale of Rome. More mundane causes contributed to the result. Canon Penning-

Digitized by Google

ton thinks that Macaulay greatly overrates the influence of the Jesuits: we are not sure whether this is quite made out; it is difficult to exaggerate the influence which Ignatius Loyola, inculcating and enforcing as he did 'blind obedience as the very basis of his order' (p. 60), established; but Canon Pennington is perfectly right when he affirms that 'the Jesuits would have been powerless without the armies of Spain and the wealth of Philip II.' (p. 56); and also when he refers to the terrible and unscrupulous activity and cruelty of the Inquisition; the introduction of the 'Index Expurgatorius;' the effects of the Council of Trent, whose decrees 'made an impassable gulf between the two parties' (p. 105), 'gave conciliar sanction to Roman absolutism;' stereotyped belief, for 'before it many were uncertain what they ought to believe' (p. 119), as obvious and very intelligible causes of the recovery of Roman power. A still greater cause, on which Canon Pennington rightly lays much stress (see pp. 144, 226, 228 and *passim*), was the division among Protestants; *divide et impera* is a maxim of which Pontifical as well as Imperial Rome saw the full force. We quite agree with Canon Pennington that Cardinal Allen and the seminary priests who set on foot the English Mission, and notably the Jesuit Fathers, Parsons and Campian, were the chief agents in bringing about a Counter-Reformation—so far as there *was* any counter-reformation—in England; but we do *not* agree with him that the Laudian movement had any Romeward tendency whatever (see pp. 240–56). Of course the influence of Queen Henrietta Maria and of the Roman emissary Panzani was in a Roman direction; but surely that influence was exceedingly slight and short-lived; and Laud and his friends, so far from being the friends, were really the most effective opponents—effective because they opposed to it something more Church-like and definite than the mere negations of Protestantism—of whatever Romanizing tendency there was in England; and we believe that Charles I., whatever his faults may have been, was a martyr to the Church of England, as that Church is equally opposed to Rome as to Geneva. Here we think Canon Pennington has been misled by the same Macaulay whose errors in other respects he clearly sees. This, however, is only one point of disagreement; in other points we cordially agree with him, and only wish that his life had been spared long enough to see the success which his all but posthumous volume will, we trust, receive.

Oxford Church Text Books. 1. *An Elementary History of the Church in Great Britain.* By the Rev. W. H. Hutton, B.D. 2. *The History of the Book of Common Prayer.* By the Rev. J. H. Maude, M.A. (London: Rivingtons, 1899.)

Recent controversies show that if much has been done to spread the knowledge of the principles of the Oxford Movement, much yet remains to be done. To flood the country with a comprehensive series of cheap scholarly manuals on the more important branches of religious knowledge is an excellent proposal, and with Mr. Pullan

Digitized by Google

as the general editor of the series we may be sure that writers will be selected for the series who are in full sympathy with definite Anglican doctrine. We can cordially commend in general terms the two contributions to the series which are before us. Mr. Hutton's book appears with the title as printed above. But in the prospective advertisement he is said to be responsible for *A Church History of Great Britain*, and in an advertisement which accompanies this little volume he is said to have in the press *A Short History of the Church in Great Britain.*[1] Mr. Hutton compresses his narrative of a hundred pages into seven chapters, which treat of The Church in Britain, The Early English Church, The Mediæval Church, The Reformation, The Church under the Stewarts, and the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. He also adds a useful glossary, a chronological table, and an index of the names of persons.

Mr. Hutton opens with an excellent passage about 'the divine society which our Lord Jesus Christ founded to be the perpetual embodiment on earth of His divine purpose and the channel of His divine grace.' He is of course obliged to say that we do not know when the first Christians landed in Britain, or when the Church first sent its missionaries or set up its organization. But he is able to give a clear picture of the British Church which was already in existence when the English came to Britain. He is too open, however, to the facts of history to deny that St. Augustine is 'the true founder of the English Church' (p. 5), and he gives to Theodore and to Bede their proper places in the noble company of men who shed a glory on the early English Church. With the coming of the Conqueror the English Church submitted to new and powerful foreign influences, and thenceforth until the reign of Henry VII. we see under Mr. Hutton's skilful guidance how the papal supremacy worked itself out in the mediæval Church. The comparatively long chapter on the Reformation is one of the very best accounts of that great movement or series of movements that we have seen, and Mr. Hutton has very happily combined the scholarly and the popular elements in his narrative. The story of the Church under the Stewarts not only describes the greatness of the Caroline divines, but includes an accurate picture of the condition of the Church of England when she was outside the protection of the law. Mr. Hutton frankly recognizes that the eighteenth century was a period of deadness, though he allows room for the redeeming features which Canon Overton has taught us to bear in mind, and he pays a just tribute to the influence of the Wesleys. The concluding chapter necessarily takes the form, at least in its latter part, of a rapid summary of familiar facts rather than of a history of the century. Enough, however, is said to show the wisdom of the remark that 'we read the past very faultily if we do not learn to trust implicitly in the providence of God' (p. 89). We may here urge upon Mr. Hutton that a crying need at the present time is an

[1] The 'elementary' history is published, like the other volumes of the series, at a shilling net. The 'short' history is a larger work, at three and sixpence.

Digitized by Google

elementary English History for use in national schools which can be used as a 'Reader,' and in which the Church of England is put in her right place.

Mr. Maude's book on *The History of the Book of Common Prayer* contains about thirty pages more than Mr. Hutton's, and possibly from the nature of its subject-matter seems to us to be less likely to meet popular taste than the brightly written 'elementary history.' We gladly recognize that the book is full of accurate information, and if Mr. Maude has erred it has been because he has attempted to include too many details in so small a book. If this decreases the suitability of the book for some, it increases it for others, and the series is designed for a wide collection of readers which includes students of theology, candidates for ordination, the members of Church guilds, and the scholars of higher classes in schools. Mr. Maude has not paid sufficient attention to the significance of his initial capitals, and whereas they occur with provoking frequency where they are not wanted, it is with a slight shock that we see 'Churchmen' printed without a capital in the first line of the book. The opening chapter, entitled 'The Book of Common Prayer,' is a brief and excellent historical survey of the sources and changes of the book, terminating with an allusion, too mild an allusion, to the Act of 1872. In the succeeding chapters this preliminary outline is filled in by taking into consideration the Liturgy, the Daily and Occasional Offices, and the Ordinal. Lastly, Mr. Maude gives an account of the Scottish Liturgy, which has a strong claim to his description of it as 'one of the most beautiful and complete in existence.' There should have been included in this last chapter some general account both of the American Prayer Book and of the Prayer Book of the Church of Ireland. The chapter on the Liturgy really enables the ordinary reader to understand the structure of the service as well as its history, and Mr. Maude very properly includes a sketch of the history of the Litany in this chapter as a penitential preparation for the Holy Eucharist. We might perhaps urge that the consideration of the daily office should have preceded this chapter if the true relation of Mattins and Evensong to the Eucharist was to be set forth in the arrangement of the book. In this as in other respects it is difficult to improve upon the Prayer Book, though we are at one with Mr. Maude in his desire to put the Eucharist in its right place as the first service of the Church. We hope that the chapter on the Daily Office will make at least two things quite clear, that the old offices of Sext, Compline, and the rest are 'fulfilled' in the Matins and Evensong of the English Church—*verbum satis sapienti*—and that 'those who are bound to be loyal to the book of Common Prayer can hardly commit an act of greater unfaithfulness both to its letter and to its spirit than by the omission of the daily office' (p. 76). In considering the occasional offices Mr. Maude begins with Baptism and Confirmation, and confines himself chiefly to the history rather than to the doctrinal aspects of their relation. He takes occasion to allude to the fact that the Confirmation Office is short, and the reminder is sorely needed in the case of many clergymen who distend the service

Digitized by Google

by an outrageous number of hymns, and in the case of bishops who weary the candidates by a very long address, or even what is worse by two addresses, often a mere recapitulation of matter which has been persistently inculcated in the time of preparation. We must not complain that Mr. Maude has kept too closely to his purpose of writing a 'history' of the Prayer Book, but we confess that we should have been glad to see, when he was treating of Holy Matrimony, some allusion to the wholesome stringency of the marriage laws of the Church of England, both in regard to the prohibition of unlawful unions, and the indissoluble character of a lawful marriage. He has lost a great opportunity of pointing out that the Table of Kindred (relationship by blood) and affinity (relationship by marriage) establishes two great marriage principles of the Bible—first, that blood and marriage relationships are regarded by God as of equal importance; and secondly, that the marriage of those who are three or less than three steps of relationship apart is unlawful. We wish this the more as we observe that Mr. Maude has not hesitated to devote some space in treating of the Communion of the Sick to a passage which much too confidently declares that there is nothing in the present rubrics to forbid the reservation of the Sacrament after a private celebration for the Communion of other sick persons, that reservation was regarded as lawful in 1560 because the Latin Prayer Book allows it, and that it is 'certainly' not forbidden by the sixth post-Communion rubric (pp. 103–4, cp. p. 11). Similarly in the section on the Burial of the Dead we regret that the disciplinary provision of the opening rubric has not received the attention which was due to it. These and other omissions lead us to say that Mr. Maude has treated the history in a spirit of academic intellectualism, and has not dealt with the Prayer Book as a living practical book. Yet a history of the Prayer Book should be able to show how the religious life of the English Church is bound up in vital union with it in the past, and never more than now. The brief allusions to the Athanasian Creed (p. 77) and the Commination Service (p. 110) fall far short of what is needed to meet current perplexity. We shall indeed be sorry if this volume, thoroughly satisfactory in some respects, is allowed to stand as the sole manual upon the Prayer Book in the series. We do not blame Mr. Maude for its defects, for he has evidently, and hardly anywhere more than in the chapter on the Ordinal (p. 111), felt himself to be restrained within rigid lines of treatment, and we have sufficient confidence in Mr. Pullan to believe that he will secure a practical addition to his series from some clergyman of wide and long pastoral experience, who shall be able to show the true work and place of the Prayer Book in the hearts of English Churchmen. In a few additional notes the student will find extracts from Pliny and St. Justin Martyr, the Sarum Canon of the Mass, a short and accurate statement of various views upon the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, and a list of books recommended for further study—a list which is not altogether satisfactory or complete.

Digitized by Google

The English Reformation. A Lecture, with a Preface and Notes. By the Rev. W. H. HUTTON, B.D. (London: Rivingtons, 1899.)

MR. HUTTON has dedicated this lecture 'to William Bright, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, with homage and affection,' and in his notes he renders honour to the other great Oxford historian by quoting from the Bishop of Oxford's Charge 'the weightiest words that have been said on the subject of confession for many a day'—words which Mr. Hutton is sanguine enough to hope that all loyal Churchmen will accept with complete agreement (p. 40).[1] The lecture, we are told in the preface, was delivered by request of the Bishop of London to the London Diocesan Branch of the Church Committee for Church Defence and Church Instruction, an organization which may profitably bear the word Reformation in mind as helping its excellent workers to remember that when the Church is cleansed by her own sons she is most truly defended. Mr. Hutton's lecture has been attacked by Roman Catholics, and in his comments on the controversy in the preface he is led by his confidence in his own position to reply in rather a light tone. But it would be difficult to mend Mr. Hutton's words when he proceeds to comment upon the Incense and Reservation controversy, and says, writing before he has read the comments of others, that 'the principle of obedience to constituted authority, so strongly emphasized in the English Reformation, is one of the true marks of the historic Church,' and that 'opposition to this principle has led invariably and inevitably to heresy and schism' (Pref., p. xvii).

The great merit of Mr. Hutton's lecture is that he has, for the most part, resisted the temptation to pursue the bypaths which perpetually diverge from the main road, and has succeeded more than many others who have lectured on the Reformation in adhering closely to the real question at issue. He asks, What was the Reformation? and, Did it affect the continuity of the great national institution which is the grandest factor in our national history? What was the Reformation? 'It was,' says Mr. Hutton, 'a long movement, beginning when Henry VII. sat on the throne and ending when the first Parliament of Charles II. confirmed and ratified the constitution of the Church as it was established—for it had always been established—by law' (pp. 4–5). It lasted from about 1485 to 1662, and Mr. Hutton, taking occasion on the way to point out that Henry VIII.'s divorce had little to do with the real root of the Reformation (p. 10), gives a very clear account of the salient points of the movement. Starting from the direction of public attention to gross

[1] We did our part, in our last number, in endeavouring to extend the usefulness of Dr. Stubbs's weighty Charge. But we have been informed by a regular reader of our pages that he applied in vain to the Clarendon Press for a copy. If the Bishop will hide his light under a bushel and not allow the Charge to be circulated in pamphlet form, we can only refer to the excellent report of it which appeared in the *Guardian* of May 24 last.

Digitized by Google

monastic scandals, clerical ignorance, and papal extortions and abuse of patronage, the Reformation continuously progressed until it cast off the Pope's jurisdiction, and gave us an English Service and an open Bible. Mr. Hutton does not say, but we—who have been recently standing among the ruins of some of the fair Cistercian abbeys of Yorkshire—are constrained to add that some good seed was rooted up by the servants of the Divine Householder when they were gathering up the bundles of tares which the enemy had sown. But did this work, admitting that some of it was impatiently executed, break the continuity of the Church of England, the national Church, which is the representative of the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Apostles in this land? Mr. Hutton answers this question by looking at it first legally and externally, and then as regards doctrine and discipline. He shows that historically it is absolutely impossible to assert that the continuity was broken, for the laws of Church and State go on speaking of the English Church as before—all Church property passed as before from rector to rector or from vicar to vicar, with no new law transferring it from one body or person to another. When a bishop died, his successor was appointed in the legal way to fill his place. Pole succeeded Cranmer, and Parker succeeded Pole, and the legal forms distinctly stated the vacancy and recognized the succession (p. 19). Bramhall has 'not the least doubt that the Church of England before the Reformation, and the Church of England after the Reformation, are as much the same Church as a garden before it is weeded and after it is weeded is the same garden' (p. 3); and the Church of England, as every lawyer and historian knows, does claim to-day to be the same body which, as a branch of that One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church of which we speak in the Creeds, was founded on English soil by St. Augustine in 597 (p. 4). But the argument may be shifted to doctrine and discipline; and, putting aside points such as the invocation of saints, which no one would seriously urge as affecting continuity, Mr. Hutton proves that the vast majority of the English clergy in the sixteenth century saw no break of continuity in the entire repudiation of the Papal jurisdiction by the Convocations in 1534, nor in the second repudiation at the accession of Elizabeth. It is equally difficult to show that the repudiation of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, only fully and finally defined for the Church of Rome in 1563, involved any breach of continuity. And as for Holy Orders, the Church of England, both in fact and in declared intention, has emphatically continued them, and is unmoved by the Pope's recent but almost forgotten pronouncement.[1] The fact is, says Mr. Hutton, doctrinal continuity 'consists in loyal adherence to the Creeds and the Canons of the undivided Church' (p. 27). The point of discipline is even more easily answered. The Church of England has never repudiated the canon law; the disciplinary powers of bishops and of ecclesiastical courts are recognized in her official formularies; she enjoins fasts, and she allows confession. We must keep on insisting

[1] For 'pointed' read 'pointed out' in line 10, p. 27.

Digitized by Google

that the continuous life of the Church of Christ in our land was not broken at the Reformation, and such lectures as Mr. Hutton's show us on what firm historical ground we stand when we so maintain.

'We are proud of our historic Church; we are proud of the long line of our bishops—evangelical, apostolic, learned, saintly. We are proud to obey the Church and obey the bishops. We believe that it is God Who has given to us both Church and bishops, and that our loyalty to them is but part of that absolute and unquestioning loyalty which we everyone of us desire, by His grace, to pay to Him Who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life' (p. 33).

We endorse these words, and they express the hearty loyalty, we are persuaded, of thousands of Churchmen at the present time. Will the divinely steered Ship be driven on to the rocks by a few wilful and obstinate men, when the majority are loyal to the supreme commands of the Master? Surely not.

Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social. By Sir Alfred C. Lyall, K.C.B., D.C.L. (London: John Murray, 1899.)

There are two volumes of these *Studies*. The first was published in 1882, and is now re-edited. The second consists of a number of essays whose principal subject is religion. Religion in India, religion in China, primitive religion *passim* are their topics. The last paper is a forecast of the future of the yellow races, *à propos* of Mr. Pearson's famous forebodings. We will confess that we have found great pleasure in reading them; their style is lively and refreshing; humour is rarely absent; every point is aptly illustrated; a rich multiform experience is made available for us by a keen observer of men and manners, who brings to bear on whatever subject he touches the energies of an acute, independent, cultured mind.

All the papers have been published before, and their dominant ideas have filtered into public circulation. Distrust of the philosophic savant is one of them:

'He is prone to overstrain his theories, to use the same weight and measure for all his facts, to lay stress on superficial resemblances, and in other respects to suffer the disadvantages which beset every judge, however able and learned, who is obliged to take evidence at second hand' (p. 239).

The reviewer quotes with approval Miss Kingsley's dictum that the first thing before starting to hunt the religious idea in West Africa is to burn all one's notions about sun myths and the worship of elemental forces (p. 241). The review of Mr. Frazer's *Golden Bough* is in effect a masterly exposure of theory run mad. Professor Max Müller and the philologists are met with crucial facts of observation that destroy our confidence in their generalizations. Sir Alfred is by way of being a euhemerist. In India, at any rate, deities are of human origin. Yet when in West Africa Miss Kingsley finds a clear line of demarcation existing between ghosts and gods, and lays down that 'West Africa has not deified ancestors,' he accepts her observation. His cardinal principle is that an ounce of fact is worth

Digitized by Google

a pound of theory. He will not abandon his principle even for a theory of his own. On page 271 he pricks with a pin the bubble of much modern philosophy-making :

'It is not safe to borrow the terms of physical science, or to rely upon analogies which it suggests ; as, for instance, when we are told that differences of belief may be compared to the variations of organisms, so that whatever varieties of belief are not favoured by their environment will perish, while the rest will survive. These are in fact rather metaphors than sound analogies ; you could not lay out the history of religion on such a theory.'

In the Rede lecture (p. 256) we are given a study of Natural Religion from observations of India. The Natural Religion of Butler is the religion that reason might extract from observing nature. It is this religion that the English Government have some thought of embodying in the curriculum of the Indian schools. But Sir Alfred means by the term religion in a state of nature, growing up spontaneously out of the free play of man's fears and hopes. 'I mean a religion that has not yet acquired a distinctive form and a settled base, but is constantly springing up and reproducing itself under different shapes in diverse species' (p. 293).

The inveterate belief in the migratory soul is the foundation stone, Pantheism the crown of the natural structure, and nowhere will the general reader gain a clearer idea of the comprehension of multitudinous idolatries under a single philosophic scheme than in the perusal of these volumes. The toleration of the Pantheist philosophers of the West, as we know it in the case *e.g.* of the Stoics, and the combination of a transcendental idealism with the recognition of every species of black and white magic, such as we find in the Neoplatonism of the schools when Christianity wrestled with it and overthrew it, is a fact of experience in the India of to-day.

There is indeed a very close relation between the political attitude of the early Empire towards all religions and that so amusingly sketched for us by Sir Alfred as at this moment existing in China. In China the State holds friendly relations with and a controlling power over a multitude of religions which, even in their ultimate analysis, are an irreducible three. Confucius, Buddha, and the Taouists are all identified with the State's administration and with the reigning dynasty. The humours of the *Yellow Gazette* are as entertaining as they are instructive. The danger of this course is seen by Sir Alfred :

'Probably nothing is more perilous to a government that has incorporated the elder and milder religions into its system, and has soothed them and lulled them into a tame and subordinate officialism, than an assault upon those very religions by a wild and ardent faith suddenly blazing up in the midst of them' (p. 141).

Only 'a great ruler like Constantine may have the address and foresight to save his government by going over to the winning side in time' (p. 141).

The three letters 'from Vamadeo Shastri,' with which the second

Digitized by Google

series commences, are of great value both to the missionary and the statesman. It is made clear that the problem before the former is the intellectual overthrow of Pantheism. 'The one commodity we shall never be persuaded, even by its cheapness, to import from Europe, is a religion' (p. 23). 'Your creeds unquestionably inculcate very high morality, but they are beginning to fail in *a priori* certainty' (p. 24). 'Vishnu and Siva will not descend to the level of ministers of public instruction' (p. 25). 'The innermost religious idea of the Hindus has for ages been the supreme unimportance, if not the nothingness, of this particular stage of existence' (p. 38).

In all these passages the thought is implicit that modern Christianity, the Protestantism of the bazaars, has been transforming itself into a mere system of rational ethics, whose end is to make this world comfortable. Europe has at this moment no other religion to offer. But if Pantheism is to be overcome, it must be met on the same field and with the same resources as gave Christianity the victory in the age of the Creeds.

To what extent is, or was, State support essential to such a victory? Sir Alfred appears to think that even the determination of dogmas is alien, offensive, impossible, to the Hindu mind—that at any rate only by a continuous exercise of State authority for many ages could it be forced upon the people. For the authority of the State in religion is again one of their natural beliefs; they instinctively look for its exercise. But India has been ruled by the British on the principles of Macaulay. 'The State has no more to do with theology than a gas company has' (p. 28). 'Yet the position that religious belief has everything to do with the conduct of individuals, and nothing to do with the conduct of governments, is foreign to the traditions of Asiatic kingcraft, and would in India be thought hard to defend' (p. 29). The inevitable result of the secular State in India must be to gradually divorce religion altogether from conduct, and to discredit religion in the eyes of the people, the issue being full of dangers for the State itself as State.

We have only briefly indicated the problems with which these letters deal—to discuss them fully exceeds the limits of our space; but we have said enough to show that the matters treated are of vital import. Perhaps in the intellectual pleasure of reading criticisms so acute the thought does sometimes emerge that a skilled diagnosis is not of itself a cure.

Neo-Malthusianism. By R. USSHER. (London: Gibbings and Co., 1898.)

A USEFUL book to possess for reference. It contains innumerable statistics of population and birth rates, with quotations from all the principal authorities on the extent and perniciousness of the evil it deals with. Malthus found the cause of the miserable standard of living among the poor in excessive population, and proposed to limit it by more prudence in marriage. The Malthusian theory itself is rather doubtful. It is the quality of the population rather than the quantity that is the main factor. Unhappily this book discloses a

Digitized by Google

state of things in which the quality is bad and not the quantity only too great. The statistics and conditions of child-marriages are appalling. It is among a people, a mass, of which such child-marriage is the habit, that the doctrines of Neo-Malthusianism have spread like a plague. The strange fact is that their propagation has never succeeded when it was avowedly and openly in the interest of vice. Ardent social reformers of the stamp of Mrs. Besant have done the work, and the propaganda has had money at its back sufficient to set in circulation masses of tracts and cheap literature. It is not only among the proletariate that the mischief is done. The limitation of the number of children in a family is felt as a need when a social standing has to be kept up. The teaching has in this way found open ears among the professional classes, clerks, small tradesmen, and wherever a position has to be maintained. And again, in the world of fashion and luxury the inconveniences of child-bearing as interfering with pleasures have led to the same result. Infanticide and abortion come within the reach of the criminal law, but the practices recommended by Neo-Malthusianism are outside its range. We gather that the initiative is mainly with women, and that doctors are habitually consulted by married women of all classes as to the means to be taken. If so, the medical profession have to a large extent the matter in their hands; as far, at any rate, as the results are traceable in physical disease, it rests with that profession to give warning and instruction. Social reformers, again, may be convinced of their error; the propaganda of tracts dried up, and a counter-propaganda took its place. Here and there one may be moved by the demonstration of injury to the race, constituting a moral check. For readers of this Review, and for the clergy generally, the problem is whether religion can be effectually appealed to. We do not altogether hold with describing the reluctance to speak on such subjects as the reluctance of a false delicacy, nor if there were only the gauntlet to be run of malicious misrepresentation, would we, theoretically at least, shrink from it. But we very much doubt whether it is the province of the clergy to enter into the physiological details, without which interference would be useless. All that can be said is generally that marriage has child-bearing for its end Divinely given, and that when that end is of malice intent frustrated, *there is sin.* We may also lay down the principle that if there is to be speech on such a subject, the more direct, scientific and matter of fact it is the better; and, we will add, the form of a pastoral issued to many has advantages over private exhortation unless the latter is specifically called for. It is probable that the Mothers' Guilds might with care be made of use. This volume does not keep the religious motive clearly enough before the mind to be of direct service to the Church in such a work.

Outside Neo-Malthusianism also it travels over the whole field of the 'social evil' and its manifestations; and it is evident that when the age of marriage for a man is fixed at thirty, and of a woman at twenty-five, religion must have a voice in all that period of temptation which intervenes between early puberty and those ages.

Digitized by Google

As literature Mr. Ussher's work has not, and is not intended to have, any value; while in estimating its value as a statement of fact, we ought to remember that continual attention to a plague spot is apt to increase its proportions to nightmare scale. Juvenal drew Rome truly, but with falsehood in his truth.

The Ascent through Christ. By E. GRIFFITH JONES, B.A. (London: James Bowden, 1899.)

THIS is a 'study of the Doctrine of Redemption in the light of the theory of Evolution.' From the preface (p. i) we gather that the theory of Evolution is merely the principle of Development, and the study of the doctrine of Redemption is the 'study of certain spiritual facts which cluster round the mystery.' These facts are 'Sin and the correlative theory of the fall of man, the Person of Christ, the Atoning Death and Resurrection, and the New Life in Him' (p. i), 'together with such subsidiary problems as radiate from these focal centres.' Such problems are *e.g.* those connected with the Higher Criticism and the Virgin Birth, and the book is in effect a general summary of the position of advanced theology on the lines laid down by *Lux Mundi*. To our mind it contains too much rhetoric, and too little scientific precision, as one would expect from a treatise whose facts are also theories and problems which cluster round mysteries. The writer is a man of deep culture and wide reading. This displays itself in a multitude of snippings, paragraphs, and mottoes. One from Oliver Wendell Holmes takes precedence even of the title-page: 'The hardest and most painful task of the student of to-day is to occidentalize and modernize the Asiatic modes of thought which have come down to us closely welded with mediæval interpretations.' On page viii the purpose is more clearly expressed: It is to 'remodel the contents of the author's faith in accordance with such of the principles of the theory of Evolution as seemed safely established.' This involves (page ix) 'a frank acceptance of the doctrine of human development as it is now universally held among reputable anthropologists.' Wallace is followed, not Darwin, and the physical nature of man is separated from the rational and moral. As the physical nature of man includes a neural system with which consciousness is coincident, stronger evidence than that supplied in this volume will be needed if the writer's position is to be maintained. Dogmatic statements of what animals are or are not, can or cannot do, are of little value; as *e.g.* that 'brutes are mere bundles of associated sensations' (p. 60), or that 'duality in self-consciousness is absolutely missing in the sense consciousness of the highest animals' (p. 61). 'So far as can be scientifically ascertained,' the author adds; but there is and can be no scientific evidence that it is missing. Objectively there is little to distinguish men from animals; and Evolution is above all things an objective view of Nature.

The writer stakes the existence of the Christian Faith on the issue of his inquiry. There is 'trepidation at the possibilities of a shattered faith in the storm and tangle ahead.' And yet, on p. 70,

Digitized by Google

'a heart whose personal grasp of the truth of God is steadfast and unwavering' is a condition *sine qua non* of success. From so ambiguous a platform little can be expected but a mutilation of both Evolution and Christianity. The frank acceptance *e.g.* of myth, legend, and allegory in the Scripture records, while holding to their inward, mystical, spiritual truth, avails not. When the moral of the parable and the significance of the allegory are drawn out, Evolution proper will have none of them, and pays as little heed to the new ultimatum as to the old. Neither is Evolution a baby to be won by prattling in a baby dialect. Degenerations, arrested developments, excurrent stems, reversions to type, environments, cells, fissions, embryos, may run out at the mouth, but while the effect is to 'cumber religion with much biological rubbish,' it is not to convert Evolution into a friend. We will take, as our space allows, but one illustration. The doctrine of the Incarnation is directly at variance with scientific Evolution, and indirectly also, through the necessity of providing a theory for the Higher Criticism under which our Lord could be ignorant of it and yet Divine. Stress is laid on His perfect Human Nature, and, to our thinking, the Divine is obscured. *E.g.*:

'It is true that there was behind all this human weakness—at least at times, for the *consciousness of Deity was apparently an intermittent, or at least a variable, factor in His experience*—an occasional conviction that He might have drawn on infinite resources of succour and help had He chosen to do so' (p. 331).

The Godhead lies, then, in a kind of nebulous mist at the back of the conscious life, if persistent in being, not persistent in action or consciousness, a *verbum quiescens*. On p. 333 this *verbum quiescens* seems to have slipped away altogether.

'Just as we are told that the embryo recapitulates in the preliminary stages of the individual life the whole history of the race, so we may reverently say that in the stages of growth of the perfect life as seen in Jesus from the cradle to the cross, we see the pathway that would have been followed by the race if, instead of falling into sin, it had retained its innocence and gone on to perfection.'

In that case there would have been no Redemption needed; the Cross would not have appeared in the life, which is throughout conditioned by redemptive necessities. Again, the comparison of a whole human life to an embryo is bewildering. The true thought required for the analogy is that the embryo (we say it because we are forced) of our Lord recapitulated what, but for the Fall, would have been the history of mankind. It rose *i.e.* to the level of the first Adam, but *no higher*. The miracle of the Incarnation will then be that by the Divine interference an embryo, conceivable possible under certain antecedents, came into being although those antecedents were absent, and though other antecedents contradicting them at every point were present. Such a theory flies as straight in the face of every postulate of Evolution as in the face of Christian dogma. The Child conceived by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin

Digitized by Google

Mary is by Christian dogma the Word of God in Person, holy without qualification, and at an infinitely higher level than any race or creature. Even the childhood of our Lord manifests in its preliminary stages not the life of any unfallen Adam, but the life of God. He was born with the category of Godhead, just as we are born with and use from and before the moment of birth the categories of reason.

To deny the Divine Personality is of course no part of the kenoticist's programme; but he has two tendencies, one to reduce that Personality to a nebulous aura intermittently emerging in consciousness, the other to commingle it with a human personality; *e.g.* 'the Pre-existent Logos took shape in a human person' (p. 268); only 'the essence of the Personality was Divine' (p. 268); and 'a single personality neither wholly Divine nor wholly human' (p. 288, footnotes; quoted from Clarke) are phrases that indicate the thought.

All this appears to us to disturb points settled by the Church, and to throw the whole doctrine of the Incarnation open for fresh determination. There is a discussion on the 'Virgin Birth' on the lines laid down by Canon Gore; but such a passage as the following indicates another line of thought struggling for expression:

'The foreshadowings of the coming Redeemer in the Old Testament are a kind of embryonic Christ, heralding and giving pledge of what shall in the fulness of time appear in the Flesh. The very centuries were in travail with the Son of God, who was also the Son of Man, and when the period of gestation was complete the womb of Time brought forth "the Firstborn of every creature"' (p. 325).

There are not many steps from explaining the Virgin Birth as an accommodation to our understandings, to striking it out altogether. Faith in an embryonic Christ whose mother is Time is, however, not exactly a Christian creed. Neither will Christ immanent in creation satisfy Evolution if He also transcend creation. Evolution requires resident forces without sophistry. It is a working hypothesis which excludes God from consideration. God is a suspect to it—is the *deus ex machina* of the playwright. The Christian theory of grace tramples on this hypothesis at every turn. Not only is the Incarnation a new departure, but the energy of the Holy Spirit in regenerating, feeding, helping each believer individually, acts, as it were, on a system of new departures. There is no restoration and uplifting of the human race by a single act, so that a new human nature is constituted, which can become hereditary and enter into the continuous germplasm of the race. Rather while nature moves on to its dissolution by frost or fire, the force from above enters at right angles, and transfers individuals to the new body, which is of Christ, not Nature.

We are not, then, much in harmony with the trend of this book. It does not seem to us to be scientific or precise enough, but it fairly represents the present confusion of rational theology. It covers the whole ground, provides the reader with all the current words of Theism, and is written with an earnestness that gives some dignity and beauty to its style.

Digitized by Google

Remnancy, or Evolution's Missing Link. By E. W. BRAVEN. (London: A. H. Stockwell and Co., 1899.)

REMNANCY is the name of Adam's mother. Evolution has fathered and mothered a strange progeny. This is the strangest we have encountered. The writer's style is bewildering. The dignity of his subject impels him to poetry, now disguised to the eye as prose, now naked and unashamed.

'Then out of matter is the spirit evolved—though how these teachers do not say—and lo! they view the clay-formed creature thrust, by Evolution's ever upward trend, to life immortal! All the atoms work by earth impelled and earth's environment, to lofty doings and divinest thought!'

'Men have laboured to find it, and oftentimes think
They've alighted at last on the long-missing link
'Tween the monkey and man's elevation;
But of specimens none can the scientist show
To decide the descent of the human so low,
Through a mongrel commingled creation' (p. 10).

There are 243 pages that leave no doubt of the poet's stamina. Fiction also abounds. It flashes across the horizon like a train in Bradshaw that neither starts nor arrives but calls everywhere on the road. Just when a three-volume novel at least is in sight, it fizzles off in poetry or padding. Mr. Beaven is a staunch upholder of the literal text of Scripture. 'I write in defence of the Book of Books' (p. 1). 'By that proud sacrilegious invader called the Higher Criticism—the greatest apostasy of the age—the Bible is being terribly torn to pieces' (p. 2). On the other hand, he is a staunch evolutionist.

'Do I hear a doubting reader ask, regarding Evolution's methods here advanced, Where are thy proofs? Then I would first enquire, Who art thou, friend? What is thy creed? Dost thou belong to that fast-diminishing minority whose untutored minds must still uphold the instantaneous make of man? If so, I ask thee in return, "Where are thy proofs?" "Canst thou from Nature aught advance to prove this hurried mode? Or bringest thou the Bible text as evidence that thy belief is true? From neither source wilt thou adduce the proofs of hasty build"' (p. 65).

To combine the literal text of the Scriptures with the theory of Evolution requires some ingenuity. Our author's method is the imaginative reconstruction of environment coupled with a very determined precision in interpreting the letter. Days are days, but 'practically eternal' days, and if man was formed of the dust of the earth he was formed in the right evolutionary plan. Physically he is developed from a germ, but apes are not in the same line, are not even excurrent stems from his stock. With the physical there is also a psychical development, and even a moral one, such as animals may reach, 'for the moulding of man to a rational and spiritual character must be the special work of the Almighty Maker's hand' (p. 79). Remnancy is the last of this pre-Adamite human kind. Of her Adam was born by a Virgin Birth. Adam gave birth to Eve by 'fission.' The physiological process is described and accounted for. During it he

Digitized by Google

slept on a bed of boughs from the *Lac Vitæ* tree; he slept and dreamed a chapter or two; while he slept the baby Eve is born to him unconscious, and nourished for a while on the *Lac Vitæ* leaves. Remnancy, who, although she sang like a nightingale, could not talk, and was no companion for her son in his adult years, dwelt apart in a bower of her own, acting as a kind of nurse to the rare sick animals. Animal nature on the earth was gentle and good—there were death forces but no disease—only in the waters did the monsters teem, and an alligator ate Remnancy's father while bathing—on land all was harmony and love, and even Death was Sleep's own brother. Still there were accidents, and Remnancy was a great herbalist and bone-setter, her bower an Arcadian Jain hospital. Her favourite companion was a doe that had once been a fawn with a thorn in its foot. Adam, as we said, was sleeping and dreaming, baby Eve lying on the *Lac Vitæ* leaves by his side; to them enters Remnancy, carries off the child, gives her to the doe to suckle, rears her for twenty-five years, then brings her to Adam. Her rôle was then complete. The missing link disappears, to perish perhaps in the great catastrophe of nature that accompanied the Fall. The story of the Fall introduces a conception strange to Scripture, and not, we think, demanded by Evolution. Adam ate because Eve ate, being morally bound to cleave to his wife. A little novelette from another planet tells us how Daman and Veve in Vinarth had the same trial. Daman was angry with Veve for eating, repelled her, took out a writ of divorcement. He was left in the garden, but for his rigour was abandoned by God. He grew to great wisdom, became a scientific evolutionist, and finally on a careful analysis of the tree came to the conclusion that there was no poison in it, and ate deliberately. Thus he fell, and fell beyond redemption. Mr. Beaven is apparently not only a poet and a Bible Christian, but a teetotaller, a vegetarian, a millenarian, and many other things. All these isms come floating in on wings of rhyme and text and story. The book is a strange mixture. A farrago of nonsense and impiety? Well, yes. But there are grains of salt—so many grains of salt that—is it a skit, a parody, burlesque? If so, of whom, of what? Mr. Beaven wears the cap and bells, but yet has wisdom in his folly. If ever we lecture on Evolution in Hyde Park, we will think of Remnancy.

The Divinity of Our Lord Jesus Christ from Pascal. A Commentary by WILLIAM BULLEN MORRIS, of the Oratory. (London: Burns and Oates, Limited, 1898.)

THE real purpose of this book is to contrast the teaching of the master mind of a great thinker who was, by conviction, on the side of revelation with the new philosophy which parades its unbelief. We have one great fault to find with the author's presentation of the subject, viz. that we have too little of Pascal himself in his own words, a great deal about Pascal from one point of view, and far too much about other great thinkers, *e.g.* St. Augustine, Sir Isaac Newton, Lord Bacon, Kant, Hegel, Häckel, and others, which overshadows the real subject of this study. In fact, we have here a

Digitized by Google

commentary which overloads the text, and makes us long to be allowed to know what Pascal himself felt and taught. We do get some extracts from the *Pensées* and from other writings—*e.g.* 'the Mystery of Jesus' and his 'Prayer in Sickness'; but if we analyze the fourth chapter, that on 'Our Lord Jesus Christ,' the longest but one in the book (pp. 84–135), it will be seen that we are justified in making these strictures. Fourteen pages are introductory; then Pascal's views are stated (pp. 99–104); then follows a comment on his opinions; and the last sixteen pages are devoted to the discussion of other minds, including Cardinal Newman and St. Teresa, who have points in common with Pascal. The last chapter (ch. v.), on 'The New Unbelief,' is almost entirely occupied with the consideration of Kant, St. Augustine, and Mr. Gostwick's *German Culture and Christianity*, a book upon which Mr. Morris bestows high praise (pp. 166–173). Still we are grateful for the scraps of information which we can gather from this commentary on Pascal. For example, his system in leading men to belief in Jesus Christ is very clearly stated (pp. 14, 15):

'Starting with the idea of a Creator, and ever active Governor of the World, he comes to Christ as the centre and end of prophecy fulfilled, and the possessor of gifts exceeding even the imagination of man; and then he leaves the mind with one of two alternatives: to deny all, or to confess all.'

We are told also that 'it was Pascal's intention, interrupted by his death, to have put aside every other study and interest, that he might devote ten years to a work on Christian Evidences' (p. 7). The following extract from the *Pensées* contains a very striking thought: 'The Church has had as hard a task to prove that Jesus Christ was man against those who denied it, as to prove that He was God: appearances were as strong one way as the other' (pp. 113, 114); and we are delighted with this remark, viz. 'Pascal's principle that Jesus Christ is to us the centre of all truth in heaven and on the earth runs like a thread of gold through his speculations on everything in which the soul of man is concerned' (p. 104). But the importance of this book, in our opinion, lies in chapters ii. and iii., where Pascal's argument for belief in Jesus Christ from the history of the Jews and the prophecies is brought out. Pascal was no Jew-hater (p. 58), and he found in the fact that the Jews carefully preserved all through their history a Book which was in itself an abiding witness to their own unfaithfulness to God, a strong proof of the truth of that history upon which the Christian religion was built. Again, Pascal laid great weight upon the cumulative force of the prophecies (pp. 75–82), and found in them, as fulfilled in the Christian Church, 'the greatest of the evidences for Jesus Christ' (p. 70), in comparison with which our Lord's miracles were of little importance to after ages, though 'of primary importance' 'in His lifetime and in the first stage of the life of the Church' (p. 70). Both these classes of evidence have been taken too little account of in modern times. There are, however, a few things in this book which we regret, viz. (1) the unnecessary stigma which is inflicted

Digitized by Google

upon Protestant writers, while their evidence is largely employed; (2) the exaggeration of the value of the 'lay-intellect' because Pascal was a 'layman and no theologian,' and the assertion that in England 'the most popular, and perhaps the most authoritative, advocates and expounders of Christian truth' have been laymen (Preface, p. xv, and p. 45); (3) the attempt to drag in the cultus of the Blessed Virgin Mary (p. 94) into the discussion of Pascal's testimony to our Lord Jesus Christ; and (4) the foolish parade of a 'Parliament of the dead and gone,' all 'laymen,' in a chronological table, where the 'believers are set forth over against the 'unbelievers' (pp. 186–187). Such a list proves nothing of any value, because in the case of the believers the 'intellectual sovereigns' are selected from six centuries, while the unbelievers are confined to just over two hundred years. What we should like to have is a handy edition of Pascal's *Pensées*, with just enough editing to guide the reader in understanding the full force of his argument for belief in Jesus Christ; in the present volume we are told much about Pascal's method, but not enough about Pascal himself.

Short Studies on Vital Subjects. By the Rev. P. W. DE QUETTEVILLE, M.A. (London: Eliot Stock, 1898.)

IN the preface the author complains that in Christian teaching the dogmatic has been too often put first, whereas the ethical is of more importance. Accordingly in these studies he has attempted to eliminate the dogmatic altogether, and the result is that we have a series of addresses, often couched in tender and graceful language, but without anything which can be laid hold of and carried away. There is a kind of colourless mediocrity running through the whole series, even where the writer might have been definite and forcible. For example, No. X., 'The Sainted Dead,' is the kind of vapid commonplace which is often written by good people when they hear of a relative's death; No. XVII., which is a plea for the Sunday rest, would not have the least effect upon anybody who thought Sunday might be given up to recreation; there is no argument in the address, nothing to make one feel that Sunday observance is a witness both to our redemption by Christ Jesus and to our hope of everlasting life. And No. XXV., which is entitled 'The Good Soldier,' and is addressed to soldiers, if a trifle more vigorous than some, strikes us as too long and elaborate, but it certainly interested us in a way that none of the others did. Our chief complaint against Mr. de Quetteville's teaching is that he ignores the doctrinal side altogether. There are some fundamental truths which must be insisted upon, and without which Christain ethics are groundless; and we believe that Christian behaviour and Christian temper are encouraged, and certainly not hindered, by a strong insistence upon a definite belief in the Person of Christ, the Catholic Church, and sacramental grace. A colourless Christianity is never likely to convert the world.

Digitized by Google

Highways and Byways in Donegal and Antrim. By STEPHEN GWYNN, with illustrations by HUGH THOMSON. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1899.)

AUTHOR and illustrator have here combined to present us with a delightful book, the acquisition of which will never give a moment's discontent to the purchaser, unless it be at that difficult moment when he debates whether to bring with him so excellent a guide-book, or leave it unsoiled on his drawing-room bookshelves at home. We suppose all our English readers are by this time aware that Ireland is not dependent on Killarney for appearance, like a dandy who spends all his available money on one diamond ring. We are of opinion that it is rather on her coasts and cliffs that her most characteristic scenery is to be found. It is also by this time commonly known that the Irish people are, with all their defects, a good set-off to their land. But scarcely the most simple of tourists can expect to find much remaining of genuine Irish character among the Killarney guides and boatmen, who have for so many years been studying the weaknesses of strangers of all races that they have acquired a kind of cosmopolitan stamp themselves. Mr. Gwynn conducts his readers and followers through some of the best of those coasts and cliffs, so beautiful in themselves and so characteristic of Ireland; not all of them to be sure, for he does not touch the sheer black cliffs of Clare, nor yet those of North Mayo, lower in height, but full of beauty where, at Downpatrick Head and away towards the Stags of Broadhaven, you can row into those coloured sea caves, almost as beautiful as Capri, though in different tints, and see the seals swimming out under the boat. In respect of the study of Irish character too, Mr. Gwynn is truly an excellent guide. His own style, ever ready for pathos or for fun, but never for vulgarity, sets the mind in the proper attitude both for enjoying his own tour and attracting the ready sympathy of the native; and Mr. Thomson can make both pathos and fun to flow from his pencil as the brother artist sheds them from his pen. We fear that the episodes from the sad history of Ireland which are interwoven with the tour will hardly win an interest like that which the old castles and churches of England awaken. We do not realize the heroes well enough, nor are the remains so grand or beautiful as to awaken our sympathy. But nobody can be wearied with antiquarian details so sparingly imparted, and the English traveller learns that events of real human interest did actually take place on the ground where he treads. Sometimes they were not very creditable to his own race, and account for a good deal of the ill-feeling with which England in the abstract is regarded, and which contrasts so strongly with the good humour and kindliness which the Englishman and the Englishwoman will everywhere find.

A certain English lady was expatiating to a chance Irishman in a railway carriage upon the civility which she had met with in Ireland, and especially from the railway porters. The Hibernian replied that he didn't think they were anything particular. But he got out and sauntered along the platform at the next station asking the

Digitized by Google

porter each time he passed him, 'Porter, does this train go to Thurles?' The porter replied with decreasing politeness as the suspicion grew on him that he was being made game of; but the querist took his seat in the carriage and said to the lady, 'Suppose we try how your notion works,' and calling over the same porter he repeated the same question, and received for reply, 'Och, go to the divil!' So may the best deserved reputation of poor Paddy be sacrificed to the larks of a compatriot. But let us not be too hard on the joker; perhaps the good lady had displayed some air of patronage. Pat cannot stand that any more than John Bull can; but where the latter retorts by something cross, his neighbour 'takes a rise.'

But there is one form of patronage, and that the very worst, which Irish people will not openly resent, however they may draw it out by their inventions—that of careless giving, by which the Anglo-Saxon, and most of all the American, traveller has spoiled of their self-respect the poor of many a country. Mr. Gwynn makes a strong attempt to protect his beloved peasantry from an injury which we shall not call well meant, since it is inflicted by the self-indulgent for the sake of self-glorification. There are some parts of Ireland, in the south and among the western islands, where we fear the harm is done past recall. But the Donegal peasantry are not of these. They are not only apt to learn, but honestly willing to repay as they can monetary obligations when conferred by such good friends as those whose proceedings Mr. Gwynn describes, and it is a great pity that we should not be willing to give them the opportunity of doing something for us without payment. They will do it willingly, and the brother of low degree will rejoice in that he is exalted and the rich in that he is made low.

The tour begins at Ballyshannon, very near to Bundoran, the seaside resort for many counties and now better provided than before with hotel and lodging-house advantages. There may be enjoyed beautiful walks both in the country and along the coast towards Mullaghmore, where Lord Palmerston persuaded the Austrian pine to grow in the sandy soil, and the picturesque groups of kelp-burners may be seen extracting iodine—Mr. Gwynn tells a good story thereanent—and the artist may study the Atlantic rollers rushing on at the natural bridge. These waves are sometimes rude to bathers, and one day two girls saved themselves from being carried out to sea only by clinging to one another. 'Bedad,' said an old ecclesiastic, 'it's well naythe o' those girls was there alone, or they'd both have been drowned.'

The road from Donegal to Carrick was of course in its great features much the same as Mr. Gwynn describes when we traversed it more than thirty years ago; but bicycles were undreamt of, nor had the local railway reached so far. The hotel at Carrick was a very good place, but its primary object was that of a shooting lodge for the great Mr. Thomas Conolly, then lord of the whole country side, and we doubt not as willing as a good many other Irish landlords to be very kind to his tenants if improvidence on his

Digitized by Google

own part and that of his ancestors had left him the means. Slieve League we saw twice. It requires, as Mr. Gwynn well says, light to bring out its glories, and those who stand before it on a dull day with a tame sea must come back and see it when it can be seen. But what can be demanded of any scene or any being either in heaven or earth, but a power to respond to God's light with a thousand beauties of colour and form.

Glen Columbkille is at the very back of the world, but the painters had found it out even at the earlier period of which we speak. There were at that time but two beds for strangers in the Glen: one of them was engaged by a London artist, to whose accidental absence for the night we owed it that we had a bed at all. It was at Ardara that an excellent Belgian artist of our acquaintance used to fix his summer quarters. Mr. Gwynn does not mention the strange legend which Mr. Griffith—then parson of the district—recorded in the *Dublin University Magazine*, that the Pretender, in the period after Culloden, found a temporary hiding-place in this Irish glen.

The reader will be amused by the bouquet of Donegal stories, which bear the local stamp. It was from the same region that the old servitor came who exalted the intelligence of a terrier dog, who 'bore malice like a Christian.' But the difference between the matter-of-factness of the North and the piety and politeness of the South is marked by comparison of Mr. Gwynn's story of the parishioner who said that her pastor's wife was 'as or'nary lukkin' a wumman as iver A set eyes on,' and the estimate which an old cook made in our own hearing of the personal charms of her successor: 'She's a very ordinary person—glory be to Him that made her.'

The Gap of Barnesmore carries us over to the little town of Stranorlar, the original home, if we do not err, of the great orator Isaac Butt, the predecessor of Parnell, possessed of double his talents, but little of his perseverance or success. At least, we remember that in a speech delivered a few months before his death, he said that whenever he heard the verse 'My days are swifter than a post,' he could not help thinking of the little old pony that in his early days brought the post to the town of Stranorlar, and saying to himself that his days might be slow enough and still swifter than that. But the post in these days is swift enough, even in the most distant parts of Ireland. Concerning which we have a true story to tell, which illustrates the dove-like simplicity of the Irish peasant, on which whoever counts will some day experience a great surprise. An Irishman of no great social standing in his own town, obtained a contract from the Post Office to carry the mail by car to a place at some distance in the same county, and an old friend of his, whose bag he carried on a day's shooting, was curious to know how he had worked the business. 'The Lord is good to the struggling man,' said he. 'He is, Tim; but tell me how you did it.' 'Well, I'll tell your honour. When the notice came out for tindhers, I wrote to Post Office for a form to sind one in; and I said that as I

Digitized by Google

was a poor innicent boy, I might spoil one, and would they sind me two, and they did. An' I filled up one o' them for sixty-two pound, and posted it at the office where the people lived that had the conthract before. An' maybe I forgot to seal it. And I filled up the other for forty-two pound, and sealed it, and posted it meself in the other town. And the other people tindhered for fifty-two, but I got it for the forty-two, and, would you believe it, your honour? the first of my tindhers niver went in.' He is doing the work well, and some day will probably be a prosperous man.

But we are telling too many of our own tales. The reader will find many better than ours in Mr. Gwynn's attractive pages.

Horæ Synopticæ. Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem. By the Rev. Sir JOHN C. HAWKINS, Bart., M.A., Honorary Canon of St. Albans. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899.)

WE have to thank Sir John Hawkins for a book of great value. We have often expressed our opinion that the great need at the present time with regard to the criticism of both the Old and the New Testament is not to formulate theories but to collect and arrange facts. In contrast to most of the books and articles published in England bearing on what is called the 'synoptic problem,' the work now before us is devoted to the evidence on the subject with very slight reference to any theories which the facts he has collected may have led the writer to form. On this point Sir John Hawkins writes in his preface:

'The sub-title is "Contributions to the Study"—rather than to the solution—"of the Synoptic Problem," because I have only been trying to help in that preliminary process of collecting and sifting materials which must be carried much further than it has yet been before we can be ready for the solution of the problem—or, as I would rather express it, of such parts of it as are not now insoluble. For, while it seems to me on the one hand that there are some aspects of it as to which we are not likely to advance beyond statements of conflicting probabilities, unless there are some fresh discoveries of documents in Egypt or elsewhere, on the other hand I believe that not a few conclusions—and those of the most important kinds—are likely to be made so clear and so practically certain by the patient and careful investigations of the language of the Gospels which are now being carried on, that before very long they will meet with general acceptance.

'My object, then, has been to collect and to exhibit facts with as small an admixture of theory as possible' (pp. v–vi).

We confess to being less sanguine then Sir John Hawkins as to the probability of any sound conclusions being speedily reached. But it is right to thank him for the care with which he has, wherever possible, kept out even indications of a 'working hypothesis' or 'inferences,' and has 'suppressed, or at least reserved for another opportunity, some more detailed hypotheses and conjectures which' have 'occurred to' him or have 'been recalled to' him 'in the course of the preparation' of the present volume (*ibid.*).

Another valuable feature of the book is that the materials which it contains were compiled for the author's 'own use,' that is, they

Digitized by Google

are the results of genuine study undertaken for the purpose of investigating truth. The publication of them is due to the advice and encouragement of so competent a judge as Dr. Sanday; and Sir John Hawkins mentions that Dr. Sanday has 'read the proof-sheets of the book, and has made many helpful and valuable suggestions' (p. viii).

Horæ Synopticæ contains carefully arranged and accurate lists of the words and phrases of the synoptic Gospels and notes on their characteristic features. One of the most valuable sections is that entitled 'The Historic Present in Mark.' The lists given in this section extend over nearly six pages, and we may quote the statement which is prefixed to the lists as affording a good instance of Sir John Hawkins's method of summarizing results and the tentative way in which he suggests inferences in those cases in which he allows himself to refer to them.

'It will be seen,' he says, 'in the following lists that the "historic present" is very frequent in Mark's narrative, comparatively rare in Matthew's, and extremely rare in Luke's. This usage accounts for the numerous occurrences in Mark of λέγει instead of εἶπεν (since εἰπεῖν has no present in use), which constitute a large proportion of the cases in which Matthew and Luke agree against Mark.

'Now, if (as we see was probably the case in other matters) Matthew and Luke made this change of phraseology from Mark, they were only preferring a usual to an unusual mode of expression. For it appears from the LXX that the historic present was by no means common in Hellenistic Greek; if, for instance, we take the verbs which Mark most frequently uses in this way, viz. λέγει, λέγουσιν, and ἔρχεται, ἔρχονται, it will be found that they are thus used in this one short Gospel considerably more often than in the whole of the historical books of the Old Testament. The only books besides Mark in which this usage is common are Job in the O.T. and John in the N.T. But it occurs frequently in Josephus.

'In several cases the historic present gives to this Gospel something of the vividness produced in the parallel places of Matthew and Luke by the use of ἰδού, which is never employed by Mark in narrative' (pp. 113–4).

This book will be valued by students of the language of the Gospels as suggesting useful lines of investigation and as helping them to correct and supplement their own lists.

We are sure that Sir John Hawkins does not intend the slightest irreverence in referring to the Evangelists by their names without the prefix St. It is a practice which always jars on ourselves, and, we believe, on many others also.

Doctrine and Development. University Sermons. By HASTINGS RASHDALL, D.C.L., M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford, author of *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.* (London: Methuen and Co., 1898.)

THESE sermons are not unmarked by the ability and knowledge which may be expected in any work from Mr. Rashdall's pen. They show, moreover, a desire to make religion practical and to present what the writer thinks to be the Christian Faith in such a form that, under the conditions of modern life, it may appeal to the intellect.

Digitized by Google

Yet we are unable to commend the book. Its chief aim is a reconstruction of Christian theology which may treat as open questions matters on which the Universal Church is committed to definite belief. It is pervaded by confusions of thought and expression which are extraordinary in a writer of Mr. Rashdall's power and extend to the fundamental truths of the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and our Lord's Person and Natures. It is marred throughout by an insolent tone which suggests an explanation of some of its worst faults. Any influence which it may possess is likely to be of a harmful character.

The Passover of the New Covenant. A Theological Treatise by Professor Dr. WATTERICH. Translated by the Rev. T. ARCHIBALD S. WHITE, M.A., Chaplain of All Saints' Church, Baden-Baden. (Baden-Baden : Emil Sommermeyer, 1898.)

THIS is a translation of the strange but interesting and thoughtful book by the Old Catholic priest, Dr. Watterich, entitled *Das Passah des neuen Bundes.* In it Dr. Watterich traces at some length the preparation for the Eucharist which is recorded in the Old Testament; shows how the teaching and actions of our Lord's ministry led up to the institution of the Sacrament; and, putting aside both tradition and modern definitions, explains what he believes to be the Scriptural teaching on the Eucharist. We are not fond of books which attempt to discuss theology *de novo* and ignore the traditional teaching of historical Christianity; but we are bound to say that Dr. Watterich's work not only is an interesting Biblical study, but also contains valuable thought. His general position may be seen from the following quotations :—

'The new Paschal sacrifice must have Its Paschal sacrificial meal, and indeed It must, like the ancient one, have the Paschal Lamb Itself as the object of the food. The Crucified Himself must become a meal of sacrifice, meat and drink. Without Him as a meal the fulfilment of the ancient Passover is patchwork, a very sham; the truth is wanting to it. Without the sacrificial meal the sacrifice is aimless and without result. Not before the sacrificial meal is the sacrifice (of the cross) of advantage to those for whom It is offered. Not before the meal (of which the sacrifice Itself is the meat and drink) does the sacrifice become the property of those for whom It is designed. No full redemption without Jesus the Crucified, and Him as a meal of sacrifice' (pp. 44-5).

'Having regard to the (solid) form of bread more nearly resembling flesh, and to the (fluid) form of wine more nearly resembling blood,—Jesus could call His glorified corporeity present in bread by the name "Flesh," and the glorified corporeity present in the wine by the name "My Blood."[1] But the reason why He did it lay deeper. We have seen that Jesus rose glorified from the grave with His wound-prints. The retention of His wound-prints not only proves that He willed to wear them as the trophies of His conquering death; it proves more. It proves that He will continue His atoning work, His entry for us before the Father, in a living and continuous way. It proves that He will

[1] The first half of the sentence which precedes this quotation is not happily expressed in the translation. A careless reader might understand it to have exactly the opposite meaning from that which Dr. Watterich evidently intends.

Digitized by Google

always without wearying make it available and carry it through even for the deliverance of the last generation and the last individual man. It proves that, without hanging on the cross, He will remain the Crucified One even to the end, at every moment so truly and freshly working for us, outwardly and inwardly, corporeally and spiritually taking His stand on the lofty height of His atoning and loving obedience, as in the terrible hours of Gethsemane to Golgotha. . . . The Body with Its fresh wound-prints, as a sacrificial Body, is glorified and present. The whole eternally inseparable divinely human Person[1] of the Redeemer, on the never-more-to-be-abandoned cross's height of saving love, which glorifies the Father, is there!

'And the glorified Crucified One is not merely there as an offered, sacrificed Paschal Lamb, so that He would only be passively our redemption with the Father. But His passivity is, as on the cross, highest energy, and only by means of this extreme energy, this grand activity—our redemption. He is sacrifice and High Priest at the same time, and that particularly in His Presence in the Paschal meal. We should not represent the honour of His redemption rightly if we exalted merely the passive side of His sacrificial life, or exhibited it in any way as the only one. His sacrifice is at the same time itself a High priestly act, indeed only by means of this—a sacrifice. . . . No more and no where, either on earth or in heaven, is He present otherwise than as the "intercessor at all times acting for us"' (pp. 126-8).

The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper cleared from Certain Misconceptions. By JOHN JAMES STEWART PEROWNE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Worcester, Hon. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (London: Elliot Stock, 1898.)

THIS volume is practically a reprint of part of the Bishop of Worcester's primary visitation Charge. The object of it is to condemn the doctrines of the real objective presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Eucharist and the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The Bishop of Worcester describes his work in these terms:

'I have gone back to the simplicity of Holy Scripture, to primitive antiquity, to the writings of our great divines, to the teaching of our own Church. I have shown that the Tractarian doctrine of the Eucharist as held and taught by Dr. Pusey and his followers is novel, and can in no sense be termed Catholic. No doubt it leans towards Rome, though it is not Roman. But it starts from the same disregard of Holy Scripture as the Roman doctrine, and is tainted by the same rationalizing process' (Preface, pp. viii-ix).

The great argument of the book is that since the Eucharist is connected by our Lord Himself with His death, any idea of a presence of His risen, ascended, and glorified Body is absurd. This point the Bishop refers to again and again in apparent ignorance or forgetfulness that all theologians who believe in the Eucharistic presence of the risen, ascended, and glorified Body of Christ, regard the Eucharist as possessing its meaning because this glorified Body is that which has passed through death. This single fact carries with it the refutation of the book before us; and it is

[1] The phrase 'divinely human Person' is apparently intended to express an orthodox meaning. As a phrase, however, it is not satisfactory.

Digitized by Google

unnecessary that we should devote space to any of its details about Eucharistic doctrine or to its strangely unhistorical treatment of the subjects of evening Communions and fasting Communion. Only, we must express our surprise that even the Bishop of Worcester can have recourse to the hopelessly unsound argument that the fewness of the references to the Holy Eucharist in the Bible shows that

'Holy Scripture does *not* make the Holy Communion the centre and pivot of the Christian life' (p. 22).

The Constitutional Authority of Bishops in the Catholic Church. Illustrated by the history and Canon Law of the undivided Church from the Apostolic Age to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. By the Rev. A. THEODORE WIRGMAN, D.D., D.C.L. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans Green and Co., 1899.)

A FULLY accredited Roman Catholic writer, speaking of the authority of the Roman Pontiff, has said: 'Ad solum Romanum Pontificem, vi sui primatus spectat, concilia œcumenica cogere, iis præsidere, eaque confirmare.'[1] Dr. Wirgman's treatise will enable the reader to test the historical value of this assertion. There is also a special fitness in the appearance of the volume at the present time, when attention is being called to the constitutional action of English bishops; and although we cannot here go into the vexed question of the binding authority of the whole body of Canon Law, there will be no dispute that the period covered by Dr. Wirgman's inquiry throws much light upon the growth of episcopal jurisdiction in the undivided Church. And further, the book closely affects the procedure of ecclesiastical affairs in those parts of the Church which are less intimately associated with the State than the Mother Church in England.

Dr. Wirgman divides a learned and thorough historical survey, on which a long article might justly be written, into four parts. First he considers the development of constitutional episcopal authority in the Apostolic age, from the Scriptural standpoint that the threefold Apostolic ministry is of divine origin and authority, and is the appointed channel of sacramental life and grace, and that the Church came first and Christians afterwards. The first chapter is a satisfactory examination of the evidence of Holy Scripture upon the position of St. Peter among the Apostles. He was *primus inter pares* until his martyrdom, which Dr. Wirgman dates about A.D. 85, when St. John became the Primate Apostle 'by virtue of the pre-eminence accorded to him in the Gospels and Acts.' Dr. Wirgman therefore concludes that 'the principle of primatial order and authority is clearly traceable during the Apostolic age' (p. 40), and in a few notes at the end of the chapter some passages are quoted from other writers in illustration of this principle. In the Apostolic age the authority of the bishops was 'constitutionally limited by the principle of Primacy on the one hand, and by the central idea of

[1] Schouppe, *Elementa Theologiæ Dogmaticæ*, i. 191.

Digitized by Google

the unity of the whole body of the faithful on the other' (p. 53). The two chief witnesses of the sub-apostolic age are St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius. The Church followed the general lines of the civil divisions of the Empire, and organized centres of Church life followed from Apostolic missionary labours. In St. Clement's Epistle Dr. Wirgman sees an authoritative assertion of the true principle of Primacy and Church order, of which Vaticanism is the perversion and exaggeration (p. 62). He finds there, too, the power of ruling and ordaining, given to the highest order of the ministry, the principle of Apostolic succession, of development from above, and the first mention of the layman as such.[1] In Ignatius, passing by the abundant evidence of the plain facts of Apostolic succession and episcopacy in general, he finds that the bishop is not an absolute monarch; he does not administer discipline or give decisions without consulting his priests; he does not act in autocratic isolation. The priests, on the other hand, do not act apart from him, and can appeal to the universal Episcopate and to the whole Church against any misuse of his powers. In fine, the close of the sub-apostolic age exhibits the germ of later constitutional relations of the Church and her ministry. The notes at the end of this chapter contain a useful discussion of the legitimate primacy of the Roman See, and an excellent comment on the vagueness of Dr. Hort's view of the imperial unity of the Church, and the plain historical statement of Professor Ramsay (pp. 87, 94). In the first note (the type of the title of which is defective) Dr. Wirgman names certain collateral causes which contributed to the primacy of the Roman Church: the number of its clergy and people, its wealth and charity, the purity of its faith, its services to the whole Church as a centre of unity,[2] the imperial greatness of Rome as a centre of government, and the position of Rome as the one Apostolic see of the West.

The most difficult stage of the inquiry is the period between the sub-apostolic age and the Edict of Milan, the period of the *Ecclesia pressa*, a time of much disorder, of undue assertions of the legitimate primacy of Rome and of the unlawful exercise of individual episcopal authority; a time, too, of the exercise of patriarchal and metropolitical rights in the great sees of Christendom. Here Dr. Wirgman reviews the case of the heretic Marcion, the Paschal controversy, the action of Demetrius in the case of Origen, the interdependent relations of the patriarchal sees on various occasions, St. Cyprian's position in North Africa,[3] and the earliest Canon Law on the constitutional authority of bishops. The Episcopate appears as a great corporation in which each bishop is an individual share-

[1] On the right of the laity to assent in the election of bishops, see later, p. 142.

[2] Dr. Wirgman refers *principalitas* in the famous passage of St. Irenæus to the pre-eminence of the Church as a centre of unity, following Palmer rather than Father Puller (p. 90, cp. p. 113).

[3] There are 'three clear instances of St. Cyprian's action which show that he knew nothing of the claims of the Roman Patriarch to be the infallible autocrat of Christendom' (p. 163).

Digitized by Google

holder, whose actions are reviewed by metropolitical synod, by the consultative voice of his clergy and the assent of his laity.

The longest, though not the least familiar, stage of the inquiry is the last, from Milan to Chalcedon. We shall not traverse the details of this part of the ground. But we can quote a short passage which will show what conclusion Dr. Wirgman draws from the history, and we can say in general terms that the importance which he is inclined to assign to metropolitical dignity is at all events partly preserved from the danger of Popery by the number of Metropolitans which he contemplates. The responsibility of each bishop for all his actions, judicial and administrative, to the universal episcopate of the whole Church

'finds its due and orderly development in the principle of primacy in its regular gradations. . . . As the Diocesan Bishop rules, with the counsel of his priests and the assent of his laity, in his diocesan synod, so does the Metropolitan rule in his province. In cases of appeal the bishops of the province sit with the Metropolitan as judges and not merely as assessors. If an appeal should be made from the Metropolitan and his com-provincial bishops to the Patriarch, the same process is repeated. The chief bishops of the patriarchate aid him in deciding the appeal' (p. 285).

Sketches and Studies in South Africa. By W. J. KNOX LITTLE, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Worcester, Vicar of Hoar Cross. (London, 1899.)

It is difficult perhaps to do full justice to such a work as Canon Knox Little's *Sketches and Studies in South Africa* because of the glaring and very irritating faults by which it is disfigured. In the first place its author is utterly indifferent about the style of his compositions, and the reading of over three hundred pages of the baldest slip-slop becomes most tryingly wearisome. In the second place, Canon Knox Little is tautological in the highest degree, and not only repeats his thought, but his mode of expressing it, *usque ad nauseam*. Thirdly, the pages of the book are marred by the useless multitude of phrases and words which are inserted between inverted commas, although they are pointless as quotations, and the writer's meaning is not made a whit the more impressive by them. Fourthly, it is difficult to restrain a feeling of impatience at the elaborate assertion of platitudes, and the earnest insistence on the obvious, in which the writer indulges. The Canon holds too ostensibly a brief for Mr. Cecil Rhodes and against the President of the Transvaal, and he knows neither restraint nor measure in urging his opinions. Even those in fullest sympathy with him may question whether his hero is 'the greatest of Imperial statesmen' (p. 20), and whether the epithet 'unprogressive' need be applied interminably to the Boers. Among other blots we may notice a considerable amount of peevish padding, and not a little innuendo, which at times seems hardly worthy of the writer's position as a dignitary of the Anglican Church. It would be easy to give illustrations of these blemishes, which, although trifling when taken singly, in the mass tend largely to spoil the tone and character of the book. Many of them are in-

Digitized by Google

dications of culpable haste; others betoken a curious confusion of thought and a lack of that clear insight which enables a man to grasp things firmly. A brief quotation will afford an example of the Canon's manner.

'Whereas our Lord said He came "to send fire upon the earth," some of the Church's modern rulers seem to think that *their* vocation is to work the pumps of the fire engines. We felt this the more because the silly hubbub called the "crisis in the Church" was going on while we were in South Africa, and, viewing it from a distance, we realized its pettiness and unfortunate features' (p. 306).

We pass over the gibe at the episcopate, and the doubtful compliment to the Canon's friends, that their energies are being squandered over 'a silly hubbub,' and will only notice the advantage that 'distance' is implicitly asserted to enjoy in accurately 'realizing features,' as Canon Knox Little phrases it. Does he repudiate the well-worn adage, 'Cœlum non animum,' &c.? Would he seriously have his readers believe that a passing jaunt across the water to South Africa naturally or necessarily engenders that fuller detachment of mind and impartiality of judgment which will enable a keen adherent of either side to see things in truer perspective and proportion?

From the manner of these *Sketches and Studies* we turn to the consideration of their contents. The volume is divided into three parts, the first of which, entitled 'Narrative and Descriptive,' need not detain us long. Canon Knox Little shows no capacity for such definite description as places a country vividly before the eyes of his readers. His sketches lack individuality and originality. It is not a special note of South African scenery that 'the most striking effects of light and shade over mountain and sea are, perhaps, in the early morning or late evening' (p. 29). Nor do we find in the descriptions of either cities or provinces, or in the narrative of the writer's interview with Mr. Kruger and of the nature of the Transvaal Government, any addition to what all the world knew already. The two subsequent parts—termed respectively 'Historical' and 'General'—are devoted to a record of England's relations with the Cape Colony and the adjacent territories, of which they provide a fairly useful summary, but hardly a masterly one, based on a complete acquaintance with the best and most accessible authorities. In these divisions of his work Canon Knox Little's partisanship is displayed with so much intemperance as seriously to damage the cause he desires to further. He brings abundant evidence, as do all recent writers on colonial questions, of the great injury done to both Imperial and colonial interests by the want of a uniform colonial policy and by a government from Downing Street uninfluenced by adequate knowledge or by the mature opinion of able officials on the spot; and, despite all past mistakes, of the strong loyalty of the colonists to the mother country; and he strongly urges the confederation of the South African States under the suzerainty of England as the only remedy for the prevailing distrust and consequent delay in developing a land of great promise and vast possibilities.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº XCVIII. *JANUARY* 1900.

ART. I.—THE TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD:

AN EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH ORDINANCE. ITS DATE AND RELATION TO OTHER SIMILAR WRITINGS.

Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi nunc primum edidit, Latine reddidit, et illustravit IGNATIUS EPHRAEM II RAHMANI, Patriarcha Antiochenus Syrorum. (Moguntiæ sumptibus Francisci Kirchheim, 1899. Typis Guillelmi Drugulini Lipsiensis. Dedicated to Pope Leo XIII.)

PART I.

THIS remarkable book has now for the first time been presented in complete form to students of early Christian literature by the diligence and skill of the Uniate Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius Ephraem Rahmani. He would appear to be Patriarch of that branch of the Syrian Jacobites or Monophysites who have renounced their more or less formal heresy, and have allied themselves with the Papacy, while maintaining considerable practical independence. The book before us, which is a beautifully printed quarto volume, produced apparently at Leipsic and published at Mainz, is based upon a text found in a Syriac manuscript preserved in the metropolitan library at Mosul on the Tigris. The manuscript is of the middle of the seventeenth century, and contains in its earlier part all the books of the Syriac Bible, canonical and deutero-canonical, and in its latter part the *Syrian Octateuch*, which answers, roughly speaking, to the Greek work well known to all students as the *Apostolic*

Digitized by Google

Constitutions. Lagarde, who gave it the above title, also made known to a great extent the character of its contents, though he had, unfortunately, only a book of extracts to work with, which he found in a famous early manuscript (of the eighth century) at Paris, known as St. Germain 38.

The volume before us is in fact the first and second of the eight books of the *Syrian Octateuch*, which were, as a note at the end of the second book informs us, translated from the Greek into Syriac by the 'humble Jacob' in the year A.D. 687. This is no doubt the famous translator and commentator, Jacobus Edessenus, sometime Bishop of that city. It is to be noticed that Lagarde not only published extracts from these two books in Syriac (which Rahmani mentions, on p. xi, note), but that he also translated these extracts into Greek and published them in his *Reliquiæ iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimæ* in 1856[1] (a fact which Rahmani does not notice). He has therefore the credit of being the first to bring portions of the *Testament of our Lord* within the reach of ordinary Western scholars, and it is unfortunate that this credit is not given him in the book before us. Lagarde also translated, and inserted in his Preface, p. xvii, a note found in the St. Germain manuscript which showed the general character of the *Syrian Octateuch* and its component parts. The extracts translated into Greek contain the first thirteen chapters of the first book and half the fourteenth, and rather a larger amount of scattered passages from other parts of the two books. These extracts showed that the earlier part of the *Testament* was strongly apocalyptic in character, containing a description of the signs and circumstances of the approach of the end of the world, and especially of the coming of 'the son of perdition.' Other passages, evidently not continuous with the first, described some of the duties of the clergy, particularly of Deacons, and treated of the position of Christian Virgins. Others (from the second book) gave some information about Catechumens and their baptism, and rules for the behaviour of Christians invited to social festivities. But there was comparatively slight indication of the great liturgical interest of the book as we now know it. For some reason or other, the extractor had chosen passages which, from our point of view, are of comparatively minor importance; and this observation may give us a hint not to measure the value of other lost books by

[1] See pp. xvi–xviii and 80–89 of the *Reliquiæ*, a book printed at Vienna and sold by Teubner of Leipsic. A description of St. Germain 38 is given in Cureton's *Corpus Ignatianum*, pp. 341 *sqq.*

Digitized by Google

the extracts or fragments of them which have come down to us. The scribe of the St. Germain MS. has, however, summed up the contents more fully than the extracts would have enabled us to do.

We propose to give some account of the contents of the book in a second article; but it will be best, before doing so, to attempt to fix, as far as may be, its relative date and its affinities to other similar writings. These are discussed at length, and with no little skill, learning and lucidity, by the editor. We cannot, indeed, agree with him in his principal conclusion: namely, that the book is of the age of St. Irenæus or earlier, and is therefore anterior to the so-called *Canons of Hippolytus*, which are, according to Rahmani, supposed to be based upon it. But we recognize the services which he has rendered by his statement of the problem, and the illustrations which he has collected bearing upon it in his Prolegomena and Dissertations. Considering the inherent difficulties of the subject, and the command of languages which it requires, we are glad to congratulate the Church to which the Patriarch Rahmani belongs on the possession of so considerable a scholar. We note also with pleasure the useful *Index Analyticus*. An Index of Scripture passages ought to have been added.

If we judge by the general run of its contents, the *Testament of our Lord* belongs to the Ante-Nicene period of Christian literature, and it has certain very archaic features. According to its prescriptions, persecution is still a common incident of Christian life (cp. p. xlii). The *charismata* or spiritual gifts—healing, knowledge and tongues (i. 23, 29, 47) —are still in exercise. A proclamation in the Liturgy bids anyone who 'despises the Prophets' to withdraw (i. 23). Permission is given for the utterance of 'prophetic words' after the Presbyters have finished their daily Lauds (i. 32). 'Teachers' are spoken of in a way that may imply the existence of an order of specially gifted men (ii. 1, 4, 6). On the other hand, the three orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons are alone conferred with imposition of hands. The order of Readers comes next, according to ancient usage, then that of Subdeacons. Sometimes, indeed, the relation of the two offices is inverted; yet the position of the Subdeacon is clearly not fully developed. The ministry of women is divided into that of Presbyteresses, Widows, Virgins, and Deaconesses. The Presbyteresses are probably the chiefs of the Widows, who are ordered to be three in number, and are said to have precedence in sitting (i. 34; cp. Canon

Digitized by Google

Laod. 11). The Widows take rank after the Deacons and receive communion among the clergy, before the Readers, Subdeacons and possessors of *charismata* (i. 23, p. 47). They are publicly ordained with prayer (i. 41), but nothing is said as to laying on of hands on them; and it is to be presumed that in their case, as in that of the Readers, whom they immediately precede in the hierarchy, the recitation of the prayer over them was enough without such imposition (i. 45). 'Virgins' are professed celibates, both male and female; they have no ordination but receive communion among the laity after the old men (p. 47). This precedence applies apparently to both sexes of the Virgins. The Deaconesses have the lowest position, that before other women. There are several references to 'psallentes pueruli' (i. 26, ii. 11, 22), but those directly to older Psalmists are interpolations in the Copto-Arabic version (pp. 83, 107). No special Psalms are ordered as in the *Constitutions*. There is no mention of a class of Exorcists—though a good deal is said about exorcism of candidates for baptism—nor of Acolytes, nor of Evangelists, nor of Interpreters. Nor, again, is there any reference to Penitents or Solitaries; but high honour is given to celibacy, especially on the part of the clergy; and pressure is clearly intended to be put upon them to adopt that limitation of their usefulness. The 'Virgins,' as we have said, are male as well as female. They may make a vow at their Baptism. The Liturgy is to be celebrated on Saturdays as well as Sundays, and on the 'fast days,' which are not specified. The Sabbath is clearly more of a festival than a fast, one of the many indications that the book is of Eastern rather than Western origin. That this is not necessarily a mark of late date may be inferred from the statements of Tertullian, that some few in his day refused to kneel on the Saturday (*de oratione*, 23), and that the Montanists thought it wrong to fast on that day, as the Romans apparently did (*de jejuniis*, 14). The annual festivals, twice mentioned together, are Easter, Epiphany and Pentecost (i. 28 and 42), and in this order. It is implied that there is a fast of two days (only) before Easter (ii. 20; cp. 12).

The general conclusion from this internal evidence would seem to be in favour of a date about the middle of the third century. For notwithstanding some archaic features, which may point to the incorporation of earlier material, the mention of the festival of Epiphany seems decisive against an earlier date, and the rather frequent references to Subdeacons point in the same direction. Nor can we believe the pressure

Digitized by Google

in favour of clerical celibacy to be as early as the editor of this volume would make it. The mention of Presbyteresses is also very hard to reconcile with an early date. Hitherto we have not found them in documents certainly earlier than the *Apostolic Constitutions*, ii. 28, 57. The references in one manuscript of the Gnostic *Acts of Matthew* and in the Canon of Laodicea 11 are both probably later. Their history was prolonged to the tenth century, but it is not as yet possible to find a *terminus a quo*.

In assigning so early a date as about A.D. 250 to the *Testament* as a whole, we must not forget to notice that it has certain features which look later, such as the remarkable completeness of its rules, the elaborate description of a Church (i. 19), and the severe fasts imposed on the clergy (i. 22). But we are not inclined to follow Dr. Achelis[1] in his inference from this and other like evidence that the *Testament*, at the earliest, belongs to the fifth century. It may be possible that certain parts of it are as late as this, *i.e.* that they date from the time when the *Syrian Octateuch* was put together, but the general impression is that of an Ante-Nicene document.

Rahmani, as we have said, is desirous to put the book much earlier—not later, in fact, than the time of St. Irenæus, *circa* A.D. 180. This desire may be attributed partly to his natural tendency as a discoverer to exalt the value of what he has brought to light, partly to his dependence upon Roman Catholic rather than Protestant German inquirers into the date of the various specimens of this class of literature, partly, it may be, to his willingness to find early testimony to certain practices, views, or rules of the Roman Church (including that of clerical celibacy) which have hitherto been regarded as of later date.

In order to establish the early date of the *Testament*, Rahmani has to combat the date assigned to the *Canons of Hippolytus* by their editor, Dr. Achelis, and by many other scholars both on the Continent and in this country, namely the beginning of the third century, whether they are connected with Hippolytus himself, as by Achelis, or with the Church of Rome in the time of Pope Victor, as by others. The discussion on this subject is necessarily connected with another investigation, namely the relation of these two books to the

[1] Achelis' review is to be found in *Theol. L. Z.*, No. 26, for December 23, 1899, pp. 704-6. It is not as full or as interesting as might have been expected under the circumstances. But it is, of course, important from the writer's special knowledge of the subject. He believes the author of the *T. D.* to have used the *Apostolic Constitutions* as one of his sources.

Digitized by Google

parallel portion of what we may properly call the *Egyptian Heptateuch*,[1] a composite work in the same line as the *Syrian Octateuch* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. This work, of which the chapter headings were given by Wansleben, and the first full text by Tattam in 1848, has as its first book the little treatise generally known as *Apostolic Church Ordinances* (*Ap. K. O.* in German), which follows the *Testament of our Lord* in the *Syrian Octateuch*.[2] The middle part of the

[1] The present writer ventures to suggest this title, *Egyptian Heptateuch*, as a convenient description of the whole book, rather than *Egyptian Church Ordinances*, which is often given to it, since the latter title is liable to confusion with the *Apostolic Church Ordinances* which only form the first of its seven books. It may be convenient to the reader to be reminded that *Apostolic Church Ordinances* (*Ap. K. O.*) is the current name of the book, existing in Greek as well as in Coptic and Syriac, which begins 'Rejoice, O Sons and Daughters, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ (said) John and Matthew and Peter,' &c., and which consists of thirty short chapters, near the end of which is an anecdote of Martha and Mary related *à propos* of the question of the ministry of women. It has been edited in Greek first by Bickell, and then by Lagarde, Hilgenfeld, Krawutsky, Harnack, &c. The latter considers himself to have proved that it was compiled about the year A.D. 300, and probably in Egypt. It contains, however, some much more ancient material, *e.g.* in the section about the Reader. The second book of the *Egyptian Heptateuch* is closely parallel to the *Testamentum Domini*, and to the *Canons of Hippolytus*, but it does not contain the Apocalyptic portion with which the former opens, nor the description of a Church. The third is the treatise *Concerning Gifts and Ordinations* (of which the basis may be ascribed to Hippolytus) which is found in Greek as the first two chapters of the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and is printed in an amended text by Lagarde at the beginning of his *Reliquiæ iuris*. It answers to the fourth book of the *Syrian Octateuch*. The fourth, fifth and sixth books of the Egyptian collection answer respectively to *Ap. Const.* viii. 3-27, 28-46, and 32 (1-10), but with omissions and additions, and contain parallel matter to the *Testamentum Domini*. The seventh book contains the *Apostolic Canons*. There is a trace of an eightfold division in the headings of the books, which may either point to some loss of matter, or be merely an imitation of other collections. The Ethiopic collection must be very close in substance: see the list of chapters in Ludolf, *l. c.* pp. 305-13. It certainly deserves to be published. It is quite different from Platt's book, which represents *Ap. Const.* i.-iv.

[2] It is possible that the *Testament* may have been at one time the first part also of the *Egyptian* collection, and that it was omitted because of its likeness to the later books, and because its Liturgical portions were out of use or unfashionable. Rahmani tells us that a version of it exists both in a Coptic and Arabic form and in Ethiopic. It is contained in two Ethiopic manuscripts of the middle of the eighteenth century in our British Museum (Nos. 361 and 362 in Dr. Wright's Catalogue). A comparison of the chapter headings shows a different numeration, but a substantial identity of matter. We have to thank the Rev. G. Margoliouth for his help in comparing the ordination prayer of a Bishop with that in the Syriac Testament, and for other suggestions. Achelis points to a Syriac manuscript at Florence (described by Renaudot, *La perpétuité de la foi*, v. 573 foll.) as likely to prove important.

Digitized by Google

Egyptian Heptateuch (bks. ii. and iv.–vi.) is called by Rahmani and others, by a title which we may accept as convenient, *Ecclesiastical Canons*. Tattam's Coptic text unfortunately does not generally contain the prayers, which may be found, however, to a great extent in Ludolf's *Commentary on the History of Ethiopia*, which gives us an account of the closely similar Ethiopic collection; while others of them have recently been found in a Latin version by Dr. Edmund Hauler in a Verona manuscript, of which Rahmani gives a useful specimen.

In the discussion instituted by Rahmani of the rather intricate problem of the relations of this trio to one another, we cannot help observing an animus against Dr. Achelis, and even against Mr. Brightman, which naturally prejudices the reader against his argument. It is fair to both sides to give specimens of it. Thus on p. xxi, note, Rahmani accuses Achelis of following a mistake of Tattam's, who is said to have misread an Arabic word meaning 'sea-shore,' and to have confused it with another meaning 'sword.' And this error, it is implied, is heightened by Achelis's claim to have had the help of an Egyptologist (Professor Steindorff) in translating from Lagarde's edition. But since Tattam's translation is from the Coptic, with only occasional reference to the Arabic, and the Coptic word in question, *sefi*, means 'sword' and not 'sea-shore,' our impression is that the critic is more inaccurate than those whom he criticises.[1] So again on p. xxviii, the literal translation of the Coptic seems to be that of Tattam, 'the preparation *of the* Sabbath' and not 'the preparation *and the* Sabbath,' or 'Friday *and* Saturday,' as Rahmani wishes to render it.[2] But more serious is his misquotation of Harnack's *Geschichte der altchr. Literatur*, p. 643, to which he appeals (p. xix) as proving that the master does not acquiesce in his pupil's conclusion. The fact is that, while Harnack notices Funk's dissent, he apparently inclines strongly to Achelis's conclusion, and certainly expresses no opinion against it. His close of the discussion is as follows: 'If Achelis is right in concluding that the Arabic canons contain substantially Hippolytean

[1] Lagarde has the same word in a different dialect, *sefe*.

[2] Rahmani is, we presume, right in another observation (p. xxxvi), that the Latin version of the Arabic *Canons of Hippolytus* (presumably Haneberg's) in canon ii. § 7, on the ordination of a Bishop, ought to read 'on the Saturday' instead of 'in the week.' He does not, however, notice a real and serious slip of Achelis's in rendering Ludolf's parallel 'in die sabbati' by the strange equivalent 'am Sonntage,' which obscures a very remarkable point of connexion between the two documents. See below.

Digitized by Google

matter, which can still be separated (Funk decides quite otherwise, putting them later than the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The Preface speaks strongly in favour of their genuineness, both in itself and when compared with the Preface to the *Chronicle of Hippolytus*; see Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, 1892, p. 90), they are a main source both for our knowledge of Hippolytus and for that of the Roman Church of his time The animus against Brightman appears in a note on the same page xix and also (it would seem) in the note on p. xxv.

The relation of these obscure compilations to one another is no easy matter to ascertain or to explain. To speak of fixed dates in regard to them is perhaps generally misleading. We may indeed say pretty decidedly when the latest elements in some of them have been introduced; but books so obviously composite may contain matter, and indeed whole chapters and series of chapters, belonging to different centuries. It is to be noticed, however, in favour of the *Canons of Hippolytus*, that it is the only one which does not wear a suspicious apocryphal dress. The facts that it has been used as a storehouse of rules into which later prescriptions and phraseology have been here and there intruded, and that it is, in parts, out of order, does not affect the general impression of its relative antiquity, which a careful study of it in itself, and in relation to other similar writings, has left upon our minds. We are inclined to keep to the date assigned to it, the first decades of the third century, and to place the *Testament of our Lord* in its general substance next to it, but to regard the parallel matter of the *Egyptian Heptateuch* as an independent recension and working up of the same matter, which has occasionally retained features of these old rules and rites earlier than the *Testament*. The *Apostolic Constitutions* in its final form is a still later work, but there is nothing to prevent parts of it here and there from being older than the other two.

A very good passage for comparison is the important rite and prayer to be used at the ordination of a Bishop, which appears in some form in all our authorities, though the text of the prayer is not contained in two of the Egyptian documents. These authorities may be enumerated as follows:

1. *Canons of Hippolytus* (Achelis, p. 30 *sqq.*).
2. *Testamentum Domini* (Rahmani, i. 21, p. 29).
3. *Egyptian Heptateuch.*
   - A. Ludolf's *Comment. in Hist. Æth.* p. 323 *sqq.*
   - B. *Fragmenta Veronensia*, fol. 66, in Rahmani, p. xxiii.
   - C. Lagarde in Achelis, p. 39.
   - D. Tattam's *Egyptian Heptateuch*, ii. 31, p. 32.

   C. and D. are unfortunately without the text of the prayer.

Digitized by Google

4. *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 4; see Achelis, *l. c.*; and cp. *Egyptian Heptateuch*, iv. 65, p. 114 *sqq.* (without prayer).
A. *Constitutiones per Hippolytum*, ed. Lagarde.
B. Textus receptus.

It is to be observed that Rahmani, who makes a good deal of this rite and prayer, has not carried his examination of it into sufficient detail, and therefore fails to bring out the conclusions which naturally result from a comparison of these various forms. If he had printed them all in full, side by side, he could hardly have drawn the inferences he has done.

In the first place it is to be noticed that both *C. H.* (by which short title we indicate the *Canons of Hippolytus*) and Ludolf's Statute (which we will call 'Ludolf' for brevity) put the election and apparently the ordination of a Bishop on a Saturday. This is surely a note of antiquity. It appears that this was an old Roman custom. Even in the time of Leo the Great all ordinations took place on Saturday night or Sunday morning, and those of Presbyters and Deacons still remain on Saturday (see his letter to Dioscorus of Alexandria, *Ep.* ix. § 1).

C. H. again stand alone in ordering that 'one of the Bishops and Presbyters' should be chosen to lay his hands on the newly elected Bishop's head and pray over him. Ludolf's Statute makes *all* the Bishops pray over him. The *Constitutions* assign the duty to one of the chief Bishops and two others. The Verona Fragments, the Coptic canons and the *Testament* make two impositions, one of all the Bishops' hands, the other of a chosen Bishop who says the prayer. The mention of one Bishop doing the duty alone in *C. H.* is another point of contact with Rome, in which place it was the custom for the Pope to ordain alone to all three orders (see Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 348). The double rite of the Verona Fragments, the Coptic Canons and the *Testament* is apparently an adaptation of the early Roman rite to the requirements of countries having other rules and customs, by the simple and usual expedient of combination.

The phrase in *C. H.*, 'one of the Bishops and Presbyters,' is a very remarkable one, but it is in the same line with the other peculiar rule of that manual that the same prayer should be used for both orders with a simple change of title (*C. H.* iv. 30, 32, p. 61). This seems to take us back to a time when Bishops and Presbyters formed one order, as is implied indeed in the term 'Presidents' or 'Provosts' frequently found in early Church literature when the leading clergy are spoken of as a body. The *C. H.*, however, recognise elsewhere that a

Digitized by Google

Bishop alone has the power of ordaining (32). This rule must then be a way of saying briefly, 'The presiding body, the Bishops and Presbyters, are to elect one of their number, who must be a Bishop, to lay hands on the newly elected Bishop or Presbyter and to pray over him.'

This rule will naturally be compared with the Alexandrian custom described, though not with perfect fulness, by St. Jerome in his *Epistola ad Evangelum.* It also throws light upon the method of ordination *per saltum*—that is, by passing over one or more of what we consider the intermediate degrees or steps. This was forbidden in the East by the Council of Sardica, A.D. 343, but continued, at any rate in the Roman Church, to a very much later date. In our own communion use was made of the principle in the year 1610, to justify the consecration of an Archbishop and two Bishops for the Scottish Church who had been Presbyterian ministers, without previous Episcopal ordination to the Priesthood. Even in the present day, both in the Roman Church and our own, the theory is not uncommonly held that Episcopate and Presbyterate are only different degrees of the same order of the ministry—the 'sacerdotium' being common to both.

As to the prayer itself, the *Testament* agrees with the confessedly later form, that of the received text of the *Constitutions*, in prefixing a preamble of several lines, beginning 'Deus, qui omnia in virtute fecisti et firmasti,' &c. This is not found in *C. H.*, Ludolf, the Verona Fragments and the shorter form of the *Constitutions*, which begin 'O God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies,' &c. In this prayer, generally speaking, *C. H.* exhibit the shortest forms, and the *Testament* and the *Constitutions* the longest, the latter being naturally the most expanded and verbose of all. The relative antiquity of *C. H.* appears also in the absence of any term attributing 'priesthood' (*sacerdotium*) or 'high-priesthood' (*summum sacerdotium*, ἀρχιερατεύειν) to the Bishop or Presbyter to be ordained, terms which appear in some sort in all the other forms. The powers asked for him are threefold: (1) power to remit sins, (2) power to loose the bonds of evil spirits, and (3) power to heal disease. A certain hint of other sacerdotal functions is given in the *C. H.* in the petition, 'receive his prayers and offerings which he shall offer to thee by day and by night, and let them be to thee a sweet savour.' The other authorities use stronger and more explicit language on this point, and four of them apparently make a further reference to the power of ordination, which does not appear in *C. H.* These four are Ludolf, the Verona Fragments, and

Digitized by Google

the two forms of the *Constitutions*, so that in this point[1] at any rate the *Testament*, which does not contain this clause, stands nearer to *C. H.* than the others, though its language has been more elaborated and is more diffuse.

There is also a curious modification of the language about remitting sin and loosing the bonds of evil spirits, which refers in *C. H.* to two distinct powers. In the *Testament* the two become one: 'Grant him to have the Spirit endued with power to loose all bonds as thou didst permit to thine Apostles.' The language of the *C. H.* looks as if it were original, and that of the *Testament* bears marks of later editorship. The use of the term 'only-begotten' in the latter also appears to be a mark of later date.

This evidence seems, as far as this rite is concerned, to establish the priority of *C. H.* and to leave the *Testament* and *Ecclesiastical Canons* in the position of independent elaborations of the material contained in *C. H.*, or in some closely allied source. We believe that a similar minute examination of other passages would lead to a like conclusion.

We may conclude this part of our subject by some criticism of other arguments used by Rahmani to prove the priority of the *Testament*. See, especially, the section of his Prolegomena (pp. xxxv–xli) headed 'Perpenduntur Canones Hippolyti.'

The first point (p. xxxvii) touches the very remarkable rule of the *C. H.* (43), that a Confessor, who had actually stood before the tribunal (of the imperial magistrate) and had suffered punishment for his faith is *ipso facto* ordained to the presbyterate, and does not need the Bishop's ordination. 'His confession of faith is his ordination.' Rahmani describes this, which is a very downright and explicit assertion, as 'ambiguous,' and asserts that it needs explanation from the *Testament* (i. 39) and the *Ecclesiastical Canons* (34, Tattam, p. 36). This is one of the passages which show that he is unable to rid himself of the prepossessions of his training, and to conceive any idea except that of a sacramental admission to holy orders. The fact is that the *Testament* and the Egyptian Canons have very much the same rule as *C. H.*, though the language is somewhat softer and more ecclesiastical. They are in a very slight degree perhaps nearer to the rule which was naturally evolved in regard to Confessors: that they might be considered as probable candidates for the Presbyterate, but could not be admitted to it without actual

[1] The phrase is *διδόναι κλήρους* = 'dare sortes' (Veron.), apparently taken from Acts ii. 26.

Digitized by Google

ordination, and by no means as a right. The case of Aurelius and Celerinus, described in St. Cyprian's Epistles 38 and 39, is referred to by Rahmani, but is not exactly quoted or described—indeed, it is really misinterpreted. Cyprian treats their position as entirely one for himself to decide. As a matter of fact, he has appointed both of them Readers. He has determined to make them Presbyters some day, and therefore now they will have a Presbyter's share in the division of Church funds, and when they are older they will take their seat with the Bishop and Presbyters,[1] *i.e.* when they are ordained to higher office.

The *Apostolic Constitutions*, compiled when experience was still larger, treat Confessors even more coldly (viii. 23). Their position comes after that of Subdeacons. They have a recognized place in the Church, but receive no ordination. If it be necessary for any of them to become Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, they must be ordained. But if any Confessor claim such dignity without ordination as belonging to him on account of his Confession, he is to be deposed and excommunicated. There is still here an evident trace of the claim, but it is regarded as sacrilegious.

The rule of these older canons, which is illustrated by a passage of Tertullian (*Adv. Valentinianos*, 4), was proved by experience to be unwise, but that it existed is a circumstance of great interest and one not very difficult to explain. It was, we believe, based on the supposition that Martyrs and Confessors of the first rank were gifted with the spirit of prophecy. Our Lord had promised this to His disciples (St. Matt. x. 19, 20).[2] Now we know that in the early Church the Prophets had a Liturgical position side by side with the ordained and regular clergy, and followed them in uttering their own, apparently extempore, eucharistic thanksgivings (*Didaché*, x. 7, xv. 2). *Ipso facto* Ordination, then, stands in the same line as *ipso facto* Baptism; but while the latter theory held good, because it involved no practical inconvenience, the former was gradually abolished because of the manifold inconveniences and openings for fraud or pretentiousness or mistake which it involved. We have only to read St. Hippolytus's account of Callistus (whether it be fair or unfair to the particular person), and St. Cyprian's contro-

[1] Rahmani (p. xxxvii) ends his quotation at 'sessuri nobiscum,' omitting the qualifying and important words 'provectis et corroboratis annis suis.' This leads him to the erroneous statement, 'confessores . . . cum presbyteris ad latera episcopi consedisse.'

[2] Cp. St. Cyprian, *Epp.* 58, 5, and 81, and Archbishop Benson's *Cyprian*, pp. 495 *sqq.*, 504, &c.

Digitized by Google

versies with the Martyrs in regard to the lapsed and penitents, to realize how dangerous any exaggerated honour paid to Confessorship might become.

The position of the Reader is another interesting topic upon which considerable light is thrown by these allied documents. It appears at one time to have had a slight 'charismatic' colouring, though less than that of a Confessor, being connected in the oldest document in which it is mentioned (*Apostolic Church Ordinances*, 19) with the place and work of an Evangelist. It appears also, even in comparatively late rituals, as an elective office; and it may, at one time, have possessed considerable dignity. For it might claim the honour of being the only recognized office which our Lord filled in the days of His earthly ministration, unless that of Teacher or Rabbi were held to have been taken by Him in succession to it. In the Church reading of the Scriptures was a part from the first of public worship (1 Tim. iv. 13 &c.). In the document just quoted, the Reader or Anagnostes comes next in the hierarchy to the Presbyters. His office is especially connected even by St. Cyprian (*Epp.* 38, 39) with reading the Gospel, and considered as a step to the Presbyterate. In other early documents he seems to follow the Deacon, and this appears to be Tertullian's meaning, when he writes of heretical disorder, 'hodie diaconus qui cras lector' (*de præscr.* 41). In process of time, however, he sank in the scale, while the Subdeacon rose. Both the *C. H.* and the *Testament*, as well as the *Ecclesiastical Canons*, exhibit traces of this change, which we may attribute partly to retouching and rearrangement. As regards the priority of the three documents, there can be no doubt that the *C. H.* has the greatest appearance of maintaining the Reader in his ancient place, while the three references to the Subdeacon have much more the appearance of half-effectual interpolations (see *C. H.* 49, 52, 217). In the first there is an obscurity and incompleteness which is otherwise hard to account for; and in the third 'Subdeacons' seems an error for 'Deacons,' who ought to be mentioned according to the parallels (*Test.* i. 26; *Eg. Hept.* 60, p. 80). In the *C. H.* Readership is apparently considered as the first step to the regular ministry, and this seems the meaning of the rule (*C. H.* 48) 'neque manus ei imponatur *primo*,' at which Rahmani cavils, without quoting, as he should have done, Achelis's explanation. His appointment was by the delivery of the Gospel book, which was afterwards changed into the Acts (*Eg. Hept.* 35). Rahmani (p. xxxvii–viii) cavils at the

Digitized by Google

delivery of the Gospels, while the *Testament* (i. 45), like the shorter form of the *Constitutions*, only mentions 'a book.' But not only do Cyprian's letters, already twice quoted, refer to the reading of the Gospels as his special duty, but the prayer of appointment, which the *Testament* preserves, clearly implies it, beginning as it does 'Tu autem N. quem Christus vocavit ut sis minister verborum ipsius,' and it goes on to urge him to aspire to promotion to a higher degree of the ministry, thus explaining the 'primo' of *C. H.*

On the other hand, references to the Subdeacon are more frequent and more deeply rooted in the *Testament*[1] than in the *C. H.*, and we can hardly suppose them to be interpolations, though Rahmani suggests it as a way out of the difficulty (pp. 168-69). For the first regular appearance of Subdeacons in history is in the letters of St. Cyprian, and in that of St. Cornelius to Fabius in A.D. 251. The evidence, therefore, as far as it goes, is in favour of the priority of *C. H.*

C. H. 51 orders Virgins to receive imposition of hands. Rahmani says that this is 'clear evidence of a later date.' But the rule seems to stand alone. If we may trust Bingham (vii. 4, 6), consecration of Virgins in this manner is elsewhere unknown. It was no doubt a local or personal peculiarity that was not taken up elsewhere, and as such it may just as well be early as late.

C. H. 53–55 only mention the charisma of healing as a possible title to ordination. The *Testament* certainly has a much more archaic air in regard to this topic. It has four references[2] to such gifts, and it twice mentions the gifts of knowledge and of tongues in company with the gift of healing. It, however, treats those who have these gifts as not to be ordained, but to receive honour. The fact that the chapter containing this rule is omitted in the Copto-Arabic version of the *Testament* suggests that the Arabic version of the *C. H.* (which is our only authority) may also have been mutilated by the omission of the two other gifts when they had ceased to be expected. Certainly we have little evi-

[1] They may be found in Rahmani's edition, pp. 37, 47, 83, 87 (89 Copto-Arabic only), 105 (form of ordination) and 139. The form of appointment is rather vague and not that of an important officer. But Rahmani does not do it justice. Although it does not contain many points, it touches the Subdeacon's duties sufficiently by the words 'ministra . . . vive ascetice, inspice, ausculta,' which imply a religious life higher than that of ordinary men, and a ministry of overlooking and watching the conduct of others, of listening at the doors, &c.

[2] These are put together in Rahmani's Prolegomena, p. xlvii.

Digitized by Google

dence of the practical existence of the gift of tongues after St. Irenæus (*Hær.* v. 6), but a supposition concerning it might remain in any book when it had once been introduced, and this is what we suppose to have been the case in the *Testament*. Nevertheless the rather frequent references to the charismata in the *Testament*, already noticed, compared with their slight treatment in the *C. H.*, are an indication either of age or place which is not to be overlooked. There is some reason to think that the gift of tongues remained longer in Syria than at Rome and in Africa and Egypt. The evidence on this point will be referred to later on.

If Achelis is right, as seems to be probable, that the little treatise about the charismata at the beginning of the eighth book of *Apostolic Constitutions* (chaps. 1 and 2) is based upon a lost writing of Hippolytus, we can easily understand that a book on Church discipline and order emanating from him would tend to depress claimants of such gifts in favour of the regular hierarchy.

Similarly in *C. H.* 61 it is natural that such a writer should order a catechumen to be instructed by a deacon, and not by a 'teacher' as in the *Testament* (pp. 111, 117, 121). It is not clear to what order such a teacher would belong, but according to the general difference between the two books he may be concluded to be a person having the charisma of 'teaching.'

Canon 55 runs: 'Presbyter cuius uxor peperit ne segregetur.' Achelis considers this an interpolation. We do not perhaps know enough of the growth of sentiment repugnant to clerical marriage to be quite certain on this point. The brutal act of Novatus described by Cyprian (*Ep.* lii. 2) may have been due to a wish on his part to avoid censure or 'irregularity.' The rule of the Council of Elvira, Canon 33 (prob. A.D. 306), is, however, the first definitely known rule on this point.

Another marriage rule (*C. H.* 80) is as follows: 'Christianus qui vixerit cum concubina aliqua, quæ ex ipso peperit filium, si illa spreta aliam ducit, occisor est hominis, nisi in fornicatione illam deprehenderit.' This appears to be early rather than late, and to be agreeable to the policy of the Roman Church. Indeed Callistus went so far as to make such secondary connexions between a woman of position and one of her dependents an easy thing—a policy for which he was censured by Hippolytus (*Ref. Hær.* ix. 12, p. 291).

Rahmani calls attention to a discrepancy between the rules as to the reception of women after childbirth in *C. H.*

Digitized by Google

93–6 and 100. This merely shows that the book has been here and there interpolated, a necessary conclusion on the part of those who give the substance of it an early date.

The omission of the daily exorcism of the candidates for baptism in *C. H.* 102–5 is considered by Rahmani to be a sign of later date. Such exorcism is prescribed in the *Testament* (ii. 6) and the *Eccl. Canons* (45), and implied in later service-books (cp. Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 282 &c.); whereas in Tertullian's tract *De Baptismo* (c. 20) no reference is made to it in the description of the preparatory discipline. So far from daily exorcism being a sign of early date, it is probably the reverse. It is a mark of good sense in *C. H.* that to hear confession of sin is the chief duty imposed upon the Bishop in regard to the catechumen.

In *C. H.* 130 the omission of the clause about the 'Holy Church' in the Confession of Faith, made in the act of immersion, is striking. It is certainly an old clause (cp. Tert. *l.c.* 6), but it is hardly likely to have been part of the *most* ancient form of the Creed. Nor does it seem to have been said *at this moment* in the Church of Jerusalem (*S. Cyril. Cat.* xx. 4). We take this to be a sign of the antiquity of the *C. H.*

The *C. H.* 112[1] seems to imply that the water in baptism is to be consecrated, and this we know was a rite already in use in the time of Tertullian (*l.c.* 4) as well as of Cyprian (*Ep.* 70). The *Testament* (ii. 8, p. 127) gives no rule on the matter, and simply says that the waters must be 'clean and flowing.' So far the rule of the *Testament* seems to be older or to be compatible with a more primitive state of things, like that exhibited in the *Apology* of Justin Martyr.

The rules about fasting in *C. H.* are fairly complete. They mention Wednesday and Friday and the 'forty days' (154). This last is considered an interpolation by Achelis. The fast before Easter is to be observed during 'the week in which the Jews keep the Passover,' and the food suggested is bread, salt and water, *i.e.* no absolute fast is enjoined (195–97). Fasting is also a prelude to Holy Communion, both among the newly-baptized (150–53) and others (203). But inasmuch as the last canon runs, 'Let none of the faithful taste anything, unless he have first partaken of the sacred mysteries, especially in the time of the holy fast' (*i.e.* in Paschal Week), the rule seems not to have been very rigidly enforced. The *Testament* is more precise in implying a strict

[1] The words are: 'Prope fluctuantem aquam maris puram paratam sacram.' Mr. Burkitt acutely suggests that 'maris' is to be interpreted through the Arabic 'bahr' as river water, the Nile being so called.

Digitized by Google

fast on the two days before Easter-Day for the catechumens and the rest of the community (ii. 20), and it also lays down the duty and the merit of the fast before communion. But dispensation is given to a woman with child. Communion in itself is considered a protection against injury (ii. 25), a thought which is put more fully in the *Eccl. Canons*, § 58: 'If they are believers in it, if anyone hath given him receiving it deadly poison, it shall have no power over him.' The general tendency of the rules about fasting implies its connexion with the preparation of catechumens for baptism; and though the *Testament* does not mention a forty-days' *fast*, it describes the preparation as lasting for that period, which it calls the 'forty days of Passover' (ii. 8). The gain of insight into the origin of Lent is worth noticing (cp. Tertullian, *De Bapt.* 20); but we seem hardly to have material enough to claim priority for either document on this score. The *variations* in early fasting are referred to both by St. Irenæus (*ap.* Eus. *H. E.* v. 24, 12), and by Dionysius of Alexandria in his letter to Basilides.

There are other minor peculiarities in the rites of Baptism and Confirmation which are not very conclusive as to the relative antiquity of the two books, but are rather for than against the priority of *C. H.* Rahmani cavils at the rule bidding the Bishop himself communicate the newly-baptized (*C. H.* 146–7) in both kinds, inasmuch as it was the old custom for the Deacon to minister the chalice (p. xl). On the other hand, he disapproves of the rule (*C. H.* 215) which bids the Deacon take the Communion to a sick Presbyter, as contrary to the Nicene Canon 18. But it is natural that the newly-baptized should have Communion entirely from the Bishop, as a special privilege, just as he (in some places) kissed their feet. On the other hand, the Deacon's taking the Sacrament to an absent Presbyter is a mark of greater antiquity than *Test.* ii. 10: 'Diaconus ne præbeat communionem eucharisticam presbytero,' &c. In Justin, *Ap.* i. 65, the Deacons both administer to all present and carry to the absent. The blessing of vegetables, as well as fruits, in *C. H.* 194 is found fault with by Rahmani, but the fact that it is forbidden in *Test.* ii. 16 and the *Egyptian Heptateuch*, canon 54, implies that to do so was a known custom and very probably an old one.

The giving of milk and honey to the newly-baptized and confirmed is mentioned in *C. H.* 144, 148, and *Eg. Hept.* (Tattam, pp. 62, 64). This appears to be a Roman and Alexandrian custom; and the absence of the custom in the

Digitized by Google

Testament is a point not so much of date as a suggestion of locality. Rahmani (p. 221) shows by an apt quotation from Ephraem Syrus that it was (apparently) unknown in Syria; and therefore this would be a slight confirmation of the natural prepossession in favour of the origin or early use of our book in the country in which it was found. Something of the same kind may perhaps be said of the striking references to the gift of tongues as in continued use, which are (as we have seen) a peculiar feature of the *Testament*. That this was a possibility in Syria may be inferred from the very vivid story of the introduction of Ephraem Syrus to St. Basil, in which the former is stated to have claimed to have used the Greek language through the power of the Holy Ghost, while the latter, in ordaining him Deacon, was also suddenly gifted with a knowledge of Syriac.[1] That much stress was laid in some places on the gift of tongues as a divinely appointed help to the Apostles in their missionary work is clear from a curious passage in the Syriac *Teaching of the Apostles* which, as far as we know, was not current in any other country, though it may of course be also extant in other versions.[2]

The 'mystagogic instruction' addressed to the faithful is part of the *disciplina arcani* of which evident traces appear in the *Testament*, e.g. i. 18. The history of the introduction and character of this discipline shows its close connexion with the catechumen-system, and its rise and its fall with it. It extends from the early years of the third century into the sixth, and does not find so full a development as that which meets us in the *Testament* till the time of Origen. We find nothing of it in Justin Martyr. The first[3] indication of it is,

[1] See Dr. Payne Smith's interesting article 'Ephraim the Syrian' in *Dict. Chr. Biog.* ii. 138. Ephraem also wrote a discourse on the Coming of the Holy Ghost and the Gift of Tongues (*l.c.* p. 141).

[2] This little book was translated by Lagarde into Greek from the Syriac under the title Διδαχὴ Ἀδδαίου (no doubt a general title like that of 'Clementines' given to the Constitutions) in his *Reliquiæ iuris* &c. where it follows the extracts from the *Testament* as chap. xiii. (pp. 89–95). It may be found in an English dress in the *Ante-Nicene Chr. Library*, vol. xx. 'Syriac Documents,' pp. 35–49. The passage referred to is in Lagarde, pp. 89 *sqq.*, and *A.-N. C. L.* p. 37 *sqq.* In the *Teaching of Addæus* proper (*A.-N. C. L.* p. 15) there is a passage giving as one of the signs by which 'the Gospel winged its way through all the earth,' that 'those who were Hebrews, and knew only the language of the Hebrews in which they were born, lo! at this day are speaking in all languages in order that those who are afar off may hear and believe, even as those who are near.'

[3] An attempt has been made by Von Zezschwitz in his article *Arkan-Disciplin* in Herzog-Plitt *Encykl.* i. 643, to find some hint of it in Irenæus

Digitized by Google

as far as we can discover, in the prologue to St. Hippolytus's tract or homily *On Christ and Antichrist.* But the caution there recommended may be explained as natural in a treatise which speaks of the coming overthrow of the Roman power.[1] More distinct indications are given by Tertullian, who recognizes the distinction between 'fideles' and 'catechumeni,' and speaks of the 'fides silentii' to be observed by Christians as in accordance with the rule generally applied to mysteries.[2] But it is not till the teaching of Clement of Alexandria (a contemporary of Tertullian), and much more of his successor Origen, that we find the parallel of the mysteries worked out, and reticence presupposed as a common feature of Christian life towards the outer world. In Clement the tradition is that of unwritten teaching in thorough harmony with Scripture, and interpretation of Scripture, which is useful to the development of the true Gnostic (e.g. *Strom.* vi. 10, § 80–114). But the real development of the subject is to be found in Origen, who is the first who clearly marks off the catechumens into classes, and the first who in his sermons refers frequently to subjects to be explained only to the initiated.[3]

The middle of the third century is therefore the period to which we are naturally led as the probable epoch of the composition of the greater part of the *Testament of our Lord,* and the country which on the whole seems most probable is Syria, and perhaps Eastern rather than Western Syria.[4]

Hær. iii. 4, 1 and 3, but though his language in a later writer might be so interpreted, it seems here to have a simpler meaning.

[1] This passage of Hippolytus, as quoted by Mr. Keble, was a sort of text to Isaac Williams's two *Tracts for the Times*, Nos. 80 and 87, *On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge.* The explanation given here is that of Dr. Salmon in *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iii. 10, and is obviously right.

[2] *E.g.* Tert. *De Præscr. Hæret.* 41, of heretics: 'Imprimis quis Catechumenus quis Fidelis incertum est: pariter adeunt, pariter audiunt, pariter orant;' and *Ad Nationes*, i. 7, where he argues that it is unlikely any Christians can have betrayed their brethren to the heathen: 'Ab ipsis enim Christianis non opinor, cum vel ex forma ac lege omnium mysteriorum silentii fides debeatur: quanto magis talium, quæ prodita non evitarent humana animadversione præsentaneum supplicium.' The same phrases are repeated with amplification *Apol.* 7. See further in Bishop Kaye's *Tertullian*, 2nd edit. p. 249.

[3] See Von Zezschwitz in Herzog-Plitt, i. 639 *sqq.*, and in his interesting book, *System der Katechetik*, i. 108 foll. Leipzig, 1863, where a full discussion will be found.

[4] A good account of the contents and salient features of our book (omitting, however, the Apocalyptic part and the description of a Church) is given by Professor Collins in the *Guardian* of Dec. 6, p. 1723 *sqq.* Mr. Collins suggests Cilicia, or even Asia Minor, as the place of origin. He agrees with the view taken in this article that the substance of the book is of the third century.

Digitized by Google

Other indications in the same direction might be mentioned, but opportunity may be given for referring to them incidentally in the article which we propose to devote to the study of the contents of the book in the next number of this Review.

ART. II.—THE PRAYER BOOK AS A RULE OF LIFE.

1. *The Prayer Book and the Christian Life: or the Conception of the Christian Life implied in the Book of Common Prayer.* By the Rev. CHARLES C. TIFFANY, D.D., Archdeacon of New York. With an Introduction by the Right Rev. E. S. TALBOT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Rochester. (London, 1899.)
2. *Our Prayer Book: Conformity and Conscience.* By the Rev. W. PAGE ROBERTS, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Canterbury, Minister of St. Peter's, Vere Street, London. (London, 1899.)
3. *Prayer Book Commentaries.* The Order for Morning Prayer or Matins. The Order for Evening Prayer or Evensong. The Text, with brief Notes and Commentary and copious Scripture References. By the Rev. HENRY MOODY, Vicar of Welshampton, Salop. (London, 1898.)

THE study of the Prayer Book has been one of the marked features of the revived life of the Church of England in the last sixty years. There are signs of it on all sides, and we can hardly realize how short a space of time has elapsed since the book of good Mr. Wheatley formed the only liturgical addition even to the clergyman's library. To-day the children who prepare for the Oxford and Cambridge Local examinations, and for the specially religious examinations which are conducted for scholars, monitors, and pupil-teachers by the Diocesan Boards and kindred organizations, have better means of gaining sound knowledge of the history and contents of the Prayer Book than the clergy had at the beginning of this century. There are not wanting at least half a dozen excellent commentaries on the Prayer Book as a whole, or on special parts of it, which give the educated adult layman all the information that he can require for taking his part intelligently in public worship and possessing himself of the knowledge which a Churchman ought to acquire.[1] More

[1] We noticed a recently issued *History of the Prayer Book*, by the Rev. J. H. Maude, in Messrs. Rivington's series of 'Oxford Church Text-

Digitized by Google

advanced treatises exist and are still being multiplied for the student, and the clergy in increasing numbers digest this knowledge and impart it to their parishioners in sermons and other forms of instruction. No inconsiderable body of expert scholars is at the service of the Church of England, and from them when the need arises, as recently at Lambeth, vast stores of erudition are forthcoming. We regard this condition of things with deep thankfulness, though we do not forget the existence of very much which might be urged to tone down the description which we have given. Our thankfulness, however, is restrained by the reflection that this knowledge of the Prayer Book is not an end in itself. It is in the nature of seed sown, and the purpose of this article is to call attention to the moral and spiritual fruits which should grow in rich abundance from such a sowing. If we know the Prayer Book to any practical purpose, we know that it affords us rules of daily living and the general arrangement of our religious life, which give us steady and precious help. Other men have taught us and laboured to put before us the facts of the Prayer Book: it is our part to enter into their labours, that we may rejoice, so far as is possible in this world, in the joy of harvest and have a foretaste of the final harvest, which will only be fully ripened when time has lost itself in eternity.

Of the books which are before us, three are concerned chiefly with the sowing and one with the reaping process. We shall not occupy our space in much detailed consideration of them, because we want room for our main theme, that the Prayer Book is not only a book of worship—it is a rule of life. Mr. Moody's little commentaries are a good example of the Prayer Book literature of the times, and will be useful to all elementary teachers and to beginners in liturgical knowledge. The two volumes on Matins and Evensong have been made quite independent of each other, and consequently there is much matter common to both. Everything has been done to make popular use of the commentary an easy task. The text is printed at the top of the page; small figures refer to Bible texts in the margin, and by this means Mr. Moody shows at a glance that the Prayer Book is steeped in Scripture; small letters refer to explanatory notes beneath the text; and at the bottom of the page are given historical and expository notes of a more general kind. We thank Mr. Moody for the

books,' in our last number. Mr. J. Wickham Legg's *Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book Historically Considered*, containing papers by other writers as well as by Mr. Legg himself, is another recent publication by the same firm.

Digitized by Google

pains which he has taken to place the stores of costlier books within the reach of all in these cheap and convenient little handbooks.[1]

Canon Page Roberts also provides us with an illustration of the diffusion of Prayer Book knowledge and the desire to impart it. For ourselves we think, and make no secret of our thought, that the volume contains a large amount of very poor sorry latitudinarian stuff; and if we were reviewing the volume theologically we should be obliged to go into the details of that feature of the book upon such topics as the Christian ministry (pp. 27–8), confession (pp. 86–7), absolution (p. 102), the Christian use of the Psalms (p. 145), and the Creeds (p. 181). As we refer to the book for another purpose we will only express regret that a clergyman should be so ready to take exception to some parts of a book to which he committed himself at his ordination, in a way which seems to us to be truly lawless as well as unbecoming. We must add that there are passages in the book which wear an air of smartness that is happily alien from the customary atmosphere of the best Anglican pulpits. But Canon Roberts secures our goodwill for himself, as he says he desires to do, by his intention, however mistaken we may believe him to be in the means adopted to give effect to it. His aim was to keep within the Church some who were in danger of dropping out of it. To this end he preached a course of twenty-one sermons on the Prayer Book—or rather, with the exception of three general and introductory sermons, on Matins and the Litany—to his parishioners. He has published them with the same object, and quite understands that some will think that he desires to open the door of the Church too wide, while others may blame him because he does not open it wide enough. We should describe our own impression differently. If we could accept Canon Roberts's view of the Prayer Book we should be driven to the conclusion that many things of which the Prayer Book makes much, and which are inextricably bound up with its very life, are after all of only little consequence, and can be taken or left according to individual fancy. That is a grave conclusion theologically. But it does not affect the purpose for which we make use of the volume. We quote it as an instance of the natural tendency in the present day to explain and commend the Prayer Book to Churchmen at large, and Canon Roberts's latitudinarian tendencies rather add point to his book for the

[1] By a curious error the first line of the contents of the volume on Evensong is printed as 'Morning Prayer.'

Digitized by Google

purpose of this illustration. He desires to bring all within the influence of the system of the Prayer Book, and to achieve his end says practically, 'Take the book on your own terms.' To that we reply, 'Well, after all the Prayer Book is a sacred trust, and it is required of stewards to be found faithful. There are terms on which the adhesion of numbers is offered which cannot, as a High Example teaches us, be accepted.' [1]

Archdeacon Tiffany's work is more closely adapted to our purpose. The volume contains in substance the Bohlen Lectures delivered in Philadelphia in 1898. The Archdeacon's object was 'to indicate the conception of the Christian life which the Book of Common Prayer presupposes, elucidates, and strives to nurture.' The character of the life is deduced from the method of its nurture, and the author hopes that 'the largeness, healthfulness, and genuineness of the Christian life may in some measure be made clear by the practical comment of the Prayer Book upon it, and that the Prayer Book itself may be better appreciated and more diligently used as the fulness of its scope and the sanity of its method become apparent through the perception of its bearing upon life' (Pref. pp. v–vi). We consider that the author expounds this theme, on the whole, in an admirable manner. He opens with some introductory chapters on the unity of the various forms of Christian life which is presumed to underlie the outward differences by the very existence of a book of common prayer, on the assumption that prayer in the widest sense of the term is the root of the Christian life, and on the various aspects of that life presented by the Prayer Book. It is a life in which men are called upon to regard themselves as members of a family, which demands the full exercise of their intelligence and their reason, and involves that moral and spiritual surrender to the Lord Christ which is the way of salvation. Thus far the drift of the book is excellent, but the remainder is better. The Prayer Book shows us how the Christian life is begun, or nourished, or perfected by the systematic use of Holy Scripture, by the concentrated petitions of the Collects, by the sacramental channels of Baptism, Confirmation, and the Holy Communion, by the relation of the clergy to the lay members of Christ's body in the ministry of instruction or of consolation. With the exception of some inadequate passages, on a few such points as the doctrine of priestly absolution, Dr. Tiffany's comments on these great matters are very valuable expositions of the true relation of Prayer Book

[1] St. Matt. iv. 9.

Digitized by Google

worship to daily life. We heartily endorse the experienced judgment which led to the publication of this work in England, and are convinced that the episcopal commendation in which it is introduced to the English public is well deserved. We are told that Mr. John Murray 'formed a high opinion of the value of the book' and 'wished to give it an opportunity with English readers.' The Bishop of Rochester in a brief introduction has helped the publisher in this work, and says

'I am sure that in the main and in its substance what is here written is loyal, reverent, and thorough. I believe that the effect of it will be to make the use of the Prayer Book by one who already uses it more intelligent and more hearty, while some perhaps may, through God's blessing, be brought by it to recognize the power and beauty of the Church's order, and, still more, in the author's own admirable words, the "largeness, healthfulness, and genuineness of that Christian life" to which her services give ordered and traditional, but living, expression' (Introd. pp. 1, 3–4).

If we have said enough to send our readers to Dr. Tiffany's pages, we may turn to our own object, and endeavour to encourage Churchmen to look more deliberately upon the Prayer Book as a rule of life. Mr. Keble used to speak of 'The Church and her services as a preparation for eternity;' and if they are so, as we have been taught to believe, and as we have tested by personal experience, it is because they enable a man to fashion his time of probation according to God's will, to know that will, and to do it. The late Dean Butler's whole life was a conspicuous illustration of the power of the Prayer Book in the daily round of a strenuous man. The knowledge of the contents of the Prayer Book, and intellectual assent to her injunctions, do not necessarily lead to practical action. And as examples of the truth of that obvious remark we may mention the two points of Friday and the daily services of Matins and Evensong. We hardly know which is the more disgraceful of two patent facts in the existing practice of English Churchmen, the enormous proportion—do we overstate the case when we say the majority?—of parishes in which the incumbent for one miserable excuse or another neglects to say the two daily offices publicly in the parish church,[1] and the non-observance

[1] We have before us a Bishop's Visitation Charge of 1895, from which we learn that in 86 per cent. of the parish churches of the diocese the two daily offices are not said; in 84 per cent. not even one daily office is said. In the same diocese in 1898 the Bishop noticed a considerable improvement, but still found 60 per cent. of the parish churches closed from Sunday to Sunday. We cannot help thinking that Dr. Liddon's excellent remarks on the duty of obeying the rubrics which give direc-

Digitized by Google

of Friday in any genuine sense as a day of fasting or abstinence on the part of the general body of the so-called faithful. Yet the Prayer Book rule on these two points is clear and is well known. There may be many reasons why the clergy and the laity so largely fail in loyal obedience in such matters as these, and with most of those reasons we are not now concerned. But one of them seems to us to be that we are not yet wholly awake to the fact that the Prayer Book is a rule of daily life as well as a book of Sunday worship. The little box in our pews in which our fathers locked away the Prayer Books as volumes for which there would be no use until the following Sunday has perhaps gone out of fashion. But the mental attitude which underlay that parental complacency has not by any means passed away. We should be glad to accelerate its departure.

The Christian life begins with baptism, and the Baptismal services are a wonderful treasury of instruction upon the nature of the Christian life and the society in which it is passed, together with sufficient indication of the natural condition of man as we now know it to account for the need of a new birth. The Christian life—as the Baptismal Service in conformity with the third chapter of St. John, and the teaching of St. Paul and St. Peter, makes very clear—is the life of Christ Himself in us, communicated to us by the regenerating action of the Holy Ghost by means of the water of baptism. The life of the Christian man is the formation of the life of Christ in his daily life, the formation moreover of the heavenly life of Christ, not as He was on earth, but as He now is in eternal glory; for as He is, so are we in this world. This life is represented as a voyage in the ark of salvation in the

tions about the daily office would have been much more widely effectual if they had not been accompanied by the recommendation of a mode of 'meditation' which is only suitable for certain kinds of dispositions. See the opening essay in *Clerical Life and Work* (Longmans, 1894), pp. 1–20. Mr. Maude, in his little *History of the Prayer Book*, speaks plainly, we are glad to see, on this duty (p. 76). The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge issues *A Plain Tract on the Blessings of the Daily Services of Matins and Evensong* (No. 2336). The clergy as a rule are not backward in explaining the Prayer Book to their people. We may mention *The Daily Service in Country Parishes*, a sermon issued in pamphlet form by the Rev. H. E. Olivier, M.A. (Mowbray); *Plain Sermons on Matins and Evensong* delivered to a country congregation by the Rev. C. L. B. Elliott (Mowbray); and *These Holy Mysteries*, a useful course of addresses upon the history and meaning of the Christian Liturgy, more particularly with regard to the use of the Church of England, by the Rev. C. Clementson, M.A. (Rivingtons). Mr. Olivier refers to the great sermon of Newman on 'The Daily Service' in *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, iii. 301.

Digitized by Google

company of the family of God, as a journey on the free side of the Red Sea with those who have been redeemed from the bondage of sin, as a condition of filial relationship to God on the part of those who have been blessed in the arms of Jesus and become the heirs in Christ of eternal life. It is a life of daily renunciation, faith, and obedience; it is a burial and a resurrection; it is the death of sin and the growth of holiness; it is a victory and a dedication; it is a mystic washing and a military enlistment; it is a nomination and a reception into Christ's flock; it is the beginning of a life which demands perseverance and progress, which requires nurture and care. In fact, in bestowing the gift of Baptism the Church abundantly indicates the daily mode of life which is at once the result and the protection of the gift.[1]

As the Baptismal Service closes, a glorious glimpse of the development of the Christian life is vouchsafed for the benefit of the regenerate man. He is reminded that the Christian profession is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ and to be made like unto Him. What does this not include, and what grace does it not need? What time short of a lifetime is sufficient to learn what this means? A dissenter, as a working man once most truly said, may be made in a moment, but it takes a lifetime to be a Churchman.

The process of learning is to begin at once. The Baptismal services are followed by 'A Catechism, that is to say, an instruction to be learned of every person, before he be brought to the bishop to be confirmed by him.'[2] Baptism is the Sacrament of illumination, and the baptized man is to learn the nature of the obligations and blessings of the Christian covenant, as they are comprised under the great heads of faith, duty, grace, prayer, Bible, and Sacraments. This is the daily round of the state of salvation, in which he is to walk unto his life's end. His life on earth may be a long one, but he will never be able to say that he has exhausted that conception of the Christian life as a following in

[1] Mr. Stone's excellent volume on *Holy Baptism* in 'The Oxford Library of Practical Theology' leaves but little to be desired in bringing out the practical import of the Prayer Book and Bible doctrine of the regenerate life. See the *Church Quarterly Review*, No. xcvi. p. 465. As bearing upon Regeneration we may quote St. Clement of Alexandria, who says that we are begotten 'of the womb of water' (*Strom.* iv. 25). Tertullian ascribes a conception to the baptismal water, and calls the heathens' waters 'aquæ viduæ' (*De Bapt.* 4, 5). Compare the use of the terms God*fathers* and God*mothers*.

[2] A line of Shakespeare illustrates the title: 'I will catechize the world for him; that is, make questions, and by them answer' (*Othello*, act iii. sc. iv.).

Digitized by Google

the steps of Christ and being made like unto Him. His life may, and will, be different from that of every other baptized man, and may strikingly exhibit the variety and the pathos of human life, but he will never find himself outside the reach of those grand old summaries of duty to God and man which have played no small part in making England a great nation, and the Church of England the strong bond between faith and reason and practical moral life, the world over. The multiplication of small books of devotion with various forms of self-examination has drawn attention too much aside from the great value of the Catechism, in its explanation of the Ten Commandments, for purposes of self-examination and instruction in morals. Just when the Christian feels his own helplessness in the midst of his growing knowledge of spiritual wonders, or when he begins to experience within himself the development of physical gifts which tend to overmaster the higher aspirations of his being, his spiritual Mother provides him with Divine strength, with a public renewal of his recognition in the spiritual kingdom, by anointing Him with the confirming gift of the Holy Ghost, and ordaining him with the royal privileges of the lay priesthood. The late Bishop of Bloemfontein, one of those high souls whom the Divine favour has removed from evils to come, once observed to the present writer that the popular teaching of the English Church does not inculcate as it should a habit of continual reliance upon the Confirmation gift throughout the whole of life. According to the Prayer Book the strengthening gift of the Holy Ghost is an abiding possession of the Christian, confirming him in his stand against sin, illuminating him in his contemplation of the mysteries of the Faith, and guiding him in the path of daily duty.

And how marvellously well does the Church enable her children to learn that daily lesson of following Christ by the arrangement of the Christian year, and by the annual perusal of the Gospel story! That yearly time of preparation for His coming, the observance of the birthday of the Incarnate Lord, the memorials of His infancy and childhood, the manifestations of His glory, His sufferings and death, His burial and the exercise of His redemptive functions in Paradise, His resurrection, His ascension, His present reign of glory and intercession—what a mode is this of saying to the Christian, 'This, my son, is the road which leads to eternal life. Walk in it'! The use of Holy Scripture emphasizes this injunction, and puts the Gospel before the Christian in its true place. The Old Testament, the preparation for the Gospel, is read

Digitized by Google

once through in the course of the year. The New Testament beseemingly is read twice, reiterating in our ears the facts of the Gospel itself in its fourfold record, the extension of the kingdom in which that Gospel is enshrined, the explanation of the Gospel in its apostolic applications to daily life, and the final end of the Gospel in the closing book of Revelation. Year by year the Church reads the whole Divine message to her children which is summed up in the Creed, and teaches the Christian to say, 'I come from God, I belong to God, I shall go to God.' What sect is there that teaches the Gospel of Christ to its adherents in this full way, declaring the whole counsel of God, that comes within any reasonable distance of the practice of this sacerdotal, sacramental, priest-ridden old Church of England, as they call it? What sect, we do not say puts the facts of the Gospel in the Bible order before its followers, but puts them wholly before them at all in any order you please? And if it be granted that every incident in the Saviour's life is worthy of the adoring contemplation of His disciples, why in the name of common sense should not those facts be arranged in the order of the New Testament, as the Church of England does in her arrangement of the Christian year? And as to the use of Holy Scripture, what sect is there that reads in its meetings for public worship so much as half or a quarter, not to say a seventh of the amount which the Church reads in her daily lessons to her children, without reckoning the daily use of the Psalms with their historical, messianic, moral and mystical teaching, the second repetition of many striking chapters of the Old Testament in the Sunday morning lessons, and the third repetition of the chief portions of the Gospel and the Epistles in the Communion Service? Until there is some approach to the Church's standard in the public use of Scripture, and some effort to carry out in public worship the Bible standard of 'daily shall He be praised,' would it not be well for the sects to boast a little less about the regard that they pay to the Bible, as contrasted with the Church of England? Meanwhile the Churchman has a daily rule of Scripture reading ready to his hand provided by his spiritual Mother's fidelity and wisdom, and if he cannot go to daily services he can do his work or lie on his sick bed and read at morning and at night the same words as are read in the house of God. We may add a word of regret that there seems to be a growing tendency to read the lessons from the Revised Version instead of from the version of 1611.

Christ is followed by the Christian, and the Gospel includes the Church. It is called by its Founder the Gospel of the

Digitized by Google

Kingdom. And the member of the Church has daily needs which are met by the Church's arrangement of fast days and Saints' days. This wise provision lies far deeper than a mere answer to the emotions of sorrow and of joy. It is, providentially as we believe, designed to meet the profound hunger of human nature for mastery over evil and communion with the holy. Unwillingness to recognize the need of fast days is fundamentally connected with a Pelagian reluctance to acknowledge the fact of the Fall, with a Socinian view of the Atonement, and with low views of the mystical crucifixion of the Christian with Christ. The fast days honestly face the true facts of man's fallen state. They recognize that his life is a warfare, that he must keep his body under and bring it into subjection, that it must be his slave if he is to be Christ's free man. Each Friday as it comes round reminds him of an atoning sacrifice by which he is delivered from the burden of his past sins, each Saturday of Christ's mystic grave, and each Sunday of the possibility of a new beginning risen with Christ. The Saints' days are his occasions of unspeakable encouragement and hope. He is a member of the blessed family of all faithful people, and he knows that with the holy it is possible also for him to grow in holiness. In the Prayer Book kalendar men and women of all classes who have lived as we live are proposed to us to-day for our imitation that we may follow them as they followed Christ. And on the Saints' days we pierce at least some way into the world beyond the fact of death, into the rest of Paradise and the joy of heaven. They are days of contemplation and enjoyment leading us to meditate upon the great doctrines of the disembodied state, the resurrection of the body, and everlasting life.

But not only in a general way does the Church meet the sad and glad periods of human life. She is with her children in their daily and individual joys and sorrows. When the activity of the Church in the plantations and colonies of the British Empire, and in missions to the heathen, leads many adults to seek for admission into God's covenant of grace, a special service of baptism for such as are of riper years is provided to meet the need. She solemnizes matrimony, and speaks plainly, as every true mother should, about the mysteries of life and the causes for which matrimony was ordained. She takes a high and a strict line, a Scriptural line, upon the indissolubility of the marriage bond, and in her marriage service she stands forth serenely beautiful and makes her protest on behalf of pure married love in days of divorce

Digitized by Google

and every other form of foul licence.[1] When the young mother is delivered in the great danger of childbirth, the Church receives her and speaks in tones which harmonize with her deepest feelings of wonder and of joy. When the man is sick, the Church visits him, interprets the Divine visitation to him, absolves him from his sins in language of unmistakable sacerdotalism,[2] and feeds him with food convenient for his last journey.[3] When he dies, she delivers his body over to the Lord in a service of universally acknowledged beauty, which is a privilege confined to the members of Christ alone, which she forbids to be used at the burial of the unregenerate, the excommunicated person, or the suicide, and which has comforted many generations of mourners.[4] She provides for those of her sons who are at sea, and is so ready to adapt herself to the spirit of the times and the needs of the hour that from time to time she composes services—such as the services for the Accession Day of the Sovereign, for Gunpowder Treason, for King Charles's Martyrdom, for the Restoration of the Royal Family—which seem too strongly marked with the immediate occasion of their origin for long-continued use. The cumbrous prayers which are sometimes issued by authority on special occasions tend to obscure this comprehensive adaptability of the Prayer Book. The most recent instance of the two prayers for use in the Boer war hardly justifies the practice, for the Prayer Book already contained a prayer (of 1552) for use 'in the time of war and tumults,' and the very beautiful 'prayer that may be said after any of the former.' So desirous is she that her children may never lack the comfort of pastoral

[1] Our own pages supply abundant materials for the study of these grave questions. We may refer to the *Church Quarterly Review*, Nos. 23, 32, 38, and 47, and more recently to the numbers for April 1895, January 1896, and April 1899 (p. 167).

[2] Articles on Sacerdotalism appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Nos. 1 and 94.

[3] On the way in which the sick are to be admonished the Visitation Office may be compared with St. Gregory's *Pastoral Rule*, iii. 12.

[4]
> 'Many precious rites
> And customs of our rural ancestry
> Are gone, or stealing from us; this, I hope,
> Will last for ever'

(Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, ii.) Note, too, Thackeray's thrilling words on the Burial Service in *The Newcomes*, chap. lv., and Tennyson's early lines on 'hopeful grief' in *Supposed Confessions of a Second-rate Sensitive Mind*. On difficulties connected with the use of the Burial Service see Pusey's *Spiritual Letters*, p. 278, and on excessive lamentation see Hooker, *Ecc. Pol.* iv. 6, 3. Heylin deals with 'decent burial' in his *Life of St. George*, pt. ii. chap. vi. sect. 7, and chap. v. sect. 1.

Digitized by Google

assistance in these and other ways, that she expressly provides in the Ordinal for the continuation of the Apostolic ministry which Christ Himself commissioned. The Ordinal, we may fairly say, 'speaks for itself,' but experience shows that it is necessary to repeat over and over again that the Prayer Book and Articles regard an Apostolic ministry as an essential part of the organization of the Church.[1]

All this motherly love and invitation to her children to listen to her daily voice is gathered up by the Church in her central service of the Holy Communion. Her whole system gathers round the final command of her Lord, and she is careful to prepare her children for the sacred rite. The Litany, among other aspects of it, is a penitential preparation for the Holy Communion, in which the needs of all, absent as well as present, are remembered before God. It is her regular form of penitential devotion, in which the misery of sin is presented in its true light, and the solemnity of the Divine requirements finds its fitting expression. It is therefore to be compared with the special penitential exercise of the Commination Service, with its stern language about the curse of sin, with the ever-returning severity of the Psalms which the Church uses in a mystical sense and with strict propriety, and with the most necessary reminder of the Athanasian Creed that Jesus is the only Saviour of men. She will draw her children round her at the foot of the cross when she is about to call upon them to associate themselves with her ascended Lord in the intercessory work of showing His death, and then to hold communion with Him. Abasement, awe, and mutual love are the notes which she encourages in her children. She has led them to the font; she instructs them from the lectern and the pulpit; she leads them on through the gate of Confirmation to the altar step, and from there they pass to rest in Paradise and triumph in heaven.

Now what we want is to see professing and nominal Churchmen, and some loud talkers who are very anxious to make other people obey the law of the Prayer Book which they themselves do not mean to touch with their little fingers, take up this system of the Church as the rule of their daily life. If they are Churchmen, let them put the Prayer Book into practice and give it a fair trial, and see whether the system of so following Christ does not tend to make them like unto Him. There are many men who profess and call themselves Churchmen who have as much reason to say that

[1] Dr. Pusey gives some very valuable advice to candidates who are reading for Holy Orders in his *Spiritual Letters*, p. 281.

Digitized by Google

they have walked round the world as that they have made the system of the Prayer Book their rule of daily life. To go to church on a Sunday evening, or even on a Sunday morning, does not give the system a chance in a man's life at all. Such a man knows nothing of the power of the Prayer Book over his daily life, and he has no right to say that the system is dull or mechanical until he has honestly thrown himself into it. It was once our privilege to prepare a railway official, who held one of the higher posts on his line, for Confirmation. He had been a Nonconformist and had tried several denominations; he had been, as he said, 'nothing'; he had even attempted to clothe his spiritual helplessness and hunger in a popular term by calling himself an Agnostic. He was brought—externally by domestic affliction, internally by the guidance which is for ever described in St. Augustine's Confessions—to think that he would try the Church. The full system of the Prayer Book was put before him, and he recognized that it involved a great moral surrender. Very slowly he made up his mind. The intellect, a quick one, yielded first and enjoyed the revelation; the emotions, softened by the trouble to which we have alluded, moved more slowly; and the will did not act for a still longer time. But when the decision was made it was made fully. 'If I take up with this thing I will go through with it,' was the spirit of the man. He went very steadily and faithfully through the Christian year as a child might go, holding his father's hand. He was confirmed in Advent and made his first Communion, and spent a happier Christmas than he had ever known. He kept Lent for the first time in his life, and in Easter week he spoke of his own experience in very earnest but humble tones: 'I never spent such an uncomfortable Good Friday, or felt so much ashamed of myself before; but then I never felt anything like the happiness as I came down from the altar on Easter Day, and knew that I was on the winning side.' The fact was, he had honestly put his Master's words to the proof and had not found them wanting. 'If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of Myself.'[1] Our friend had heard a higher voice and he had followed it. He can say of his life now, after a lapse of many years since he found his true home, what Sydney Carton said at the close of *A Tale of Two Cities*: 'I am doing a far better thing than I have ever done, and I am going to a far, far

[1] St. John vii. 17.

Digitized by Google

better rest than I have ever known.' That is also the experience of every one who makes a thorough surrender of his life to God after the manner of the Book of Common Prayer.[1]

ART. III.—PROFESSOR GARDNER ON THE BASIS AND ORIGIN OF CHRISTIAN BELIEF.

Exploratio Evangelica. A brief Examination of the Basis and Origin of Christian Belief. By PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. (London, 1899.)

PROFESSOR GARDNER has produced a startling book. His aim, he is at some pains to say, has been primarily neither 'constructive' nor 'destructive,' but 'rather critical' (pp. v, 519). He has tried to present, not an 'exposition of a ready-made creed,' or an 'attempt to fix some new scheme of doctrine,' but 'an *exploratio*,' 'a psychologic and historic investigation of the origins of Christianity, partly with a view to the possibilities of belief among the new surroundings of our times' (p. vi).

Yet, while destruction has not been his object, Professor Gardner, as he himself admits, has found his task to have been 'occasionally' 'of a destructive character' (p. 519). Many of his readers will doubt whether he uses the word 'occasionally' rightly. For, indeed, there is very little of the Christian faith, as it is ordinarily understood, which survives what he considers to be the requirements of modern philosophy, criticism, and science. The virgin-birth of our Lord, many of the events of His life recorded in the Gospels, His resurrection and ascension, and His true and personal deity disappear in the process of criticism described as *Exploratio Evangelica*. It is not that Professor Gardner delights in overthrowing orthodox beliefs or takes pleasure in under-

[1] It is hardly less than a duty to refer to the spirit of affectionate love for the Prayer Book services which pervades Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*. See especially part iii., *Sonnets* xix.–xxxi. They were written in the first quarter of this century, a fact which reminds us, as does the great French court-martial, that Truth moves slowly to her throne. It would be difficult to mention a better illustration of the deep concern of the Prayer Book in the daily lives of the people than Crabbe's *Poems*, especially the three parts of 'The Parish Register' on Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, and some of the 'letters' in 'The Borough.' Crabbe ought to be better known, and we regret that we did not mention him in our article on 'A Parson Poet' (*Church Quarterly Review*, No. 48).

Digitized by Google

mining Christian faith. His work is marked throughout by the serious temper and earnest tone of one who desires simply to know and state the truth. But it is none the less the case that the result of his criticism of Christianity is the destruction of the religion which is the inheritance of the Church.

Professor Gardner says also that his 'task has been occasionally of a constructive character' (p. 519); and it is fair to state at once that, if he pulls down much, he endeavours to build up as well. It is surprising in some parts of his book to find how much religious belief or practice he is prepared to retain, on what he must permit us to call subjective grounds, when he has destroyed the authority on which it is generally supposed to rest. The work exhibits from beginning to end the influence of the philosophy of Kant; and the contrast between its destructive and constructive parts is sometimes almost as strongly marked as that between the speculative and the practical reason in the system of the German philosopher.

On its constructive or conservative side Professor Gardner's book is pervaded by a most fascinating idea. There must be few who are altogether insensible to the charm of the thought of a religious system in which belief and practice are in harmony with the philosophy and science of the day, so that no vestige of a conflict can remain between the claims of theology and the demands of reason. There is no less attraction in the conception of a religion which is independent of any results of critical investigation and historical research. If a close harmony with philosophy and science suggests an uneasy fear that, after all, there may be mistaken theories in either of these spheres, there is a sense of security about a system which is unaffected by any kind of criticism, and does not depend on historical facts. Professor Gardner's book is full of the spirit of the age. He readily accepts modern methods. He welcomes the 'severer tests' to which documents are now put, the application of the 'profound idea of evolution' to history as well as biology, and the lessening of 'bias' which he finds in the writings of our own time (pp. 1–2). And while, in his opinion, these modern methods throw new light on documents and discredit events which have long passed for actual facts, he contends that the spiritual realities which the soul needs have lost none of their truth or value because the old setting of them is gone. The accounts of our Lord's life which are given in the Synoptic Gospels may be largely untrustworthy; the discourses in the Fourth Gospel may represent neither the language nor the thought of Him

Digitized by Google

to Whom they are ascribed; yet the 'Christian teaching' which 'can no longer rest mainly on the events of the life of Jesus Christ' can now 'rest on the experience' of Christians (p. 142). It may be impossible for a 'critic in our day' to 'accept the doctrine of the miraculous birth' of our Lord; he may still acknowledge that 'the will of Jesus was in perfect harmony with that of the Father in heaven' and recognize that this 'would at once constitute an Incarnation,' since we can 'see' in it 'the divine will acting under human conditions, and yet remaining divine.' It may be that this 'sinlessness' and 'perfect obedience to the will of God' which is itself an Incarnation 'cannot be based on historic testimony'; yet 'it is a thesis, not of the understanding, but of the will and the heart' (pp. 396–97). The 'evangelical accounts of the death of the Master' may be of 'doubtful historical value' (p. 399), and the 'theories of Paul,' no less than those of 'Augustine' and 'Luther' and 'the other great teachers in the Church,' may 'no doubt contain some illusion'; yet 'the affirmation of the Atonement goes far beyond the mere fact of history, into the realm of ideas,' and 'it does not even seem necessary to receiving the benefit of the Atonement that a man should connect it with the historical death of Christ' (pp. 405–6). It may be that 'the accounts of the appearance of the Holy Spirit in visible form are not historically convincing'; yet, 'if we give them up, we do not therewith give up our belief in the working of the Spirit of God in the human heart and mind and conscience' (p. 422). It may be an entire mistake that 'Jesus intended to institute a Lord's Supper' (p. 461); yet 'the Communion' may remain as a 'practice' of 'enormous value' (p. 459). We have called the idea which pervades all this fascinating. Many of the readers of Professor Gardner's book may remember dreams of their own of a religion which could not be touched by evidence or the want of it, and would therefore be secure whatever might be the truth as to many matters of fact. Some of them may remember also the awakening from the dream when they realized that they could not thus lightly dismiss questions which must be faced.

It is only in dreamland that we can picture indifference to matters of fact as a part of a true religion. In our waking moments we know that particular facts must have occurred or not occurred, that particular statements are true or untrue, and that it must make a difference which alternative is the right one. No view of man's nature which ignores his intellect is complete. No religion which does not make provision

Digitized by Google

for the demands of intellect can be satisfactory. No system which is independent of historical facts can meet intellectual needs. In the nature of the case it must make a difference whether God did or did not choose Israel as His own people to receive His revelation and know His will and become the instrument of redemption; whether the miracles recorded in the Old Testament did or did not happen; whether the eternal Son of God was or was not actually incarnate in the Child of Mary; whether the miracles recounted in the Gospels and the Acts were literal events or are to be denied or explained away. An attempt to construct a religion which can leave all such matters as open questions is simply the taking of a short cut which is hopelessly unphilosophical and unscientific. It is true that a student of religion, as of any other subject, must often suspend his judgment. There are parts of Holy Scripture about which the theologian may rightly say that more interpretations or explanations than one may, at least tentatively, be held to be possible. There are periods of history and isolated events more than one view of which the historian may rightly allow. But it is one thing to say that on certain matters the judgment may be held in suspense, and another thing to contend that the truth about them is unimportant; one thing to allow that differences as to the details of certain facts will only modify details of belief, another thing to argue that the Christian religion can remain without the historical Christian facts.

Professor Gardner in three separate places—on his title-page, in his preface, and in the first chapter of the book—quotes the striking sentence in which Amiel declared that 'the demand of our age is the transference of Christianity from the domain of history to the domain of psychology';[1] looks forward to the progress and completion of the process by which 'we are learning' that 'history' 'is a branch of science, and faith is based less on history than on experience'; and is confident that while 'the winter of modern criticism strips the leaves from the fair tree of Christian doctrine,' 'it does not kill the tree itself' (p. 11). In his judgment, this transference to psychology makes past events comparatively unimportant, and affords a possibility of believing Christian doctrine without accepting the truth of Christian history. Now, as we have shown, we cannot assent to the general position which the quotation from Amiel brilliantly sums

[1] 'Le déplacement du christianisme de la région historique dans la région psychologique est le vœu de notre époque,' quoted from Amiel, *Journal Intime*, ii. 43.

Digitized by Google

up. But we are by no means sure that, if the consideration of Christianity were limited, for the time being, to the domain of psychology, the result would be that which is set forth in Professor Gardner's very able book. There are facts of psychology as well as facts of history, postulates of mind as well as statements of historians. These facts and postulates are found, as Professor Gardner points out, in experience. What does the human mind demand? Is it not true that the demand in religion is, practically universally, for a basis of historical events? Is it not true that Christian consciousness has, with no less practical universality, based its beliefs on history? If psychology is to be the judge, is there not something to be said for an opinion that psychology would reject any religion which is not based on historical events, any form of Christianity which could do without the historic Christian facts? This, indeed, is a perilous and speculative ground, on which we do not care to follow Professor Gardner, and on which, since it appears to us to involve a position altogether false, we feel no obligation to go. Only, it is well to point out that, if the tendencies of human thought are to be appealed to at all, the tendency to assume that doctrine must rest on fact cannot be ignored.

A very serious fault in *Exploratio Evangelica* is the limitation of the period from which the author collects his evidence on the historical aspect of Christianity to the century which followed the year 25 A.D., and the slight attention paid to the evidence outside the New Testament even within that period. There cannot be any scientific study of the Christian religion which ignores the Church. It is impossible to form a right view of the Old Testament apart from the New Testament. The true value of the various steps in a process can only be estimated when the result is seen. It is the attainment of the end which shows the utility of the means. The New Testament supplies the test of the worth of the anticipations which the Old Testament contains, and shows what it is that the Old Testament really means. In a somewhat similar way, the possibility of gaining a right view of the New Testament depends, to a very large extent, on due consideration being given to the Christian Church. It can hardly be denied that the New Testament is one part of the expression of the Church's life. Professor Gardner himself quotes the concise statement of the Bishop of Durham that 'the Gospels were the results and not the foundation of the apostolic preaching' (p. 171).[1] Being a part of the

[1] Quoted from Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 154.

Digitized by Google

expression of the Church's life, the New Testament cannot be rightly viewed except in the setting which the life supplies. The events, again, which the New Testament records form the foundation upon which the Church rests. To investigate their historical character rightly, or to appreciate their due significance, is possible only when their results are taken into account. Moreover, the Christian tradition has its weight with regard to facts as well as to doctrine. On all these grounds, to isolate the New Testament, or to consider it in relation to one century only, is to leave out of sight a large part of the evidence which a really scientific inquiry must keep in view.

Let us illustrate what we mean by instances of events which orthodox Christians believe to have occurred and Professor Gardner supposes to have never happened. Two instances of crucial importance are those of the birth from a virgin and the bodily resurrection of our Lord. Professor Gardner denies the truth of both. Of the belief in our Lord's birth from a virgin he says:

'This particular view is absolutely doomed by the progress of historic research. It is like a spar which has been riddled with shot, and the wisest as well as the most honest plan is to try to rid the ship of its weight' (p. 247).

Of the bodily resurrection he says:

'The tale of the physical resurrection of Jesus belongs evidently to the same circle of thought as that of the miraculous birth. This tale also shows a love of the marvellous, is deeply tinged with materialism, and rests on a historical substruction which falls to pieces on a careful examination' (p. 255).

'The materialist circumstances of the tale of the resurrection are now an impediment rather than a help to faith. And it is a question whether, in mere deference to authority, we need continue to carry round our necks this weight of dead science and unhistoric theory' (p. 262).

We are prepared, later on, to give the reasons for our conviction that Professor Gardner's treatment of the New Testament accounts of these two events is critically unsound. Our present point is that an important element in the consideration of the events is the belief of the Church. Putting aside the New Testament for the moment, there is no solid ground for doubting that the belief in the birth of our Lord from a virgin goes back to the earliest witnesses as part of the Christian faith. When St. Ignatius, at the beginning of the second century, is describing the wonders of salvation which God prepared in silence and then made the subjects of Christian preaching, he mentions 'the virginity of Mary and

Digitized by Google

her child-bearing'; [1] when the same writer is emphasizing the reality of our Lord's manhood and human acts—a contention which gives special significance to the assertion of anything outside the course of nature—he speaks of His true human birth, not as having taken place as an ordinary result of natural law, but as being 'from a virgin.' [2] The context in which these passages occur shows that this belief was no novelty or idiosyncrasy of St. Ignatius himself, but a part of the known and settled faith of Christians in Syria and Asia Minor. The *Apology* of Aristides gives corresponding witness about Christian belief in Greece a little later. The Greek, Syriac, and Armenian texts of this document all agree in placing in the statement of the Christian religion which Aristides makes the fact that the Son of the Most High God took flesh and was born of a virgin.[3] A little later again, St. Justin Martyr, writing with knowledge of Asia Minor and Italy, refers to the birth of our Lord from a virgin. The virgin-birth is to him as much a fact as any other event in the human life of Christ. According to his teaching, it is part of the creed of Christians that the Word of God became man of a virgin mother without the action of any human father.[4] It is unnecessary to refer to the abundant evidence for the same fact in later times, since even Dr. Harnack—whom Professor Gardner repeatedly follows with a simplicity which is surprising in so able a man—allows that 'by the middle or probably even soon after the beginning of the second century this belief had become an established part of the Church tradition.'[5] Apart altogether from the Scriptural testimony, to which we propose to refer at a later point in this article, there can be no really thorough and scientific examination of the belief in the virgin-birth which does not take into account the fact that this belief has formed part of the Christian creed in every period of the history of the Church about which evidence is forthcoming. We do not now urge what we believe to be the truth of the divine guidance of the universal Church; for the time being we are simply contending that, as a mere matter of evidence, the

[1] St. Ignatius, *Ad Eph.* 19. [2] *Idem*, *Ad Smyrn.* 1.

[3] Aristides, *Apol.* See *Texts and Studies*, I. i. 29, 36, 110.

[4] St. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 21, 22, 31, 32, 33, 46, 63; *Dial. c. Tryph.* 43, 63, 66, 84, 85: see especially *Apol.* i. 21: *τῷ δὲ καὶ τὸν λόγον, ὃ ἐστι πρῶτον γέννημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἄνευ ἐπιμιξίας φάσκειν ἡμᾶς γεγενῆσθαι, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν διδάσκαλον ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ.*

[5] Harnack, *Das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss*, p. 24. This pamphlet has been translated into English by Mrs. Humphry Ward in the *Nineteenth Century* for July 1893.

Digitized by Google

Gospels cannot be isolated from what comes after them; and that, when a belief in an event of our Lord's life is traced back to the beginning of the second century, the *onus probandi* lies upon those who deny that the event happened. And in the case of this particular belief, it is well to remember that, to quote the words of a learned and exact writer, certainly not hostile to all that is best in modern scholarship and criticism, at the beginning of the second century

'it was already accepted without question from Antioch to Ephesus. Yet some of the Churches by which it was confessed had received the faith from St. Paul, and all were fresh from the teaching of St. John.'[1]

The other instance we have selected is that of the bodily resurrection of our Lord. The belief in this is well attested, apart from the New Testament, from the end of the first century. St. Clement, writing at Rome about 96 A.D., refers to the resurrection of Christ as if it was a generally known part of the ordinary belief of Christians; and, though he does not say expressly that the resurrection was of the body of Christ, the analogies which he mentions leave no doubt that this was his meaning.[2] St. Ignatius speaks repeatedly of the resurrection of our Lord.[3] That he means a bodily resurrection might well be inferred from those passages in which he compares the reality of the resurrection with that of our Lord's birth and passion;[4] and this is definitely shown to be the right interpretation by the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, in which he says that our Lord 'was in the flesh even after the resurrection,' that the Father of His goodness raised up 'the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ,' and that His resurrection was 'both in the flesh and in the spirit.'[5] St. Polycarp, writing in Asia Minor in the first twenty years of the second century, mentions the resurrection of Christ no less than four times in the course of a short letter.[6] All the three texts of

[1] Swete, *The Apostles' Creed: its Relation to Primitive Christianity*, p. 55.

[2] St. Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.* i. 24–6. St. Clement says that the resurrection of Christ is the first fruit of the future resurrection. He compares the future resurrection with the succession of day and night, the growth of the crops from the seed, and the birth of the young phœnix from the dead body of the old bird. He quotes Job xix. 26 in the form 'Thou shalt raise up this my flesh.'

[3] St. Ignatius, *Ad Eph.* 20; *Ad Magn.* 11; *Ad Trall.* 9; *Ad Philad. init.* 9; *Ad Smyr.* 1, 2, 3, 6, 7. 12.

[4] *Idem*, *Ad Magn.* 11; *Ad Trall.* 9; *Ad Smyr.* 2.

[5] *Idem*, *Ad Smyr.* 3, 6, 12.

[6] St. Polycarp, *Ad Phil.* 1, 2, 9, 12.

Digitized by Google

Aristides assert, as part of the Christian religion, that our Lord rose, or was restored to life, and ascended into heaven; and there is nothing whatever in the expressions used to suggest any doubt that it is a literal bodily resurrection which is meant.[1] The so-called 'Second Epistle of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians,' a work probably written either at Rome or at Corinth in the first half of the second century, refers to the flesh of our Lord as showing that the flesh of Christians will rise and be judged in such a way as necessarily to imply the writer's belief in the bodily resurrection of Christ.[2] And, when St. Justin Martyr speaks of our Lord's resurrection, he evidently means the resurrection of the body which was placed in the tomb.[3] On this subject, again, it is unnecessary to go into the later evidence. No one could doubt that from the middle of the second century the bodily resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ formed part of the established faith of the Church. St. Paul had indeed said that 'flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.'[4] The context of his words shows that he referred, as St. Irenaeus pointed out before the end of the second century, to the flesh in itself, apart from the Spirit of God,[5] the flesh, that is, as Tertullian explained a little later, until it has received the spiritual gifts of incorruptibility and immortality.[6] To examine the evidence of the New Testament by itself and to draw conclusions without any regard to this great tradition of the Universal Church is a process the unsatisfactory character of which is intensified by the fact that the immemorial Christian belief has based its hope of eternal life largely on the literal truth of the resurrection of our Lord.

To try, then, to investigate the truth of the record of events in our Lord's life without taking into account the existence and beliefs of the Christian Church is to proceed upon a method altogether wrong. But we are prepared to affirm that the conclusions adopted by Professor Gardner are unsound even on the restricted view of the evidence which he allows. And here we must point out both that his underlying assumptions on the subject of miracles will not bear investigation and that his treatment of the New Testament is uncritical.

[1] Aristides, *Apol.* See *Texts and Studies*, I. i. 29, 37, 110.
[2] Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.* ii. 9. For the place and date of this document see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, I. ii. 191–208.
[3] St. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 45: *Dial. c. Tryph.* 106–8.
[4] 1 Corinthians xv. 50. [5] St. Irenæus, *C. Hær.* v. ix. 3.
[6] Tertullian, *De Resur. Carnis*, 50.

Digitized by Google

On the subject of miracles Professor Gardner writes:

'The events in the life of the Founder on which many Christians fix their faith are of a distinctly miraculous character. But the educated world has for many years been steadily proceeding in the direction of the elimination of the miraculous from history. For a century past there have been pitted against one another, on the one side the antecedent improbabilities of miracles, on the other the testimony that they took place. But now the continual growth of science has strongly increased the improbability that miracles properly so called should occur, and the progress of criticism has infinitely weakened the evidence which exists in their favour. And moreover, the study of psychology and of anthropology has made it very much more easily intelligible that the belief in the occurrence of miracles should arise without the fact of their occurrence' (pp. 219–20).

We must protest against the assumption involved in the phrase 'the educated world.' We should not ourselves apply the word 'uneducated' either to the Archbishop of Canterbury or to the Bishop of Durham. Their names are associated with powerful works in defence of miracles in general and the resurrection of our Lord in particular.[1] It would be easy to mention other accomplished and learned writers, not out of touch with movements of thought in the nineteenth century, who have remained firm believers in the miracles of Christ.

But is it the case that 'the continual growth of science has strongly increased the improbability that miracles properly so called should occur'? We do not think that it is. The science of to-day has become familiar with so many marvels that it not unnaturally has developed a tendency to be less dogmatic about impossibilities than was the science of the past. A remarkable letter by Professor Huxley, published some years ago, is an illustration of a line of thought which has, we believe, made some progress among scientific men since the letter was written in 1877. In that letter Professor Huxley wrote:

'I have not the slightest objection to offer *a priori* to all the propositions in the three Creeds. The mysteries of the Church are child's play compared with the mysteries of nature. The doctrine of the Trinity is not more puzzling than the necessary antinomies of physical speculation; virgin procreation and resuscitation from apparent death are ordinary phenomena for the naturalist. It would be a great error therefore to suppose that the agnostic rejects theology because of its puzzles and wonders. He rejects it simply because in his judgment there would be no evidence sufficient to warrant the

[1] See Temple, *The Relations between Religion and Science* (Bampton Lectures for 1884); Westcott, *The Gospel of the Resurrection.*

Digitized by Google

theological propositions, even if they related to the commonest and most obvious every-day propositions.'[1]

There is very much in modern thought which renders the general idea of the miraculous less difficult than it used to be. The physical world, we suppose, now bears to many of those who have studied it a less mechanical aspect than was once the case. A deeper conception of the unity of nature has become widespread. There is a clearer recognition that the knowledge which experience has gained falls very far short of the sum of knowledge. It has been observed how throughout nature there is the intervention of the higher in the lower making possible that which in the lower by itself would have been impossible. The consideration of such things can never destroy the real distinction between the ordinary and the miraculous; but it can illustrate the existence of that true harmony between miracles and the other works of God which was observed by Christian thinkers as long ago as the days of St. Augustine,[2] and can express it in a way which may bring it home to the students of natural science.

If this is so, it is by no means true that 'the continual growth of science has strongly increased the improbability that miracles properly so called should occur.'

Is it any less untrue that 'the progress of criticism has infinitely weakened the evidence which exists in' 'favour' of 'miracles properly so called'? We do not think it is. It would be impossible within the limits of our space to deal with any degree of completeness with the critical details advocated or assumed in *Exploratio Evangelica*. Indeed, there are parts of it where page after page really needs going through statement by statement with detailed refutation. We must be content to select instances of Professor Gardner's critical methods, choosing them so that they may be representative of his position.

Professor Gardner has convinced himself that the Acts of the Apostles is an untrustworthy book. The substance, as well as the phraseology, of the speeches is due to the author of the book, not to the persons in whose mouths they are put (p. 301). The 'earlier part' of the book, 'at all events, is a very unsatisfactory record of fact' (p. 202; cf. pp. 154, 222, 290, 304–5, 445). Its chief use in Professor Gardner's eyes, since he describes it as 'very valuable' for this purpose,

[1] This letter is here quoted from Gore, *The Incarnation of the Son of God* (Bampton Lectures for 1891), pp. 246–7.

[2] See St. Augustine, *De Gen. ad lit.* vi. 13; *C. Faust.* xxvi. 3.

Digitized by Google

appears to be that he turns it into an instrument for his attack on the truthfulness of the Gospels (pp. 154–7).

Since reading Professor Gardner's book we have consulted Professor Schmiedel's article 'Acts of the Apostles' in the lately published first volume of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, as being likely to supply us with the strongest as well as the most recent presentation of the evidence for the untrustworthy character of the Acts. A careful perusal of this article has confirmed our impression that there has been no adequate answer to Professor Ramsay's defence of the historical accuracy of the Acts,[1] and has led us to think that both Professor Gardner and Professor Schmiedel have been answered in anticipation by the very clear and thoughtful article on the Acts which Mr. A. C. Headlam has contributed to the first volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible* edited by Dr. Hastings.

Professor Gardner admits that 'we cannot bring' 'most of the narrative to any decisive test, not having any parallel account from another source with which to compare it.' But he goes on to say:

> 'In a few cases, however, we are able to make such comparison; and we are perfectly justified in supposing that what we cannot compare is usually on the same level of accuracy as the specimens which we can bring to the test' (p. 301).

The 'specimens' which follow do not seem to us to justify Professor Gardner's sweeping denial of the accuracy of the book. The 'collision between statements of the writer of Acts and Josephus' as to the 'circumstances of the death of Herod Agrippa' and as to 'the pretender Theudas,' and the supposed inconsistency between 'the account given in Matthew of the death of Judas and the buying of the potter's field' and 'the account of the same events given at the beginning of the Acts,' he himself puts aside as of no value for his purpose 'because it is possible that the account followed in Acts may be more trustworthy than that adopted by the rival historians' (pp. 301–2). Professor Gardner's second 'specimen' 'which we can bring to the test' is the contradiction, as he supposes, between 'the last verses of Luke's Gospel,' which imply that the interval between the resurrection and the ascension of our Lord was of 'but a few hours,' and the 'first verses of Acts,' in which 'a period of forty

[1] See Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D.* 170; *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*; cf. *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* pp. 251–69. To avoid misapprehension it may perhaps be well we should say that in referring to these valuable works we do not mean to express our agreement with all the conclusions in them.

Digitized by Google

days' is represented as having elapsed between the two events. It is, he says,

'almost impossible to doubt that Luke had before him two inconsistent accounts of the ascension, which he follows in turn without seriously trying to reconcile them, or to decide between them, one account making the ascension follow close on the resurrection, the other interposing a period of many weeks' (p. 302).

The remaining 'specimens' are the supposed contradiction between Acts ix. 7, where the 'companions' of 'Paul' 'stood by speechless, hearing a voice but seeing no man,' xxvi. 14, where 'all the companions are said to have fallen to the ground also,' and xxii. 9, where 'the companions of Paul are said to have seen a light, but heard no voice' (p. 302); the 'irreconcilable divergency between the narrative in Acts and Paul's own letter to the Galatians' 'as regards the external events of the life of St. Paul in the time which followed his conversion' (p. 303); and the misunderstanding in the second chapter of the Acts of the 'gift of tongues' 'as the direct bestowal on the apostles of a power of speaking in languages which they had never learned or studied,' the true nature of the 'gift of tongues' being, as shown in 1 Cor. xiv., the 'well-known phenomenon of religious revivals' by which there is speech 'in an exalted or ecstatic fashion' (pp. 303–4).

Let us take these points in order, including, for the sake of completeness, those which Professor Gardner does not press. The first is the 'collision between statements of the writer of Acts and Josephus' as to the 'circumstances of the death of Herod Agrippa.' The passages alluded to are, of course, Acts xii. 23 and Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XIX. viii. 2. In the former of these it is said 'he was eaten of worms and gave up the ghost.' In the latter the words are 'a violent pain also arose in his belly . . . his pain became more violent . . . when he had been quite worn out by the pain in his bowels for five days he departed this life.' Even if these statements were considered without comparing other passages, they would not necessarily contradict one another. It might well be thought that Josephus merely gives a general account of the illness and that St. Luke in the Acts adds a particular detail which is not at all inconsistent with the general account. When the history of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes in the Second Book of the Maccabees is compared, it is seen that the writer of that book, clearly without any idea of inconsistency, uses similar descriptions to those in St. Luke and Josephus about Herod Agrippa to refer to the same event. 'A pain of the bowels

Digitized by Google

that was remediless came upon him and sore torments of the inner parts . . . so that the worms rose up out of the body of this wicked man.'[1]

The second point in Professor Gardner's first 'specimen' is the 'collision between statements of the writer of Acts and Josephus' as to 'the pretender Theudas.' The reference is to Acts v. 36, where Gamaliel is represented as mentioning Theudas in a speech delivered about 30 A.D., and to Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XX. iv. 1, where a revolt headed by a person of the same name is recorded as having happened about 46 A.D. It is not at all impossible that Gamaliel actually made the allusion ascribed to him by St. Luke with reference to some other Theudas than the one to whom Josephus refers. The name Theudas was by no means uncommon;[2] Josephus himself mentions that an enormous number (*μύρια*) of revolts preceded that of Judas of Galilee, to whom it is admitted that Gamaliel accurately refers immediately after the statement about Theudas.[3]

The third point in the first 'specimen' is the supposed inconsistency between St. Matthew's account of the death of Judas and that given in St. Peter's speech in the first chapter of the Acts. On this it may be well to quote the words of one so much opposed to the ordinary attempts to harmonize two accounts as the late Dean Alford, who in his comment on the passage in the Acts writes:

'Let us compare the accounts themselves. In this case, that in Matt. xxvii. is general, ours particular. That depends entirely on the exact sense to be assigned to *ἀπήγξατο* (וַיֶּחְנַק, *καὶ ἀπήγξατο*, 2 Sam. xvii. 23), whereas this distinctly assigns the manner of his death without stating any cause for the falling on his face. It is obvious that, while the general term used by Matthew points mainly at self-murder, the account given here does not preclude the catastrophe related having happened, in some way, as a divine judgment during the suicidal attempt.'[4]

As Dean Alford hints, it is by no means certain what is the exact force of the word used by St. Matthew;[5] if it denotes hanging, it is not inconsistent with what St. Luke says; rather, as Dr. Lumby has well pointed out, if the place of the

[1] 2 Maccabees, ix. 5, 9.

[2] See Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, col. 2565–6, *s.v.* תודוס; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, I. ii. 168, note [6] (English translation).

[3] Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, XVII. xii. 4.

[4] Alford, *The Greek Testament*, ii. 9, on Acts i. 18.

[5] See a learned note in Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, col. 1479–80, *s.v.* סכר.

Digitized by Google

death of Judas was of the 'rocky character' which would make it fit to be 'an Eastern burying-ground,' and 'had been used for the digging of clay for the potters,'

'if in such a place the suicide first hanged himself and the cord which he used gave way, it is easy to understand how in the fall all the consequences described in this verse [*i.e.* Acts i. 18] would be the result. For a similar result to bodies falling on rocks, compare 2 Chronicles xxv. 12.'[1]

To pass from the first 'specimen,' to which, as we have said, Professor Gardner himself attaches no particular importance, to the second, it is contended that the Gospel according to St. Luke represents the ascension as having happened within 'but a few hours' of the resurrection, while the Acts states that there was an interval of forty days between the two events. It is only by a forced interpretation that the Gospel according to St. Luke can be said to imply that the ascension happened within 'but a few hours' of the resurrection. Not to press the argument, which none the less deserves some attention, that the phrases εἶπε δὲ and καὶ εἶπεν, which occur in St. Luke xxiv. 44, 46, are not infrequently used by St. Luke when there is a break in the history immediately before them,[2] we may again quote an admirable note by Dr. Lumby which disposes of Professor Gardner's contention.

'The two disciples,' Dr. Lumby writes, 'there mentioned [*i.e.* in St. Luke xxiv. 13] were at Emmaus "towards evening" on the day of Christ's resurrection; they returned to Jerusalem that night, and told what they had seen. But after this has been stated, the chapter is broken up at verse 36 . . . and at verses 44 and 50 into three distinct sections with no necessary marks of time to unite them, and in the midst of the whole we are told that Christ opened the mind of His disciples that they might understand the Scriptures. No reasonable person would conclude that all this was done in one day.'[3]

[1] Lumby on Acts i. 18 (p. 11), in *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.*

[2] See, *e.g.*, Knabenbauer on St. Luke xxiv. (p. 646) and Acts i. 3 (p. 24), in the *Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ*, edited by Cornely, Knabenbauer, and Hummelauer.

[3] Lumby on Acts i. 3 (p. 3) in *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.* It may be doubted whether verses 36–43 are to be separated from the preceding passage. Dr. Lumby, as well as other writers, identifies the history recorded in them with that in St. John xx. 26–9. Others think them parallel with St. John xx. 19–25. Cf. Plummer, *Gospel according to St. Luke* (*International Critical Commentary*), on xxiv. 50–3 (p. 564), 'It is not improbable that, at the time when he wrote his Gospel, Luke did not know the exact amount of interval between the Resurrection and the Ascension. That was a piece of information which he may

Digitized by Google

We have never been able to see that there is any inconsistency between the three accounts of the conversion of St. Paul which supply Professor Gardner with his third 'specimen.' Whether the different meanings of the verb ἀκούω with the accusative and genitive cases can rightly be pressed here or not,[1] it is obvious that the phrase about hearing the voice may denote either to merely hear the sound or understand the words, and that they 'stood (εἱστήκεισαν) speechless' does not necessarily mean more than that they remained speechless or were speechless.

It is not possible for us, within the limits of our space, to discuss in detail what Professor Gardner calls 'the irreconcilable divergency between the narrative in Acts and Paul's own letter to the Galatians' 'as regards the external events of the life of St. Paul in the time which followed his conversion.' To do so would necessitate our entering at length into the controversy between those who follow Bishop Lightfoot on the relation of the history in the Epistle to the Galatians to that in the Acts, and those who accept the view associated with the name of Professor Ramsay. It must suffice to say that while the Acts and the Epistle are more easily seen to be consistent and harmonious on the latter hypothesis, there do not appear to us to be any contradictions even on the opposing view advocated by Bishop Lightfoot; and to quote some sentences from the pen of so acute a critic as Mr. Headlam in the article to which we have already referred. Mr. Headlam there says:

'The accounts [*i.e.* in Acts ix. 26–30, and Galatians i. 17–24] are different and to all appearance independent; they represent different points of view; they supplement one another; they are not inconsistent . . . the accounts they [*i.e.* the passages in Acts xv. 1–33, and Galatians ii. 1–10] contain are independent and supplementary, but not contradictory. . . . What is important to notice is that the narrative in Galatians [*i.e.* in ii. 11–12 compared with Acts xv. 35–9] proves conclusively that the standpoint of the Acts is correct;'[2]

easily have gained between the publication of the Gospel and of the Acts. And while he does not state, either here or in verse 44, that there was any interval at all, still less does he say that there was none: there is no ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (ver. 13). Being without knowledge, or not considering the matter of importance, he says nothing about the interval. But it is incredible that he can mean that, late at night (verses 29, 33), Jesus led them out to Bethany, and ascended in the dark. So remarkable a feature would hardly have escaped notice. Probably δέ both here and in ver. 44 introduces a new occasion.'

[1] *Ibid.* on ix. 4 (pp. 110–1).

[2] Headlam in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 31–2.

Digitized by Google

and sums up his judgment on this question and on the general relation of the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles in the following words:

'An examination of these narratives proves the independence of the two accounts, and each corroborates the other in various points. When we turn to the general narrative in the Acts and compare it with that which can be gathered from the Epistles, we find three characteristics—independence, broad resemblances, and subtle points of contact. All the Epistles which correspond to the same period will fit into the narrative, while the minute concidences which have been brought out by Paley, whose argument is not out of date . . ., have very substantial evidential value.'[1]

On Professor Gardner's last instance of error in the Acts, his argument from 1 Corinthians xiv. to prove that the nature of the gift of tongues was misunderstood in the narrative in the second chapter, we will only say that the argument is worthless until it has been proved, firstly, that the gift at Corinth was the same as that bestowed at Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost, and, secondly, that the gift at Corinth was not, and did not include, the power of speaking in languages naturally unknown.

Even supposing Professor Gardner's contentions on these various passages all held good, they would not, we think, afford sufficient ground for a sweeping assertion of the untrustworthy character of the Acts. Rightly viewed, they afford illustrations rather of the value of the history contained in the book than of reasons for rejecting it. We have dwelt on them at somewhat wearisome length because they supply a very good instance of the unsound methods which, with Professor Gardner, pass muster for criticism.

We have already dealt with one aspect of Professor Gardner's denial of the historical truth of the narratives of our Lord's birth given by St. Matthew and St. Luke. We have now to discuss the value of his critical argument on this matter, so far as the evidence contained in the New Testament is concerned. It may be worth while to quote at some length what he says:

'The narrative in Matthew is briefer, that in Luke more ample and poetical; but neither will stand the test of modern historic criticism.

'When one compares the two narratives together, one finds not only that they come from different sources, but that they are inconsistent one with the other. According to Matthew, Joseph and Mary dwell at Bethlehem, where Jesus is born: immediately on the

[1] Headlam in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. 32.

Digitized by Google

birth comes the visit of the Eastern sages; after that, Joseph flies with his family into Egypt to escape the massacre of infants by Herod, and thence after a while returns and settles at Nazareth, apparently for the first time, in order that a prophecy may be fulfilled. According to Luke, Joseph and Mary dwell at Nazareth, and come up to Bethlehem to fulfil the conditions of a Roman census: Jesus is born at Bethlehem, and there visited by shepherds, after which the family at once returns to Nazareth.

'The narrative of Matthew is built up of fulfilment of prophecy, which we know to have been a very usual material for the construction of ideal history. The star which went before the magi, and stood over the inn, was no material phenomenon, but the star which should come out of Jacob; the massacre by Herod is a reflection of the voice from Rama, Rachel weeping for her children; the flight into Egypt has as its motive the text, "Out of Egypt have I called my son." Dreams come in repeatedly to determine or to explain action. And it is impossible to suppose that Herod would have ordered a general massacre of children, when, according to the story, it was the easiest thing in the world to discover the child who was really dangerous. He had only to send one of his numerous spies to follow the sages.

'The narrative in Luke is of a different character . . . The multitude of the heavenly host which appeared to the shepherds finds a parallel in the crowd of gods and sons of gods who thronged to see the new-born Buddha, and sang over his cradle how evil is banished and joy increased in the whole world, since a master of salvation is born. The whole narrative has an air familiar to those acquainted with the birth-stories of heroes. At the same time it is from the ethical and religious point of view as superior to these as the Bible is superior to other religious books.

'It is true that the writer makes some attempt at chronological and historical accuracy in his narrative. But that attempt will not bear criticism.

'According to the narrative in the Third Gospel, the birth of Jesus took place in the reign of Herod the Great, and at the time of office of Quirinius. The historic facts appear to be the following: Herod died in B.C. 4, and was succeeded on the throne of Judæa by his son Archelaus, who reigned some ten years. On the expulsion of Archelaus, Judæa was placed under the rule of Quirinius, Governor of Syria, who made a census about A.D. 7 . . . It is more than doubtful if a census would have been carried out in a nominally independent state like that governed by Herod. And, had there been a census, there would have been no need for Joseph to go to Bethlehem to be registered, since citizens were registered at their place of domicile, not at the home of their ancestors. Nor even had Joseph made the journey would Mary have accompanied him' (pp. 235–7).

'If we find the testimony of the Evangelists thus of a subjective rather than of an objective character, when they deal even with the time and the place of the birth of Jesus, this is sure to be the case

Digitized by Google

in a still higher degree when they speak of His[1] miraculous origin. This obviously could not be established by testimony, but was essentially a matter of ideal history. This assertion of miraculous origin seems to be based mainly on a verse of Matthew (i. 20), a verse which has an appropriate place among warning dreams and heavenly signs. The authority is an angel who appears to Joseph when he is asleep, and the motive is the fulfilment of a misunderstood and misinterpreted prophecy of Isaiah' (p. 238).

'The Gospel of Mark is almost universally allowed to be the earliest of the Gospels. Not only does the writer omit all mention of the virgin-birth, but, beginning his work with the baptism of John, he uses the very significant phrase, "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Also he records sayings and doings which cannot be reconciled with belief in a supernatural birth. For example, he says (iii. 21–35) that at the beginning of the ministry of Jesus, His mother and His brethren sought to restrain Him as one out of His mind' (p. 239).

'The author of the Fourth Gospel appears to have known of the story of the virgin-birth. Indeed, at the time when he wrote it must have been known generally. But he seems to have slighted it, and preferred another view, which cannot but be regarded as more spiritual. He holds that in Jesus the Word of God was incarnate. But some of his phrases seem directed against the theory of a miraculous birth. He writes, "It is the Spirit which quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing." And again he represents Jesus as explaining to the Jews the nature of His divine sonship in the words "Say ye of Him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said I am the son of God?" But it is in the discourse with Nicodemus that the writer is most explicit. There he puts into the mouth of Jesus a statement of a high law which is fatal to the acceptance of a virgin-birth. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." Every man who would enter into life must be born again from above, ἄνωθεν. It seems to me impossible that a writer who thus pointedly contrasts the flesh and the spirit can have accepted a miraculous origin for the body of his Master. Indeed, as we shall presently see, the Logos doctrine of the Fourth Evangelist is clearly meant as an alternative for the miraculous birth. He gives up the Jewish marvel for the Greek wisdom, ideal history for doctrine.

'The view of St. Paul is quite as clearly and definitely stated in his Epistles. To him Jesus was the son of God according to the spirit, but according to the flesh the son of David. This sonship to David is asserted in various places in the Gospels and Epistles; and it implies descent from Joseph, since Joseph was maintained by early Christianity to have been a descendant of David, while the descent of Mary was not known or not regarded. Paul seems not even to have heard of the story of the miraculous birth. Had he known of it, he would probably, with his passion for knowing Christ not after

[1] The capital letter here and elsewhere is our own; Professor Gardner consistently uses a small initial letter.

Digitized by Google

the flesh, but after the spirit, have vigorously attacked it, and prevented it from emerging from the cycle of fanciful accounts of the childhood of Jesus, amidst which it originated, to become part of the recognized Christian creed' (pp. 239–40).

Professor Gardner's argument that the accounts of our Lord's birth in the Gospels according to St. Matthew and St. Luke are inconsistent with one another is as faulty as the similar argument which he bases upon the comparison of the Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians. The narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke are supplementary, not contradictory, to one another. There is nothing in St. Matthew to assert or imply that the ordinary dwelling place of St. Joseph and the Blessed Virgin was at Bethlehem, or that they had not dwelt at Nazareth before the time of the birth of our Lord. There is no reason that our Lord should not have been visited in His infancy both by the magi and by the shepherds. The flight into Egypt recorded by St. Matthew can be inserted in the history given by St. Luke without any contradiction or inconsistency. Professor Gardner's assertion that the two Gospels contradict each other can be upheld only by, in the first place, treating ancient Eastern documents as if they were Western and modern, and, in the second place, demanding a fulness of statement which many accurate modern Western histories would not supply.

The argument based on the record of the fulfilment of prophecy and on the mention of dreams in St. Matthew's Gospel is not, properly speaking, criticism at all. It is simply based on a theological assumption. What underlies it is the contention that anything supernatural is untrue. And the rejection of the history of the massacre of the children at Bethlehem on the ground that Herod would have found out which was the particular child he needed to dread is a mere piece of *a priori* argument which the character of Herod might have led Professor Gardner to suspect.

Any analogy, again, between the circumstances said to be connected with the birth of Buddha and those associated by St. Luke with the birth of Christ affords no good reason for supposing St. Luke's account to be untrue. The differences are, to say the least, as great as the resemblances; and while the real explanation of much in heathen religions which may be compared with Christianity probably lies deeper than many people think, it certainly cannot be rightly used as an argument for rejecting that which is Christian.

We do not at all agree that the reference to the census and the rule of Quirinius stamps the unhistorical character of

Digitized by Google

St. Luke's narrative. Professor Ramsay's excellent book, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* is of a much more solid character than Professor Gardner's references to it suggest, and affords very cogent reasons for regarding St. Luke as an accurate historian. If, as there is much converging evidence to show, there was an earlier enrolment under Quirinius than that in 7 A.D., Professor Gardner's *a priori* arguments that there would not be an enrolment in the dominions of Herod, and that St. Joseph would not go up for it from Nazareth to Bethlehem, and that, if he did, he would not be accompanied by the Blessed Virgin, may well be disregarded.[1]

Professor Gardner makes much of his inferences from the Gospel according to St. Mark. His argument from the absence of any reference to the virgin-birth may be adequately answered in the words of Dr. Swete:

'Much has been made of the silence of St. Mark, but the argument *ex silentio* was never more conspicuously misplaced: it is puerile to demand of a record which professes to begin with the ministry of the Baptist that it shall mention an event which preceded the Baptist's birth.'[2]

As to 'the very significant phrase, "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ,"' it has been suggested by a very competent critic that the word 'beginning' did not form part of the original text of the Gospel;[3] and, if it did, the phrase 'beginning of the Gospel' may in this context easily mean the beginning of the public ministry. The passage (iii. 21–35) cited by Professor Gardner as one 'which cannot be reconciled with belief in a supernatural birth' will not bear what is thus put upon it. The words 'His friends' (*οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*) in verse 21 may or may not include His mother. That they do so is perhaps made likely by the explicit mention of 'His mother and His brethren' in verse 31. If she is so included, Professor Gardner's inference by no means follows. To be able to contend that, if the mother of our Lord knew that He was miraculously born or even that He was the Son of God and Himself personally God, it would be impossible for her to be perplexed by any of His human actions and words is to have little insight into character and

[1] There is a very interesting note bearing on the subject of the enrolments in Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part ii. pp. 207–14.

[2] Swete, *The Apostles' Creed: its Relation to Primitive Christianity*, p. 48.

[3] In Dr. Swete's *Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. 1, he regards it as possible that the suggestion of Dr. Nestle in the *Expositor* for December 1894 may be correct.

Digitized by Google

little sympathy with the profound and most painful ways in which the very fact of our Lord being what Christians believe Him to be must have formed part of the trials which befell the Blessed Virgin because she was the mother of Him who is God.

Professor Gardner's arguments from the Fourth Gospel and the Epistles of St. Paul are pervaded by an assumption which vitiates the whole of what he says. The contrast which both writers draw between the flesh and the spirit has no real bearing on the subject. So far as it is an argument at all against the birth of our Lord having been from a virgin, it is an argument also against His possession of true human flesh and blood. If the teaching of St. John and St. Paul makes it abundantly clear that they both believed in the reality of the human body of Christ, it follows that no inference can be rightly drawn from what they say about the flesh and the spirit which may be used to support that they either had not heard of or had rejected the belief in the virgin-birth.

What is said in addition about St. John by himself is altogether mistaken. It is not the case that 'the Logos doctrine of the Fourth Evangelist is clearly meant as an alternative for the miraculous birth.' On the other hand, the 'Logos doctrine,' which implies the personal deity of our Lord,[1] not unnaturally suggests that there may have been something out of the ordinary course of nature in His entrance into human life. Apart from this particular point, we may again quote a clear statement by Dr. Swete:

'The plan of the Fourth Gospel equally [*i.e.* with the Gospel according to St. Mark] excludes a reference to the manner of our Lord's entrance into the world, although the prominence given by St. John to the mother of the Lord is favourable to the hypothesis that the Evangelist was not ignorant of her peculiar privilege.'[2]

And, to refer to another writer, the weak point in whose writings may perhaps be a too great deference to modern criticism and modern thought, Canon Gore has said with great justice:

'It would have been impossible for St. John, consistently with the main purpose of his Gospel, to have recorded the virgin-birth, for his Gospel is, before all else, a personal testimony. It is the old man's witness to what he saw and heard when he was young, and had

[1] See Westcott on St. John i. 14. The Bishop of Durham thinks, further, that 'the fact of the miraculous conception, though not stated, is necessarily implied by the Evangelist' (*ibid.*)

[2] Swete, *op. cit.* p. 48.

Digitized by Google

brooded and meditated upon through his long life. This witness he now leaves on record, at the earnest request of those about him, and for the necessities of the Church. Such a Gospel must have begun where personal experience began.'[1]

As to St. Paul, Professor Gardner uses three points. The first is his silence. The second is his teaching that 'Jesus was the son of God according to the spirit, but according to the flesh the son of David.' The third is the strong contrast between the spirit and the flesh. With the last point we have already dealt. As to the first two, the right comment has been so admirably put by Dr. Swete in his book *The Apostles' Creed: its Relation to Primitive Christianity*, that we must venture to quote once again from that very useful work a passage in which the learned author has answered Professor Gardner by anticipation. Dr. Swete says:

'It is obviously unsafe to argue from St. Paul's silence, when he is equally silent on many other matters which certainly formed part of the Apostolic teaching. The purpose of his Epistles is to teach the religion and the ethics of the Faith, not to restate its historical basis; the latter was the work of a catechist, rather than of an Apostle who had received a special mission of another kind. It would have been a departure from St. Paul's plan, if he had directly referred to the fact of the conception. But there are portions of his teaching where the event may well have been in the background of his thought, as when he speaks of our Lord as "the heavenly man," insists on His absolute sinlessness, and describes Him as "made of a woman" in a context where it would have been at least as natural to represent Him as the son of Joseph had he believed Him to be such. On the other hand, no adverse conclusion can fairly be drawn from Romans i. 3, "made of the seed of David according to the flesh," as if the words asserted the paternity of Joseph. Ignatius more than once combines in the same sentence the Davidic descent with the virgin-birth.'[2]

We have now gone through in detail the so-called critical arguments by which Professor Gardner has attempted to show the untrustworthy character of the Gospel accounts of the birth of our Lord. We have three other comments to make. In the first place, when it is contended that the story of the virgin-birth was invented in order that it might be claimed that prophecy had been fulfilled, to give even a *prima facie* plausibility to the argument it must be shown that the Jews at the time of our Lord's coming understood the prophecies of the Messiah to include His birth from a virgin. We believe

[1] Gore, *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*, p. 10.

[2] Swete, *op. cit.* pp. 54–5. The passages in St. Ignatius referred to are *Ad Eph.* 18; *Ad Trall.* 9; *Ad Smyrn.* 1.

Digitized by Google

there is no ground whatever for thinking that they then so interpreted the Old Testament. Secondly, the theory of the invention of the virgin-birth by Jews naturally postulates a Jewish belief in the honour of virginity of which we do not think there is any trace. Thirdly, apart from the fact of the virgin-birth of our Lord being believed by St. Paul, it is difficult to account in a Jew for the view of virginity which his teaching contains.[1]

We must not linger long over Professor Gardner's treatment of the resurrection of our Lord. He mentions the difficulty of reconciling the different accounts of the resurrection found in the New Testament with one another, and attempts to discredit the witness of St. Paul. The real reason for his rejection of the resurrection is evidently the miracle involved in it. It is noticeable that he thinks the tomb of our Lord was found to be empty. After mentioning various ways in which this may be accounted for, he writes :

'In my opinion the empty grave offers us a problem which objective history can never solve' (p. 258).

We prefer to say that the problem of the empty grave is solved by the fact of the resurrection.

After explaining away the other miracles recorded in the New Testament, Professor Gardner deals at some length with those of our Lord's ministry. The great majority of these, he says, are works of healing, and, as such, might be the result of moral influence. The accounts of the healing of diseases 'little related to the nerves' may be due to 'inaccurate' 'narrative' or to the 'power of mind and will over the bodies of men' being 'greater than we are at present disposed to think.' In the cases of 'demoniac possession' 'it is probable that Jesus accepted the hypothesis as easily as He accepted the hypothesis that the sun moves round the earth.' The miracles recorded in the Fourth Gospel may be 'eliminated,' because to the writer of that book the value of facts was simply their doctrinal utility. The 'miracles of our Lord's childhood and youth' may be 'set aside' because 'the only part of the life recorded by the synoptists which can fairly claim a historical character begins with the calling of Peter and ends with the crucifixion.' The only 'miracles properly so called' in St. Mark's Gospel are 'the stilling of a tempest,' 'the walking on the sea,' 'the feeding of multitudes,'

[1] The consideration of 1 Corinthians vii., especially verses 1 and 7, does not support the opinion that St. Paul's only reason for commending the unmarried state was its practical utility.

Digitized by Google

and 'the cursing of the fig-tree, with its result.' These may be accounted for as 'a somewhat distorted account of things which really took place,' or as due to confusion between 'visions' and 'waking realities,' or as the result of taking 'for literal fact stories told as parables.' The additional miracles recorded by St. Matthew and St. Luke are similarly treated. The testimony for the Transfiguration is 'singularly unsatisfactory,' since the Apostles were 'heavy with sleep' and St. Peter was 'dazed in mind.' 'If the testimony were ample, all that it could prove would be a vision.' Thus the ministry of our Lord is wholly deprived of its miraculous character (pp. 224–33).

We have no hesitation in describing this treatment of our Lord's miracles as uncritical. The rejection of them may be seen to be based, not upon any evidence, but on *a priori* assumptions. Professor Gardner's method is not a critical examination of the Gospels but a testing of the Gospel histories by postulates which his own mind has formed.

This arbitrary way of treating the Gospels extends beyond the miracles. Our space allows us to give only two instances. The words 'The brother shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child,' and the rest of the passage in St. Matthew x. 16–24, cannot have been spoken by our Lord, because it 'belongs to a time of bitter persecution' and 'in the life of Jesus there was no persecution, no betrayal to death of one disciple by another' (p. 150). The promise 'Upon this rock I will build my Church' is set aside because it occurs 'in a context which certainly belongs to a time long after the crucifixion' (p. 484). The first of these instances assumes that our Lord was incapable, not only of Divine foreknowledge, or supernatural human prophecy, but also of natural anticipation. The second instance is a practical denial of the possibility of our Lord foretelling His passion, death, and resurrection. Again, this is not criticism, it is *a priori* assumption.

We have taken, as we promised, instances of Professor Gardner's critical methods which are representative of his general position. The consideration of them bears out our contention that it is untrue to say that 'the progress of criticism has infinitely weakened the evidence which exists in' 'favour' of 'miracles properly so called.'

We do not say there are no difficulties in the Gospels. There are very many. The truthfulness of a history which presented no difficulties might well be suspected. We do not say that the details of the 'Synoptic problem' have approached

Digitized by Google

solution. It will probably be work enough for our own generation to tabulate the evidence. We do not say that the right interpretation of every sentence in the New Testament is clear. If it was so simple as to make this possible, its value could hardly be so great as Christians suppose. But we do say that the presentation of the life of our Lord which the Gospels give is a true presentation, that the account of the facts of His life is one which we can trust, and that, alike where we have His actual words and where we have an inspired summary of His teaching,[1] we possess the record in such a form as is best suited for human needs. There is a true harmony between the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel. The Christ of St. Mark, perfectly human as He is, is Divine also. To quote from a work by Dr. Swete even more valuable than his book *The Apostles' Creed* to which we have referred so often:

'He claims an authority in the sphere of man's relations to God which is co-extensive with the present order (ii. 10, 28); He knows precisely what is passing in men's minds and hearts, and the circumstances of their lives (ii. 5, 8, viii. 17, ix. 3 *sq.*,[2] xii. 15, 44); He foresees and foretells the future, whether His own (viii. 31, 38) or that of individual men (x. 39, xiv. 27) and communities (xiii. 1 *sqq.*); in the most trying situations He manifests absolute wisdom and self-adaptation; even in His death He extorts from a Roman centurion the acknowledgment that He was a supernatural person (xv. 39). The centurion's words express the conviction with which the student of St. Mark rises from his examination of the Gospel: "Truly this man was Son of God." But for those who have before them the whole record of that supreme human life they bear a meaning of which the Roman could not have dreamt; we realize that the Son-ship of Jesus was unique and essential. It was not a servant who was sent in the last resort to receive the fruits of the Divine Vineyard, but the only Son, who is the Heir of God' (xii. 2–7).[3]

The Christ of St. John is perfectly human as well as truly divine. The discourses of the Fourth Gospel reveal the mind which the events in the Synoptical Gospels demand. If

[1] In an interesting letter on this subject Cardinal Newman wrote in 1878, 'Every clause of our Lord's speeches in St. John may be in St. John's Greek, yet every clause may contain the matter which our Lord spoke in Aramaïc. Again, St. John might and did select or condense (as being inspired for that purpose) the matter of our Lord's discourses, as that with Nicodemus, and thereby the wording might be St. John's, though the matter might still be our Lord's.' See Plummer, *Gospel according to St. John* in the *Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools*, p. 100.

[2] 'ix. 3' in this quotation is probably a slip for 'ix. 33.'

[3] Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. lxxxviii.

Digitized by Google

there is such difficulty in ascertaining the exact relation of the Fourth Gospel to the other three as may reasonably be expected in independent works by different writers, there is a true harmony between the varying presentations of Christ which, to many thoughtful men, will afford a more satisfactory indication that all four Gospels are reliable histories than would be supplied by any exact verbal agreement. There is a true harmony, again, between the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. Both alike present our Lord as perfectly Man and as truly God ; both take the same general view of human life ; the doctrines implied in the teaching of both are consistent. The representation of our Lord in the Acts of the Apostles is harmonious with that in the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. Further, the Christian Church, with her traditional theology and system, exhibits doctrine and practice the origin of which is rationally explained by the facts and teaching of the New Testament. Even apart from any claim for the inspiration of the Bible or the divine guidance of the Church, it may reasonably be urged that this harmony of the different parts of the New Testament with one another and of the teaching of the Christian society with them is a very convincing sign of the truth of the historical Christian religion.

It has been said that all error is a perversion of truth and that false ideas are a nemesis for the rejection of true ideas. Professor Gardner's theory of a religion based upon experience appears to be a perversion of the truth of the value of the collective voice of universal Christendom. In drawing out his theory he ranks the individual too high and, in spite of what is said of a different tendency in chapter xxxix., pays too little regard to general thought. Where he allows for corporate action and belief, the society he has in view is of men generally, not specially of Christians. The experience upon which he relies is that of a human growth, with an indefinite divine influence, instead of the guidance and voice of God the Holy Ghost.

Thus the fundamental fault of *Exploratio Evangelica* is the attempt to find a human basis for religion instead of one which is divine. It is this which runs through the treatment of the many subjects with which the book deals. This places the author in a wrong attitude towards Jewish history and the revelation contained in the Old Testament. This makes him disregard the possibility of prophecy and reject the miraculous. Because of this he views the entrance of our Lord into human life from a wrong standpoint. Because of

Digitized by Google

this he makes the mistakes about the nature and value of human experience to which we have just referred.

There is a human element in the Holy Scriptures. To concentrate attention on the human element and forget or ignore that which is divine is to take one part of a problem and imagine that the problem can be solved without any regard to another part integrally connected with it.

There is human nature which has been united to the Person of our Lord. To examine the manhood and disregard the fact that it is the manhood of one who is personally God is to acquiesce in a maimed investigation which can afford no hope for the discovery of truth.

There is the human side of the Christian Church. To dwell simply on that which is human in the Church, still more to look at what is human as it is among men generally, is to consider in isolation facts which can only be rightly understood in connexion with other facts.

It is this mutilated method of inquiry which vitiates Professor Gardner's book and makes it an unscientific investigation.

We recognize very fully the ability which the book displays, the earnest spirit which the author manifests, and his evident desire to find a rational basis for belief. It is not perhaps altogether loss that he has plainly expressed unpleasant views which many are content to hide in their minds, and has shown the real tendencies of lines of thought some advocates of which would shrink from the conclusions which he has reached. Yet in summing up our judgment, we must pronounce the book a failure. It is based to a very large extent, as we have already briefly mentioned, on the dualistic Kantian philosophy, which is surely doomed. The author is fundamentally wrong, as we have spent some time in trying to show, as to the need of facts in theology, the place of the New Testament in the Christian system, and the critical methods adopted. His view of religion is, we are firmly convinced, practically useless. It may in some measure avail subjectively for a select intellectual few, while what is needed, and what orthodox Christianity supplies, is a religion for mankind. For any person at all, the substitution of it for the Catholic faith must mean serious loss in the trials of ordinary life, in times of temptation, and in the hour of death. For it blots out all which is most practically helpful to Christian souls. To give one illustration: those who accept it must remove from their prayers all which corresponds to two clauses of the Litany:

Digitized by Google

'By the mystery of Thy holy Incarnation ; by Thy holy Nativity and Circumcision ; by Thy Baptism, Fasting, and Temptation,
Good Lord, deliver us.

'By Thine Agony and bloody Sweat ; by Thy Cross and Passion ; by Thy precious Death and Burial ; by Thy glorious Resurrection and Ascension ; and by the coming of the Holy Ghost,
Good Lord, deliver us.'

We do not doubt Professor Gardner's sincerity when he says he has not written for those who are still content with traditional Christianity, but only for those 'who regard dogmatic religion in our days as in an unsafe condition' (p. 10). As a matter of fact, he cannot so limit the influence of his book ; and our wish for him can only be that, while he retains his present opinions on religious matters, he may in the future confine his writings to those other subjects with which he is eminently qualified to deal and in which he has already done most useful work.[1]

ART. IV.—CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM.

Christian Mysticism. The Bampton Lectures for 1899. By W. R. INGE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Hertford College, Oxford. (London, 1899.)

WE feel inclined to rank this volume of the Bampton Lectures for the year 1899 with Dill's work on *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, as forming together two of the most valuable books published during the last twelve months. They differ, of course, widely in their subject-matter and their aim : but they have this in common—the one in the region of Philosophy, the other in that of History—that they are both *thorough*. They each of them give us the genuine satisfaction which arises from the study of a well-thought out and well-executed piece of work.

Mr. Inge's volume is a fascinating one for more than one reason. It combines a complete survey and full exposition of some of the oldest efforts of thought employed upon one of the deepest subjects that can exercise the human mind, with illustrations drawn from sources as modern as poets and prose writers living within our own memory. It brings out,

[1] It was rather a shock to us to find, in a generally accurate book, a well-known quotation from Ovid, *Met.* vii. 20–1, ascribed to Horace : see p. 18.

Digitized by Google

on the one hand, the centrifugal tendency of the mind to wander away into labyrinths of its own devising, and, on the other, that centripetal attraction which the knowledge and the love of God from age to age exert upon the nature of man. The volume is further interesting as having been delivered by one who was in the first instance a Cambridge man, before an Oxford audience. Not that this is by any means the first instance of this occurring. In the present writer we have a typical representative of the purest and ripest scholarship of Cambridge, and at the same time one who has evidently steeped himself in the study of Oxford's favourite authors—of Plato and the Neoplatonists, of Devotional and Mediæval Mysticism, as well as of the Nature Mystics and Symbolists of later times. The treatment of this arduous subject could therefore hardly have fallen into better hands; for in spite of the modest disclaimer in the Preface, p. viii, he evidently comes thoroughly well equipped to his task. And further, there is an experiential value attaching to these Lectures, for he tells us that until he began to prepare them, about a year and a half before they were delivered, his study of the mystical writers had been directed solely to his own intellectual and spiritual needs. He was attracted to them in the hope of finding in their writings a philosophy and a rule of life which would satisfy his mind and conscience, and in that hope he was not disappointed.

We repeat that these Lectures—though not the lightest of reading—form a fascinating work. At first sight it might seem hardly to be the word to describe what is for some two-thirds of them made up of abstruse and metaphysical disquisition. They call for close attention no doubt from their readers, but they reward it when given. What Quintilian[1] says of Grammar is true of the study of Mysticism. To those who loiter on the threshold of the volume or give it only a cursory glance or superficial perusal, it will present thorny encumbrances and obstacles, but not so to those who bend themselves to a sympathetic and appreciative examination of its contents.

The scope of the work is described in the following passage:

'The aim which I have set before myself is to give a clear presentation of an important type of Christian life and thought, in the hope that it may suggest to us a way towards the solution of some difficulties which at present agitate and divide us. The path

[1] 'Non obstant hæ disciplinæ per eas euntibus sed circa illas hærentibus,' *Instit. Orat.* i. 7.

Digitized by Google

is beset with pitfalls on either side, as will be abundantly clear when we consider the startling expressions which Mysticism has often found for itself. But though I have not attempted to give even an outline of the history of Mysticism, I feel that the best and safest way of studying this or any type of religion is to consider it in the light of its historical development, and of the forms which it has actually assumed. And so I have tried to set these Lectures in a historical framework, and, in choosing prominent figures as representatives of the chief kinds of Mysticism, to observe, so far as possible, the chronological order' (p. 80).

The subject is thus brought under the first of the purposes for which the Bampton Lectureship was founded, to confirm and strengthen the Christian Faith. It is perhaps to be regretted that there is no synopsis of the contents, and nothing beyond the titles of each Lecture to guide the reader along his path. The absence, however, of any such summary is but little felt in the smoothness of the channel along which the discussion flows on easily from point to point, while the style and arrangement are so lucid that the thoughtful reader will easily construct as he goes on an analysis for himself.

The book is furnished with a good general Index, and it concludes with four valuable Appendices, the first of which in fourteen pages comprises a rich mine of study in a collection and criticism of no less than twenty-six definitions[1] of Mysticism.

Nor must we omit to mention with admiration the highly apposite and felicitous mottoes in prose and poetry prefixed to each of the eight Lectures.

Perhaps the old Aristotelian method is not a bad one of approaching the question of Christian Mysticism, the method of *ἀπορίαι*: *i.e.* of confronting difficulties and objections, and forcing a way through them to a solid and definite conclusion. For it must be admitted *in limine* that the subject carries with it something that inevitably provokes criticism and hostility. What, then, are the chief of the antipathies which the word Mysticism arouses, than which 'no word in our language' (to quote the opening sentence of the Lectures)—'not even Socialism—has been employed more loosely'? They would seem to be mainly the following:

(*a*) It is opposed to reason;
(*b*) It is impractical;
(*c*) It is pantheistic;
(*d*) It is vague;
(*e*) It is morbid.

[1] We would notice particularly Mr. Inge's thoughtful remarks on that by Professor Seth.

Digitized by Google

Without giving here a minute and full answer to each of these objections, on which something will be said later on, and all of which are faced and abundantly dealt with in the body of the work, it will be sufficient to remark briefly on (*a*), that it is obvious that all depends on what is included in reason. As Mr. Inge says:

'A revelation absolutely transcending reason is an absurdity: no such revelation could ever be made . . . what we can and must transcend, if we would make any progress in Divine knowledge, is not reason, but that shallow rationalism which regards the data on which we can reason as a fixed quantity, known to all, and which bases itself on a formal logic, utterly unsuited to a spiritual view of things' (p. 20).

Again, 'Reason is, or should be, the logic of our entire personality, and if Reason is so defined, it does not come into conflict with Mysticism' (p. 341). And so he cleverly inverts Harnack's dictum that 'Mysticism is nothing else than rationalism applied to a sphere above reason,' whereas he would have done better to say that it is 'reason applied to a sphere above rationalism' (p. 21).

(*b*) This charge is rebutted in the following words of the Preface, p. xi:

'A very short study would be sufficient to dispel some of the prejudices which still hang round the name of Mysticism: *e.g.* that its professors are unpractical dreamers, and that this type of religion is antagonistic to the English mind. As a matter of fact, all the great mystics have been energetic and influential, and their business capacity is specially noted in a curiously large number of cases. For instance, Plotinus was often in request as a guardian and trustee; St. Bernard showed great gifts as an organiser; St. Teresa, as a founder of convents and administrator, gave evidence of extraordinary practical ability; even St. Juan of the Cross displayed the same qualities; John Smith was an excellent bursar of his college; Fénelon ruled his diocese extremely well; and Madame Guyon surprised those who had dealings with her by her great aptitude for affairs. Henry More was offered posts of high responsibility and dignity, but declined them. The mystic is not, as a rule, ambitious, but I do not think he often shows incapacity for practical life, if he consents to mingle in it.'

To which we may add the remark of Ewald, that 'the true mystic never withdraws himself wilfully from the business of life, no, not even from the smallest business' (p. 10).

(*c*) This indictment cannot be dismissed in a few sentences; for it is one that has to be again and again met, and its refutation has to be sought from the very *viscera* of these

Digitized by Google

Lectures. We may refer particularly to the analyses of the teachings of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, in the third, and of Scotus Erigena and Eckhart in the fourth Lecture, three writers specially selected for discussion on this topic; to the extract from Lasson on p. 343, and to the carefully worded peroration of the third Lecture:

'We need not quarrel with those who have said that speculative Mysticism is the Christian form of Pantheism. For there is much truth in Amiel's dictum, that "Christianity, if it is to triumph over Pantheism, must absorb it." Those are no true friends to the cause of religion who would base it entirely upon dogmatic supernaturalism. The passion for facts which are objective, isolated, and past, often prevents us from seeing facts which are eternal and spiritual. We cry "Lo here" and "Lo there," and forget that the kingdom of God is within us and amongst us. The great service rendered by the speculative mystics to the Christian Church lies in their recognition of those truths which Pantheism grasps only to destroy.'

(*d*) The charge brought against Mysticism that it is vague and fantastic is well met by some words of Lasson:

'Nothing can be more perverse than to accuse Mysticism of *vagueness*. Its danger is rather an overvaluing of reason and knowledge. . . . Religion is a relation of person to person, a life, which in its form is an analogy to the earthly, while its content is pure relation to the eternal. Dogmatic is the skeleton, Mysticism the life-blood, of the Christian body' (p. 343).

To which may be added what Mr. Inge says in drawing out the sense of a passage in St. Augustine's *Confessions*, that 'true reality is something higher than an abstract spirituality.'

Lastly, with regard to (*e*), those who, like Nordau, regard Mysticism as morbid, have in their minds something different from the subject of these Lectures. They are not attacking religious Mysticism 'so much as that unwholesome development of symbolic "science, falsely so called," which has usurped the name in modern France' (p. 344). 'The Germans have two words for what we call Mysticism, *Mystik* and *Mysticismus*, the latter being generally dyslogistic' (*i.e.* used in a disparaging sense) (*ibid.*). What this is will be made clearer as we proceed with our subject.

The ground is cleared in the first Lecture by delineating the general characteristics of Mysticism. With regard to the derivation of the word Mystic, it is traced either to the Greek mysteries—on which there is a special Appendix (*μύστης*, *μύω*)—one who is being initiated, and so signifies the closed *mouth*, or it is referred to the closed *eye* of rapt contemplation, which was the accepted view of the later Neoplatonism.

Digitized by Google

'Mysticism has its origin in that which is the raw material of all religion, and perhaps of all philosophy and art as well, namely, that dim consciousness of the *beyond*, which is part of our nature as human beings. . . . Religious Mysticism may be defined as the attempt to realize the presence of the living God in the soul and in nature, or, more generally, as *the attempt to realize, in thought and feeling, the immanence of the temporal in the eternal, and of the eternal in the temporal*' (p. 5).

But the consciousness of the beyond being itself formless, requires symbols, and as these tend to petrify or evaporate, and so to lose their religious content, a revival of spirituality in the midst of formalism or unbelief becomes necessary.

'This is the historical function of Mysticism—it appears as an independent active principle, the spirit of reformations and revivals. But since every active principle must find for itself appropriate instruments, Mysticism has developed a speculative and practical system of its own. As Goethe says, it is "the scholastic of the heart, the dialectic of the feelings." In this way it becomes possible to consider it as a type of religion' (p. 5).

As such it seems to rest on four main propositions: (1) The soul can see and perceive. (2) Since we can only know what is akin to ourselves, man, in order to know God, must be a partaker[1] of the Divine nature. (3) 'Without holiness no man may see the Lord,' or expressed positively, 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.' (4) '*Our guide on the upward path, the true hierophant of the mysteries of God, is love*' (p. 8).

What then, we next ask, are the steps by which, in this ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν[2] the mystic will mount up? They are three.

I. There is the *purgative* life, the result of contrition, confession, and hearty amendment. And here we notice two points: one, that at this stage the civic and social virtues are included, which are needed by all, and teach us the meaning of order and limitation (τάξις and πέρας), qualities inherent in the Divine nature; an important point, as guarding against that constantly recurring error of Mysticism which calls God Infinite and thinks of Him as *Indefinite*. The other is self-discipline; on which arises the question whether asceticism is to be regarded as an integral part of the upward path. Mr. Inge answers decisively that 'there is nothing in the system itself to encourage men to maltreat their bodies. "We are to kill our passions," says Tauler, "not our flesh and

[1] Cf. 2 Peter, i. 4, θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως.
[2] Plato, *Theætetus*, xxv. 176 B.

Digitized by Google

blood." Mysticism enjoins a dying life, not a living death' (p. 11).

II. Next comes the *illuminative* life, which differs from the purgative, not in having discarded good works, but in having come to perform them willingly—almost spontaneously.

III. There is the *unitive* or *contemplative* life, in which man beholds God face to face, and is joined to Him. These three stages in the *scala perfectionis* recur again and again in the writings of the principal mystics. Closely allied to them is the consideration of the means whereby this union is manifested, and this leads to the question of ecstatic revelations, trances, or visions, which are distinguished from dreaming, from hallucinations and from poetic inspiration.

This ecstatic state begins when thought ceases, *to our consciousness*, to proceed from ourselves. Of its existence there is no doubt, and it is illustrated by Wordsworth's well-known lines on Tintern Abbey, by the case of Moses, of Isaiah, of St. Peter and of St. Paul. The trance preceding his conversion St. Paul regarded as special, ranking with the other Christophanies granted to apostles and 'brethren,' and of a different kind from such visions as might be seen by any Christian (p. 63). The curious waking trance which Tennyson[1] described himself to have often experienced is also adduced as an instance.

The whole subject is interesting, but too large to be dwelt upon fully. The present seems, however, the best place to summarize its connexion with religious Mysticism. In the early Church visions played an important *rôle*; they nearly died out among the laity, but continued to live on among the clergy and the monks, while even among the laity there were again and again sporadic outbreaks of them.[2] In St. Augustine other passages on the subject occur besides that quoted by Mr. Inge as to their being granted by the mediation of angels; *e.g.* in *Dialogus Quæstionum*, No. lxiii. he distinguishes three kinds: bodily, spiritual, and intellectual. The first cannot take place without the second, but the second can dispense with the first. The third is the highest kind, and requires neither of the two others. By it we see God. By it St. Paul was carried up into the third Heaven. The

[1] *Life*, i. 320.

[2] See Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vol. i. note on p. 53, where he refers to striking passages in writers of the first three centuries, Ignatius, Tertullian, Origen and Cyprian. Arnobius, he remarks, was ostensibly led to Christianity by a dream.

Digitized by Google

rapturous visions of Heinrich Suso[1] in the thirteenth, of Juliana of Norwich in the fourteenth, Walter Hylton in the fifteenth, and St. Teresa in the following century, are related at some length in the fifth and seventh Lectures, and constitute one of the most interesting portions of this volume. Suso, as well as St. Teresa, remarks on these ecstasies that only they who have experienced them can understand them; while a sentence of the Spanish nun, 'His sacred humanity was completely manifested to me as it is painted after the Resurrection,' is interesting as suggesting that sacred pictures lovingly gazed on may have been the source of some of Teresa's visions. On the other hand, St. Juan of the Cross, the greatest of St. Teresa's disciples, and Miguel de Molinos, the Spanish Quietist, unite in disparaging visions. With the former they are at best 'childish toys'; with the latter they are often 'snares of the devil.'

The general conclusion at which Mr. Inge arrives on this whole subject of visions is temperately and cautiously worded. He regards them as neither more nor less 'supernatural' than other mental phenomena. Psychology and medical science may some day throw light upon them. Many are certainly pathological; about others we may feel doubts, but some have every right to be considered as real irradiations of the soul from the light that 'for ever shines,' real notes of the harmony that 'is in immortal souls.' But 'the mystic as such is not a visionary' (pp. 16–19).

If we ask, in the next place, on what grounds it is held that there is such a thing as Speculative Mysticism, while it is admitted that many of the mediæval mystics were devoid of all taste for philosophy, and that, accepting what the Church taught, they simply studied how to perfect the spiritual life, it was different with the leaders, and so far as they combated Materialism and Scepticism we may speak of a Philosophy of Mysticism.

Its main characteristic positions are these. The real world is spiritual; it is above space and time.

> 'The world as it is, is as God sees it, not as we see it. Our vision is distorted, not so much by the limitations of finitude, as by sin and ignorance. The more we can raise ourselves in the scale of being, the more will our ideas about God and the world correspond to the reality. . . . The ideal not only ought to be, but *is* the real' (pp. 24–5).

[1] Heinrich von Berg, better known by his mother's name, Suess, Latinized Suso, born in the year 1300 at Ueberlingen, near Constance.

Digitized by Google

But if so, the inevitable question arises as to the origin of Evil. If it had a substantial existence apart from God the mystic drifted at once into the Dualism of the Manichees. If it was derived from God, how is God good? The view that prevailed with these writers was that Evil had no substance. It is disintegration. It can only *appear* in conjunction with some low degree of goodness; as Plotinus said, 'Vice at its worst is still human, being mixed with something opposite to itself' (p. 96). Speaking generally, the mysticists, especially the later ones, were optimists.

The universe being the thought and will of God, expressed under the forms of time and space, and everything, therefore, in it reflecting His nature, how do we learn most of that nature? Is it by close, reverent observation of the world around us, including our fellow-men; or are we to do as Richard of St. Victor advised, 'If thou wishest to search out the deep things of God, search out the depths of thine own spirit'?

Mr. Inge remarks well on the two classes into which Mysticism thus became divided:

'The truth is that there are two movements—a *systole* and *diastole* of the spiritual life—an expansion and a concentration. The tendency has generally been to emphasize one at the expense of the other; but they must work together, for each is helpless without the other. . . . Nature is dumb, our own hearts are dumb until they are allowed to speak to each other. Then both will speak to us of God' (p. 28).

The opening Lecture concludes with a statement in outline of two other great questions—the immanence of God in nature, and the relation of human personality to Divine. These subjects are of the deepest import, for they involve human responsibility. Mr. Inge here has some weighty reflections, and must be allowed to speak at length in his own words:

'If the Son of God is regarded as an all-embracing and all-pervading cosmic principle, the "mystic union" of the believer with Christ becomes something much closer than an ethical harmony of two mutually exclusive wills. The question which exercises the mystics is not whether such a thing as fusion of personalities is possible, but whether, when the soul has attained union with its Lord, it is any longer conscious of a life distinct from that of the Word. We shall find that some of the best mystics went astray on this point. They teach a real *substitution* of the Divine for human nature, thus depersonalizing man, and running into great danger of a perilous arrogance. . . . But it is possible to save personality without regarding the human spirit as a monad, independent and sharply

Digitized by Google

separated from other spirits. Distinction, not separation, is the mark of personality; but it is separation, not distinction, that forbids union. The error, according to the mystic's psychology, is in regarding consciousness of self as the measure of personality. . . . So far is it from being true that the self of our immediate consciousness is our true personality, that we can only attain personality, as spiritual and rational beings, by passing beyond the limits which mark us off as separate individuals. Separate individuality, we may say, is the bar which prevents us from realizing our true privileges as persons. And so the mystic interprets very literally that maxim of our Lord, in which many have found the fundamental secret of Christianity: "He that will save his life—his soul, his personality—shall lose it; and he that will lose his life for My sake shall find it." The false self must die—nay, must "die daily," for the process is gradual, and there is no limit to it. It is a process of infinite *expansion*—of realizing new correspondences, new sympathies and affinities with the not-ourselves, which affinities condition, and in conditioning constitute, our true life as persons. The paradox is offensive only to formal logic. As a matter of experience, no one, I imagine, would maintain that the man who has practically realized, to the fullest possible extent, the common life which he draws from his Creator, and shares with all other created beings—so realized it, I mean, as to draw from that consciousness all the influences which can play upon him from outside—has thereby dissipated and lost his personality, and become less of a person than another who has built a wall round his individuality, and lived, as Plato says, the life of a shell-fish' (pp. 29–31).

The paradox is met in other ways—by analysing conscience exhaustively, till we find in it 'the motions of the universal Reason which strives to convert the human organism into an organ of itself' (p. 33), by developing the old idea that man is a microcosm, in two directions, according to one of which God is both immanent and transcendent—in Bonaventura's words 'totum intra omnia, et totum extra;' 'His centre is everywhere and His circumference nowhere'; while, according to the other, 'Man in his individual life recapitulates the spiritual history of the race, so that the Incarnation, the central fact of human history, must have its analogue in the experience of the individual' (p. 35). But we can only indicate the line of thought, and remark in passing on the appositeness of the Scriptural texts wherein these speculative beliefs are expressed in religious language, 'It is God which worketh in you, both to will and to do, of His good pleasure.' 'Be ye perfect.' 'Christ is all and in all.'

This leads us to examine more particularly the Mystical element traceable in the Bible. It is obvious that the Jewish mind and character were alien to Mysticism, in spite of its

Digitized by Google

deeply religious bent. The Jewish view of the external world, Mr. Inge tells us, was realistic rather than Platonic; the visible was not regarded in any way inferior to the invisible. 'The Jew had little sense of the Divine *in* nature: it was the power of God *over* nature which he was jealous to maintain.' With the exception of a few passages like that in Isaiah xxxiii. and some Psalms, *e.g.* the two naturally chosen to be read on Ascension Day, the 15th and 24th, and other portions of the Psalter, according to our author there is little affinity with Mysticism to be found in the Old Testament. To this section we are inclined to take exception as perhaps somewhat inadequate. To the solitary reference to Isaiah might not others be added which bring out the affectionate communion of the human soul with God, which breathes through much of Hebrew prophecy? Do we not find in it traces of a life of the soul towards God—a reaching out of the finite to the infinite, a belief that God is near at hand to those who seek Him—not vaguely or in an abstract way, though not of course expressed in anything resembling a speculative system? We would refer particularly to three passages:

'Thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy; I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones.

'For I will not contend for ever, neither will I be always wroth; for the spirit should fail before me, and the souls which I have made' (Isaiah lvii. 15).

'Thus saith the Lord, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: where is the house that ye build unto me? and where is the place of my rest?

'For all those things hath mine hand made, and all those things have been, saith the Lord: but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word' (Isaiah lxvi. 1–2).

'Am I a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off?

'Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him? saith the Lord. Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord' (Jeremiah xxiii. 23–4).

Has the inconceivable idea of God's existence apart from Time ever been better conveyed than it is by the magnificent expression 'inhabiting eternity,' and do not each one of the above passages connect the Divine attributes with the needs of the individual soul? To us they seem to harmonize with and answer very nearly to the definition of Religious Mysticism on p. 5, 'the attempt to realize the presence of the living God in the soul and in nature.'

Digitized by Google

We turn to the New Testament. In all the four Gospels occurs that corner stone of Mystical Ethics, 'Whosoever shall seek to save his life [or soul] shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life [or soul] shall preserve it,' while other illustrative passages in the Evangelists are pointed out that directly teach or imply the vision of God, the indwelling of Christ or of the Holy Spirit, and the unity of Christ and His members. But, as we should naturally expect, it is from the Gospel of St. John, 'the Spiritual Gospel,' that our author draws his illustrations most largely. Nearly one half of the second Lecture is devoted to him, and so full of excellent matter are these fifteen pages that it is hard to know which part claims most attention. 'Christian Mysticism might almost be called Johannine Christianity, if it were not better to say that a Johannine Christianity is the ideal which a mystic sets before himself' (p. 44). In his use of the pregnant expressions on the nature of God the Father, semi-abstract though they are—'God is Love,' 'God is Light,' 'God is Spirit'—he points out that the Evangelist does not attenuate His Personality in the slightest degree. Christ's relation to the Father, given both in the Prologue and in our Lord's own words, and His relation to the world, as the Mind or Wisdom who upholds and dominates the universe without being lost in it; the Incarnation, as the central fact of Christianity, and its purpose to reveal the Father (ch. xiv. 9); the office of the Holy Spirit and the purpose of His mission, to reveal the Son; the doctrine of development through His bringing to remembrance the teachings of Christ and helping mankind to understand them: all this is connected with Mysticism on its speculative side. So is also, 'when we turn to the human side and trace the upward path of the Christian life,' the new birth (ch. iv. 3); the warning that faith must precede knowledge (ch. vii. 17) (the objection to which, that St. John is arguing in a circle, is well met by the reply that 'it misses the drift of the Evangelist, with whom faith is not the acceptance of a proposition upon evidence, it is the resolution to follow Christ wherever He may lead us; *faith begins with an experiment, and ends with an experience*'); the union between Christ and His Church (ch. xvii. 21), and the definition of Eternal Life (ch. xvii. 3).

'St. John's Mysticism is thus patent to all; it is stamped upon his very style, and pervades all his teaching' (p. 53). But it is not true that he is simply a mystic of the Alexandrian type. As a protest against this, we have some valuable remarks on one of his commentators, Reuss, who objects

Digitized by Google

'that St. John cannot have used "the last day" in the ordinary sense, because mystical theology has nothing to do with such a notion.' The passage is too long to quote *in extenso*. Mr. Inge admits that those who with Kant believe space and time to be only forms of our thought must regard the traditional eschatology as symbolical. But while human thought is obliged to use the best symbol it can get in dealing with what transcends the past, present, and future, still 'the basis of the belief in future judgment is that deep conviction of the rationality of the world-order, or, in religious language, of the wisdom and justice of God, which we cannot and will not surrender' (p. 54).

Again, St. John is very far from disparaging the historical basis of Christianity, though the facts hold for him a subordinate place as evidences. 'Heretical mystics have often fancied that they can rise above the Son to the Father. The Gospel and Epistle of St. John stand like a rock against this fatal error, and in this feature some German critics have rightly discerned their supreme value to mystical theology' (p. 57): *e.g.* Grau, who says, 'His view is mystical because all life is mystical.'

At other features of St. John's Gospel which bear directly on our subject—his fondness for employing visible things as symbols, his favourite word for miracles, σημεῖα, 'signs or symbols,' his wealth of allegories—we can but glance.

Not less clearly can we discover the essentials of mysticism in St. Paul. We have alluded already to his visions, and to the truth he enjoins of the law of redemption in Christ appearing in each human life. He does not shrink, any more than does St. John, from using technical current terms of speculative theism, such as πλήρωμα,[1] the ideal fulness or totality of the Divine attributes (*e.g.* Eph. i. 23, iii. 23, iv. 13, and Col. i. 19, ii. 9). Other well-known and pregnant passages are quoted from these two Epistles, and from that to the Galatians, and from both the letters to the Corinthians, which show how thoroughly St. Paul's teaching on the Passion of Christ harmonizes with that of the Logos doctrine in St. John's Prologue. From the Pauline conception of Christ there follow two important consequences. First, it is fatal to religious individualism;

[1] See Bishop Lightfoot's exhaustive essay (*Colossians*, pp. 323-39). The meaning of the word is not 'the thing which fills a void' so much as 'the filled condition of a thing.' It had acquired a technical theological sense in St. Paul's time, probably in the Palestinian schools of thought.

Digitized by Google

secondly, Christ's victory over sin and death affects not only humanity, but the whole of creation which 'groans and travails in pain with us until now.' This mysterious truth was highly prized by the later mystics, and is dwelt upon accordingly in the last two of these Bampton Lectures. It is a thought which can never fail to be attractive and suggestive. It corrects the fancy that the world was made only for man, and man's concerns. As Canon Gore[1] in his latest work points out, it is equally alien to a one-sided spiritualism, which either disbelieves in the reality of matter altogether, or regards it as evil and a thing to be ignored, and to a one-sided materialism which gives to matter a substantive existence apart from spirit.

Very little further illustration is given from the New Testament, none from St. Peter or St. James. But would not the words of the latter, 'Draw near to God, and He will draw near to you' (ch. iv. 8.), in spite of—perhaps owing to—their simplicity, find a response in the heart of any mystic, at least of the devotional class?

Thus far the foundation has been laid for the treatment of the more strictly philosophical side of the subject, contained in the third and fourth Lectures. This naturally falls into the two broad divisions of Eastern and Western Speculative Mysticism. We have already given in his own words the method adopted by Mr. Inge. The name of Platonism is prefixed to the whole of this section, for Plato—in whom, as Emerson says, Mysticism finds all its texts—is after all the father of its European type. Both those who rise above the visible and those who distrust it alike appeal to him.

The Gnostics to some extent anticipated the later Neoplatonism, and for their organization and discipline were indebted to the ancient Mysteries. But it must be sufficient to say here of their system, in spite of the high opinion entertained of them by Harnack, who even calls them 'the Theologians of the first century,' that so far as it is connected with our subject it presents, as Mr. Inge says, all the features that are found to be characteristic of degenerate Mysticism. Nor is it either necessary or possible to dwell minutely on each of the eight writers of the Eastern class, though it would be interesting to do so in the case of Philo, owing to the value of both his speculative and ethical systems, the former having for its object to reconcile Moses and Plato, the latter being a foreshadowing of the later contemplative schools. A

[1] *On the Epistle to the Romans*, p. 306. The whole section is well worth reading.

Digitized by Google

hundred and fifty years later St. Clement tried to do for Christianity what Philo had tried to do for Judaism, to construct a *gnosis*—a philosophy of religion based on the Logos doctrine. Not a deep thinker, he worked up the philosophical ideas of his time. In the history of Mysticism he is 'a victim to the unfortunate negative method which he calls "analysis," the method which starts with the assertion that since God is exalted above Being, we cannot say what He is, but only what He is not' (p. 87). Of this we shall have to speak later on. He is also the parent of that 'deification' which played so large a part in the system at a later date. The chief link contributed by the profound mind of Origen was that God is not wholly above reason, but can be approached by reason as well as by ecstatic visions. Origen has many points in common with Clement, but his mind was less inclined to mystical modes of thought. To Methodius and Gregory of Nyssa little more than a page is devoted. Each of them introduced new and interesting features: the former that Christ constantly repeats His Passion in each individual; while Gregory defends the historical Incarnation in true mystical fashion, by an appeal to spiritual experience. 'For the Greek theologians Christ is a cosmic principle, immanent in the world, though not confined by it; and the scheme of salvation is regarded as part of the constitution of the universe, which is animated and sustained by the same Power who was fully manifested in the Incarnation' (p. 101).

Plotinus (A.D. 205–270), who, though himself outside Christianity, largely influenced Christian Mysticism, and the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, whose date is unsettled (Harnack places it about A.D. 350), both claim a more special consideration. Plotinus, from his mysterious transcendental conversation, has been called the Coleridge of his time. Though not a methodical writer, he is the great exponent of Neoplatonism at its best period. On the many topics into which it branches out we need not enter, but it is requisite for our present purpose to form a clear idea of its significance and importance in relation to Mysticism. It came last, and learned from all the schools. It claimed to be not only the absolute philosophy completing all systems, but at the same time the absolute religion, confirming and explaining all earlier religions. It is, therefore, an important stage in the history of religion. Its pervading and predominating interest was a religious one, while into philosophy it introduced a new principle, the super-rational or the super-essential. Neither on sense-perception nor on knowledge gained by the under-

Digitized by Google

standing can a religious ethic be built. To ascertain truth, man has to aspire to a new world. But since he cannot transcend his psychological endowment, and as his thoughts will otherwise tend to become a prey to fancy, to bridle this a superhuman authority is demanded. On Divine disclosures (that is, revelations) must rest both the highest knowledge and the possibility of knowledge itself. In a word, Neoplatonism had to be a philosophy of revelation; and though it could not answer the question how one could permanently maintain the mood of blessedness and peace to which man aspires, still as a frame of mind it achieved much; for it produced the consciousness that such blessedness which alone can satisfy man is to be found somewhere else than in the sphere of knowledge. The three constituents of the so-called Neoplatonic Trinity are (1) the Soul, (2) the Intelligence or Thought, (3) the Original Essence, the One, or the Good. Thought is only a preliminary stage towards union with God. The soul can only see and touch the Original Essence in a condition of complete passivity and rest. It must begin with the contemplation of material things, their diversity and harmony, then retire into itself and sink itself in its own essence, and thence mount up to the *νοῦς*, to the world of ideas: but as it still does not find the One and Highest Essence there, it must lose sight of itself in a state of intense concentration. It can then see God, the source of life, the principle of being, the first cause of all good, the root of the soul. Four times, as Porphyry relates, did Plotinus attain to this ecstatic union with God. His dying words were, 'The divine in me is struggling to go up to the Divine in all.'

From the above sketch of its central idea, we can see how nearly the Neoplatonist was akin to the Mystic. It was indeed here that the system has been thought to have celebrated its greatest triumph. It introduced into the Church its entire mysticism and its mystic exercises.[1]

Several vital elements of Mysticism are to be traced to Dionysius, who was perhaps a Syrian monk, and to his master, Hierotheus, whose book on 'The hidden Mysteries of the Divinity' has been recently discovered. Of the system of the latter Mr. Inge gives a brief but interesting sketch, in which he describes it as not exactly Pantheism, but Pan-Nihilism. 'It is the ancient religion of the Brahmins, masquerading in clothes borrowed from Jewish allegorists, half-Christian Gnostics,

[1] This paragraph is an abridgment of the valuable Appendix on Neoplatonism by Harnack, from whom most of its language is borrowed, *History of Dogma*, i. 336–64.

Digitized by Google

Manichæans, Platonising Christians, and pagan Neoplatonists' (p. 104).

Whoever Dionysius was, whenever he lived, and whatever opinion we form of the success of his 'pious fraud' in imposing upon his uncritical age as he did, his ability and his influence on later speculation are undoubted. He is a theologian, not a visionary like his Master. He dwells upon the Divine Love, and uses the word ἔρως (avoided by the New Testament writers), applying to Christ the famous words of St. Ignatius, 'My Love is crucified.' He tries to avoid the charge of Pantheism, on which Mr. Inge has a discriminating section of some length, where he suggests for the belief in the immanence of a God who is also transcendent the use of the word *Panentheism*, coined by Krause. Dionysius's method of escape is by preserving the transcendence of God who is above all things (Being is in Him and He is not in Being), and by maintaining that all separate existence will *not* ultimately be merged in the One. For we must distinguish two processes, the downward path through finite existence, ending in 'God is all,' and the returning ascent to God, by abstraction, ending in 'God is not all.' But this 'negative road' by which 'the mystic enters on the darkness of nescience, that is truly mystical,' destroys, as Mr. Inge acutely points out, the value of his previously admitting the persistence of distinctions after the restitution of all things. On this *via negativa* we must dwell for a short space, inasmuch as Dionysius has much to answer for in the inveterate aberration that it caused throughout the future history of Speculative Mysticism. It has so deeply infected it that many persons confuse it with its essence, forgetting one large branch of the subject, Symbolism. The mischief is frequently insisted on by Mr. Inge, especially on p. 111: 'Confessing our ignorance is a very different thing from refusing to make any positive statements about God. It is true that all our language about God must be inadequate and symbolic; but that is no reason for discarding all symbols, as if we could in that way know God as He knows Himself.' This negative method is ultimately traceable to India, and its logical conclusion is Nirvâna. We have seen already the germ of it in St. Clement. It recurs in Erigena, who regarded all statements about the Deity as mere metaphor. It is seen in Albertus Magnus and Bonaventura. It reappears in its hardest form in the nihilism or acosmism of St. Juan of the Cross. 'God has no resemblance to any creature.' To him the world simply does not exist: nothing exists save God and human souls. Fénelon only

Digitized by Google

escaped from it through an inconsistency in his philosophy, and with him we may perhaps see, as Mr. Inge says, 'the dying spasm' of this method. At the same time, pernicious as it has been, the element of truth that it contains is not ignored, and we must refer our readers to some excellent qualifying remarks, which we have not space to quote, on pages 110, 244, and 260, on this subject.

Turning our attention now to the West, and to the Latin and Teutonic races, if we ask whether St. Augustine was a mystic, he may be said to have had a natural sympathy with parts of the system in spite of the perversions and vulgarities in it which moved his contempt; while his conception of the Beautiful is akin to the Symbolists of a later age. On the final vision and contemplation of truth, what is finer than such expressions as those in the *Confessions* (xi. 9): 'Quis comprehendet? quis enarrabit? Quid est illud quod interlucet mihi, et percutit cor meum sine læsione, et inhorresco, et inardesco? Inhorresco in quantum dissimilis ei sum; inardesco in quantum similis ei sum. Sapientia ipsa est quæ interlucet mihi discindens nubilum meum.'

The Dark Ages (*circa* 500–1000) are almost barren of speculation, but John Scotus Erigena is too striking a figure to be passed over. He and Gerbert (Pope Silvester II.) stand out as the only two men we know of any genius or originality in the ignorance of the ninth and tenth centuries. Erigena has the credit of having translated Dionysius into Latin for the West, and his affinities were mainly with Eastern thought. Of his many bold utterances condemned by the Church, perhaps the most characteristic and most monstrous was this: 'God was not before He made the universe.' But he was also the author of the fine maxim 'There is nothing true in philosophy which is not true in theology, nor true in theology which is not so in philosophy.' 'He is the father, not only of Western Mysticism and Scholasticism, but of Rationalism as well' (p. 138). To us Erigena as an English or Irish monk is specially interesting, for our island has not been prolific of mystics, at least until we come to the Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth century. The few exceptions to this are Juliana of Norwich in the fourteenth, and Walter Hylton, author of *The Ladder of Perfection*, in the fifteenth century—for John of Salisbury (*ob.* 1180), a pupil of Abélard, in whom the mystic was lost in the statesman and the ecclesiastic, can hardly be added to the list.

Mysticism was the refuge from the hard Scholasticism of the Middle Ages, with its torturing of words, its love of

Digitized by Google

antithesis[1] and its arid logic. Not that the mystics were not often strict logicians. The problem, as Mr. Inge remarks, for the Church was how to foster their warm love and faith without giving the rein to mischievous errors. In Bernard we see the protest of practical religion against the dialectical spirit. The Victorians, Hugo and Richard (of the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris), Bonaventura, Albert and Gerson ('Doctor Christianissimus') need not detain us. As Milman[2] says:

'The silent, solemn Cloister was constantly balancing the noisy and pugnacious School. The system of the St. Victors is the contemplative philosophy of deep-thinking minds in their profound seclusion, not of intellectual gladiators; it is that of men following out the train of their own thoughts, not perpetually crossed by the objections of subtle rival disputants. Its end is not victory, but the inward satisfaction of the soul.'

Thus in one aspect they might seem rather to belong to the practical and devotional class.

Many of the mystic writers either exaggerate some one feature of their system or, in the attempt to reconcile discordant elements, are led into inconsistencies. It was so even with Eckhart, who next claims our attention. 'Intellectually he is drawn towards a semi-pantheistic idealism; his heart makes him an Evangelical Christian . . . The traditions of his philosophy pointed towards withdrawal from the world and from outward occupations—towards the monkish ideal, in a word, but the modern spirit was already astir within him' (pp. 150, 160). Eckhart himself was a Dominican monk, but he preached in German to the people and wrote in German, as well as in Latin—a great innovation for the fourteenth century. He even puts the Martha type before that of Mary. 'Besser ein Lebemeister als tausend Lesemeister.' Mr. Inge gives a useful summary of his teaching, bringing out particularly the following points: his evolution of the Triune God from the Godhead; the generation of the Son as a continual process, and as involving by a moral, not a physical, necessity the creation of the world, by which is meant, not the world of phenomena, but the world of ideas. According to Eckhart, when God speaks His ideas the phenomenal world arises, but its imperfections are not accounted for, nor does he explain Sin and Evil any better than Dionysius did, by whom evil was identified with not-being. The most distinctive part of Eckhart's ethics is the new importance he gives to immanence

[1] A good instance of this occurs in a passage of Erigena, quoted in the note on p. 137.

[2] *Latin Christianity*, IX. xiv. 3.

Digitized by Google

and his doctrine of 'the Spark' which lies at 'the apex of the mind'—the organ by which we rise to communion with God. He calls it sometimes an uncreated light, sometimes a divine spark (*divinæ particulam auræ*). Whereas with Thomas Aquinas it is a faculty of the soul, with Eckhart it is uncreated. 'It is higher than knowledge, higher than love, higher than grace.' In his earlier period he identified it with 'the highest reason,' to which he assigns absolute supremacy; but towards the end of his life he inclined towards separating the two. There was an esoteric side to Eckhart's teaching, for on the subject of the imitation of Christ he distinguishes between 'the way of the manhood' which has to be followed by all, and 'the way of the Godhead,' which is for the mystic only. The double aspect of his system, for 'he seems to stand in the dividing-line between mediæval and modern Christianity,' makes him a peculiarly interesting study. He has affinities with Plotinus in ancient and with Hegel in modern times. He has been called the parent of German metaphysical theology.

We have now surveyed at some length the speculative branch of our subject; the remaining Lectures dealing with it on its practical and symbolical side it will not be necessary to treat with the same fulness. The personality of the devotional mystics is very striking. Some of them have already come before us when speaking of Visions. Of Juliana of Norwich in particular, during whose fifteen years of suffering passive ectsasy was exhibited at its greatest height, some very beautiful thoughts are given by Mr. Inge. We may quote as instances the following: 'She refused to listen to "a proffer in my reason," which said, "Look up to heaven to His Father." "Nay, I may not," she replied, "for Thou art my heaven. For I would liever have been in that pain till Doomsday than to come to heaven otherwise than by Him." "Me liked none other heaven than Jesus, which shall be my bliss when I come there." And after describing a vision of the Crucifixion she says, "How might any pain be more than to see Him that is all my life and all my bliss suffer?"' (p. 203). 'By the logic of the heart she was led straight to some of the very deepest doctrines found in the philosophers, *e.g.*: "Sin is behovable" [*i.e.* necessary or profitable] "but all shall be well, and all shall be well, and all manner of thing shall be well." "It is the most impossible that may be, that God should be wroth." "To me was showed none harder hell than sin," a truly remarkable utterance in an age saturated with pictures of the torments of a material hell' (p. 208).

Digitized by Google

We have not yet mentioned Tauler, whose life extends from the last decade of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fourteenth century. Born at Strassburg, he went to study at Paris; but the doctors there were 'ever turning over the leaves of huge books; they cared not for the one book of life.' Returning to Strassburg, he came under the influence of Eckhart. He preached in German. He was a thinker and a well-read man, as well as a preacher; we can but allude to the striking scene, when a mysterious layman desired to know of him how to attain the highest perfection possible, and rebuked Tauler for his self-righteousness (!) when he preached to him his loftiest Mysticism, and so melted him that for two years he remained silent. Possibly the stranger was Nicholas of Basel, a member of that secret unorganized society called the Friends of God, on whom, as being intensely mystic, we might have expected rather more than the passing allusion given to them by Mr. Inge.

Among the chief principles of Tauler's practical theology were the subjugation of the will, which becomes more and more insisted on; a passive quietistic state, counteracted, however, by the inculcation of active virtue. His perfect man was a social being, not a hermit. But the exaltation of the creature was certainly pushed to a dangerous extreme, and resulted in the 'deification' which has come before us already. We are startled and shocked by reading that if one whose spirit has become one with God could behold himself, he would see himself so noble that he would fancy himself God; or, again, that when one with the Divine glory he *is* that glory. The intense value set on union with the Deity is urged as some excuse for this objectionable language, by Mr. Inge, who traces the error to setting before ourselves the idea of God the Father, or of the Absolute, instead of Christ, as the object of our imitation. We can only refer to some excellent remarks on pp. 189–193, and also to the admirable Appendix C.

Two celebrated books—one of world-wide renown—belong to this period. The anonymous *Theologia Germanica*, holding the central spirit of the religious life to be a rising above 'I' and 'Mine,' in its warnings against the 'false light'—*i.e.* the light of nature—and in rejecting what is no part of genuine Christian faith, is a valuable landmark in the literature of Mysticism. Its one defect was the belief that the Divine begins where the earthly leaves off. It may surprise some readers to learn that in our author's opinion the *Imitatio Christi* should not properly be considered to be a

Digitized by Google

mystical treatise. But the reasons alleged appear to be sound. Besides its disparagement of philosophy it is lacking in all inculcation of the Love of Man. It is indifferent to human interests. And these are not the marks of the highest form of Mysticism.

Hitherto we have seen the Mystic, as a rule, remarkably free from persecution, and living unmolested by the arm of authority, whether secular or papal. The condemnation of some of Erigena's works in his lifetime, and of others after his death, forms a rare exception. But from the early part of the fifteenth to the close of the seventeenth century their case was very different. They were unpopular with the Reformers and the precursors of the Reformation, who frowned on them unjustly for their alleged want of veneration for Scripture. And by their attitude towards Sacerdotalism, their passionate assertion that God was within—in the heart and in the life, and not only to be found in monastery and ritual, they fell under the suspicion of the Church. They were commanded to abjure their opinions. Some of them were burnt as heretics—Master Martin of Maintz at Cologne, Nicholas of Basel at Vienne in Dauphiné, and many others at Heidelberg. In Spain, which became the centre of a special type of Mysticism, of which St. Juan of the Cross is the chief example, during the sixteenth century free thought was sternly repressed. 'The Spanish Mystics remained orthodox Romanists, subservient to their "directors" and "superiors," and indefatigable in making recruits for the Cloister. Even so, they did not escape the attention of the Inquisition' (p. 214). St. Teresa and St. Juan were indeed canonized ; St. Teresa, not for her theology, but for her life ; and St. Juan not till after the lapse of nearly a century from his death ; but the latter was shut up for nine years at Toledo, and the former narrowly escaped imprisonment at Seville. Several other examples attest the rigour of the persecutions in Spain. Quietism, one might have expected, with its 'prayer of silence' and its complete resignation to the Divine Will, might have been spared. But it mortally offended the priesthood from its slighting the practice of frequent confession, and Molinos was forced to recant the erroneous teaching of his *Spiritual Guide*, and imprisoned till his death, in 1696. We may ask in passing whether some room should not be found for Ignatius Loyola in any treatment of the Spanish Mystics. Wild and fanciful as his reveries were, they brought about his transition from worldly to spiritual knighthood, and resulted in the great Order which he founded.

Digitized by Google

In France, which may be said, speaking generally, to exhibit the mysticism of sentiment, while Germany exhibited the mysticism of thought,[1] Madame de Guyon affords a signal instance of the length towards which the religious persecution of a mystic could go. This beautiful and delicate woman, no mere visionary dreamer, but wonderfully keen and zealous in works of active charity, had probably unhinged her intellect by fearful austerities, self-inflicted in her earlier days. The times were intolerant of inward light being followed rather than the counsels of prelates. Her condemnation, brought about by Bossuet, was aggravated by perfidy and intrigue, by cruelty and insult. Fénelon was drawn into the controversy. We regret that space forbids us to quote the remarks of Mr. Inge on his *Maxims of the Saints*, which was nicknamed the 'Bible of the Little Church,' and on the rejection by the Roman Church of the Quietistic doctrine, which she had first called in as an ally against Protestantism. It is, however, in his opinion, not of the essence of Mysticism, but belongs rather to Mediæval Catholicism. It was an anachronism to attempt to revive what was a one-sided type of speculation, though it had done good work in its day.

Nowhere is it more necessary to distinguish between the essential and the accidental, the natural and the artificial, the real and the fanciful, the healthy and the morbid, than in speaking of Symbolism. Mr. Inge's treatment of this difficult part of his subject is eminently sane. He starts from a *dictum* of the late R. L. Nettleship that the true 'Mysticism is the belief that everything, in being what it is, is symbolic of something more,' to which he adds that 'All Nature' (and there are few more pernicious errors than that which separates man from Nature) 'is the language in which God expresses His thoughts; but the thoughts are far more than the language. Thus it is that the invisible things of God from the creation of the world may be clearly seen and understood from the things that are made' (p. 250). Then after remarking that not externals only but also our thoughts and beliefs about the spiritual world, so far as they are conceived under forms or expressed in language which belong properly only to things of time or space, are of the nature of symbols, he draws attention to the early use of the word 'symbol' as implying a revelation, and to the deep need there is in human nature for sacraments. This leads him to state precisely the sense in which the two Sacraments of our Church fulfil the nature of a symbol. 'The symbol must be appropriate; the

[1] *Hours with the Mystics*, ii. 215.

Digitized by Google

thing symbolized must be a spiritual truth; and there must be the intention to perform the act *as* a Sacrament' (p. 255). As to the effect on the receiver, the reciprocal action of Spirit and Matter, he grants, must ever remain a mystery.

Other religious forms, he adds, have a quasi-sacramental value. 'To the true mystic, life itself is a sacrament.' 'The need of symbols to express or represent our highest emotions is inwoven with human nature, and indifference to them is an unhealthy symptom' (p. 259). We would gladly quote more on this, but can only refer to the note in which he differs widely from Harnack's view of the motives with which a mystic would receive the Eucharist, and protests against anything that savours of magic being identified with the essence of Mysticism.

We must not be led aside to consider the influence of the Cabbala on magic, but its importance should be recognized in another direction—namely, that of Allegorism. It would be easy to illustrate the abuse of the method by such fanciful vagaries of patristic explanation as that of the 153 fish (John xxi. 11), or the 318 trained servants of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 14), which were accepted even by Keble; but these form no ground for denying the possibility of a sober and legitimate application of the mystical method of interpretation, 'not resting upon any subjective fancy or sentimental resemblance, but as founded upon clear rational principles.'[1]

Time would fail were we to speak of the Nature Mysticism of Cornelius Agrippa and Paracelsus; of the ingenious distinction drawn by Weigel between natural and spiritual knowledge, which yet resemble each other according to his theory, in that in each case it flows from within outwards; or again, of the exposition by his enthusiastic admirer, William Law, of the doctrines of Jacob Böhme, that strange reviver of the Heraclitean theory of strife between opposite tendencies as the parent of all things. The Cambridge Platonists are well illustrated by the fine extracts given from Whichcote and John Smith; but Henry More is only represented in a few passages scattered through the book in notes and mottoes. As a unique specimen of the experience of a youthful mystic, it is worth while to quote the following passage from his Autobiography:

'On a certain day, in a ground belonging to Eton College, where the boys used to play and exercise themselves, recalling to my mind this doctrine of Calvin, I did thus seriously and deliberately conclude

[1] See an Article in the *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1886, 'The Mystical Interpretation of Holy Scripture.'

Digitized by Google

with myself: viz. "If I am one of those that are predestined into hell, where all things are full of nothing but cursing and blasphemy, yet will I behave myself there patiently and submissively toward God, and if there be any one thing more than another that is acceptable to Him, that will I set myself to do with a sincere heart and to the utmost of my power; being certainly persuaded that if I thus demean myself, He would hardly keep me long in that place."'

Something like this sentiment meets us in the mouth of other mystics, *e.g.* Molinos and Fénelon, from whom More could not have derived it.

The subject of Nature Mysticism is pursued further in the concluding Lecture, and illustrated by well-chosen quotations from and references to Wordsworth and Browning, the latter of whom lays stress upon the additional element of the mightiness of love. Wordsworth is in one respect more limited in his range than Browning, in so far as his sympathy for inanimate nature is deeper than for humanity. His affinity with the earlier mystics, 'with the Spanish ascetic in his cell, and the Platonic philosopher in his library or lecture-room,' is unquestionable. 'They have been climbing the same mountain from different sides. The paths are different, but the prospect from the summit is the same.' The illustrations given are meant to be suggestive, and not exhaustive. We may supplement them with the following lines from the opening of the *Excursion*:

'Sound needed none,
Nor any voice of joy; his spirit drank
The spectacle: sensation, soul, and form,
All melted into him; they swallowed up
His animal being; in them did he live,
And by them did he live; they were his life.
In such access of mind, in such high hour
Of visitation from the living God,
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired.
No thanks he breathed, he proffered no request;
Rapt into still communion that transcends
The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
His mind was a thanksgiving to the power
That made him; it was blessedness and love.'

It is somewhat disappointing that, beyond the vision already alluded to and one extract from the Ancient Sage prefixed to Lecture VIII., Tennyson is not mentioned in this connexion. His poetry is steeped in the truest Mysticism. We can only refer to that early unpublished poem, *The Mystic*, to *Sir Galahad*, to the closing poems of *In Memoriam*, to the

Digitized by Google

Holy Grail and the *Higher Pantheism.* Nor is the subject illustrated from Art, which is just alluded to and no more.

What, then, is the general conclusion at which we arrive? Is there room for Mysticism in a materialistic, busy and restless age? The world cannot go back to the mediæval type of saintliness, with its detachment from secular interests and its crushing out of the deepest affections. But the highest Mysticism does not require anything of the kind. It does not teach a lonely religion. The contemplative life need not be divorced from the practical. Mysticism is the craving of man to be reunited with God, from whom he has fallen away, and this has its two sides—intuition and action. It does not involve a merging of the separate personality in the general soul. It is not merely negative, a protest against dryness and formalism and literalism. It is not only an atmosphere of religion: it is an assimilation of man's life with the life of God—a living God, not an abstract one—through transmission of the divine. If there is indeed 'a capacity of the soul, by which the truths of religion may be apprehended and appropriated';[1] if 'some strange thoughts transcend our wonted themes, and into glory peep,'[2] then surely Mysticism divested of its accidentals and its abuses, of the unreality and vague theosophy with which it is often too hastily associated, is not the dreamland of the recluse and *dilettante*, but may occupy robuster minds. The spiritual gaze may be 'purged and unscaled at the fountain of heavenly radiance,' and as it cannot be denied that it has been granted to many, so it may be possible for us to experience and enjoy a consciousness of and a communion with the Eternal.

But we cannot, perhaps, conclude better than by letting Mr. Inge define his position as to Christian Mysticism in his own language, by the following passages of his peroration:

'The constructive task which lies before the next century is, if I may say so without presumption, to spiritualise science, as morality and art have already been spiritualised. The vision of God should appear to us as a triple star of truth, beauty, and goodness. These are the three objects of all human aspiration; and our hearts will never be at peace till all three alike rest in God. Beauty is the chief mediator between the good and the true; and this is why the great poets have been also prophets. But Science at present lags behind; she has not found her God; and to this is largely due the "unrest of the age." Much has already been done in the right direction by divines, philosophers, and physicists, and more still, perhaps, by

[1] Principal Caird, *Sermons*, p. 14.
[2] Henry Vaughan, the Silurist.

Digitized by Google

the great poets, who have striven earnestly to see the spiritual background which lies behind the abstractions of materialistic science. But much yet remains to be done. . . . Meanwhile, the special work assigned to the Church of England would seem to be the development of a *Johannine* Christianity, which shall be both Catholic and Evangelical, without being either Roman or Protestant. It has been abundantly proved that neither Romanism nor Protestantism, regarded as alternatives, possesses enough of the truth to satisfy the religious needs of the present day. . . . In St. John and St. Paul we find all the principles of a sound and sober Mysticism; and it is to these "fresh springs" of spiritual life that we must turn, if the Church is to renew her youth. . . . The principle "Cuique in sua arte credendum est" applies to those who have been eminent for personal holiness as much as to the leaders in any other branch of excellence. . . . Now it will be found that these men of acknowledged and pre-eminent saintliness agree very closely in what they tell us about God. They tell us that they have arrived gradually at an unshakable conviction, not based on inference, but on immediate experience, that God is a Spirit with whom the human spirit can hold intercourse; that in Him meet all that they can imagine of goodness, truth, and beauty; that they can see His footprints everywhere in nature, and feel His presence within them as the very life of their life, so that in proportion as they come to themselves they come to Him. They tell us that what separates us from Him and from happiness is, first, self-seeking in all its forms; and, secondly, sensuality in all its forms; that these are the ways of darkness and death, which hide us from the face of God; while the path of the just is like a shining light, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day. . . . It is not claimed that Mysticism, even in its widest sense, is, or can ever be, the whole of Christianity. Every religion must have an institutional as well as a mystical element. . . . Still, at the present time, the greatest need seems to be that we should return to the fundamentals of spiritual religion. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that both the old seats of authority, the infallible Church and the infallible Book, are fiercely assailed, and that our faith needs reinforcements. These can only come from the depths of the religious consciousness itself; and if summoned from thence, they will not be found wanting. The "impregnable rock" is neither an institution nor a book, but a life or experience.'

Digitized by Google

ART. V.—UNDERCURRENTS OF CHURCH LIFE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Undercurrents of Church Life in the Eighteenth Century. By the Author of *Nicholas Ferrar* and *The Life and Times of John Kettlewell.* Edited by T. T. CARTER. (London, 1899.)

THIS volume is a natural sequel to the two former volumes by the same author, who has done, and is doing, great service to the Church by bringing into notice the hallowing effects of the Church system, when rightly carried out, upon life and character. The two previous volumes had to do with the seventeenth century; this, with the eighteenth. Nicholas Ferrar in the first, and John Kettlewell in the second half of the seventeenth century, were plants, so to speak, which seem to thrive best in the soil of the English Church. There are, no doubt, numbers of good and pious men in other communions, but that peculiar type of piety—calm, cultured, undemonstrative, quite different from that, say, of a St. Francis or a St. Theresa on the one side, or of a John Fletcher[1] or an Elizabeth Fry on the other—is best developed in the English Church, except perhaps in the Greek Church in the time of St. Chrysostom. The same idea seems to pervade the writer's mind in the present volume; but she[2] covers a wider ground. Instead of taking one figure as the centre of a group, she ranges through the whole century, and shows how Church principles were still influential as an 'undercurrent,' in spite of the many counter-influences which tended to stifle them in that somewhat earthy and Erastian age. The book, therefore, is of a more ambitious nature than its predecessors. It is also more original, giving information on some points which is not accessible to the general public. It seems, therefore, to demand more than the 'Short Notice' which its bulk would indicate as the proper mode of dealing with it.

Our authoress naturally finds her best materials among the Nonjurors, whose churchmanship was of a more advanced type than was generally found in what people were pleased to call 'the Establishment'; but she finds many Jurors also who well

[1] John Fletcher, though an ordained clergyman in the English Church, was always, in our opinion, foreign rather than English in his tone of mind.

[2] The authoress betrays her sex in her 'Prefatory Note,' in which '*she* expresses her grateful thanks for much kind and valuable help,' &c.

Digitized by Google

illustrate her point. Among these are Sir George Wheler, whom that stout Nonjuror, Dean Granville, groups with 'the famous Dr. Beveridge,' calling them his 'beloved friends at whom'—that is, at whose conduct in taking the oaths—'I do,' he says, 'much admire'—that is, wonder;[1] John Sharp, one of the best prelates who ever held the Northern Primacy; Thomas Wilson, the apostolic Bishop of Man; Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, to whom an adventitious importance attaches as the father of John and Charles Wesley; Joseph Butler, the greatest divine whom the century produced; George Horne, the able and excellent Bishop of Norwich, and his still more able disciple, chaplain, and biographer, William Jones of Nayland. These and others were worthy specimens of piety of the true Church type, to whom the book does full justice; but it is, as we said, in Nonjuring pastures that she finds her happiest hunting ground, and she brings to light many facts about the Nonjurors which, if not strictly speaking new, must certainly be reckoned among 'things not generally known.' For are we wrong in supposing that the Nonjuring episode, especially the later phase of it, in Church history is one with which even Churchmen are not very familiar? Fifty years ago that good Churchman, Mr. Lathbury, published *A History of the Nonjurors*, which is still the standard work on the subject. But during the last fifty years a flood of light has been shed upon English history in general, and upon Church history in particular, of which Mr. Lathbury had not, of course, the benefit; and a new History of the Nonjurors, up to date, is a great desideratum. It is, however, like matrimony, a project 'not by any to be enterprised, nor taken in hand unadvisedly, lightly, or wantonly,' for it requires many and special qualifications. The writer should be a thoroughly sound English Churchman, but not one who thinks that our present Prayer Book has necessarily reached the acme of perfection, and can no more be touched without irreverence than could the Ark of old; otherwise, he will not be able to do justice to the liturgical researches and suggested alterations which formed so marked a feature in the work of the later Nonjurors. He must be able to write sympathetically, but quite impartially; the mere partisan could never bring out duly the weak as well as the strong points of the Nonjurors. Still less must he be one who holds practically that 'establishment' (whatever that may be) is of the *esse* of the Church; the faintest tinge of Erastianism would be an absolutely fatal disqualification.

[1] *Remains of Dean Granville* (Surtees Miscellanea), p. 230.

Digitized by Google

Moreover, he must be one who has the knack of catching, or better still, who has already caught, the ear of the general public; for he will have to create an interest in his subject which 'the man in the street' does not now possess. And, last but not least, he must be one who has, as it were, a background of knowledge before he begins his investigations—one who is thoroughly saturated with the mind of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; otherwise he will be sure to write from the standpoint of the present day, which is quite different from that of the day when the events took place. If he has not all these qualifications, he had better leave Mr. Lathbury in sole possession of a field which, in our opinion, he occupies more worthily than is sometimes supposed; he may be rather rambling and unsystematic, and may write with one eye rather too steadily fixed on the Church of his own day, while the other is fixed on Nonjuring times; but he was an excellent Churchman, and full of information about his subject: '*Exoriare aliquis*' who can supplement rather than supersede Mr. Lathbury!

Meanwhile, we heartily welcome the contribution to the subject made in the present volume, which bears the *imprimatur* of the venerable and venerated name of 'T. T. Carter,' who is the editor, and who has written a short but thoughtful 'Introduction' explaining its purport. 'Good wine needs no bush,' and the work could well have stood on its own merits; but the name of Canon Carter will always be an additional recommendation to any work in the eyes of Churchmen. The anonymous author writes so modestly and unpretentiously that she almost disarms criticism; but we are bound to say that she hardly shows with sufficient force the real grounds of the separation between the Nonjurors and the Established Church. It is perfectly true, as she remarks, that 'the Nonjurors had no grounds of separation from the Established Church except those arising out of the Oaths of Allegiance' (p. 14); but then, these involved the most sacred obligations, and were distinctly of a religious rather than of a political character. It must be remembered that not only the Nonjurors, but even the party in the Church most opposed to them, including notably Tillotson, Burnet, Stillingfleet and Sherlock, their chief leaders, had committed themselves to the doctrine of passive obedience, non-resistance, and the divine, indefeasible hereditary right of kings, in its extremest form. Tillotson and Burnet had both pressed it, almost as an article of salvation, in a really cruel and indelicate way, upon poor Lord William Russell after he had received his

Digitized by Google

death warrant. Not Filmer himself was more explicit on the point than were Sherlock in his *Case of Resistance* and Stillingfleet in his Preface to *The Jesuits' Loyalty*. It was the 'peculiar doctrine of the Church of England,' distinguishing English Churchmen from 'papists' on the one hand, who set the Pope, and 'plebists' on the other, who set the people, above the Lord's Anointed. In fact, the great body of the clergy had to eat their own words with the best grace they could when they fell in with the Revolution. No amount of ingenuity could reconcile the doctrine of non-resistance with the plain fact of William coming with an armed force to oust his uncle and father-in-law, or explain his claim to the divine right, when both the lawful king and his heir (for the warming-pan story was a myth which William dared not sift, though he undertook to do so) were still alive. Add to this the necessity of praying for a sovereign whom in their hearts they believed to be a usurper; add, moreover, the lay deprivations by which the State grossly and glaringly encroached upon the proper function of the Church; add also the obvious tendency of the now dominant party to Erastianize the Church in every possible way, and to water down and explain away some of its most essential tenets; and surely it will be seen that it was not an easy, nor a purely political question which the Nonjurors had to settle.

Nor was it quite so simple a matter, as our author, following the lead of Mr. Lathbury, seems to think, to close the schism when all but one of the 'deprived Fathers' were dead, and when that one (Ken) deliberately ceded his rights to his juring (and most worthy) friend, Hooper. For again there was the danger of directly contradicting former opinions. Our author refers to the controversy between Dodwell and Gandy, when the former and his friends (who evidently acted under his direction) returned to the Established Church on this occasion. But she seems to have taken her estimate of it from Hearne—who afterwards certainly altered his opinion on the subject[1]—and not to have read Mr. Gandy's own pamphlet. It is entitled *A Dialogue between Gerontius and Junius*, and, as against Mr. Dodwell, it is exceedingly difficult to answer. For we have not only to reconcile Mr. Dodwell's course of action with the duty of a true Churchman, in favour

[1] After having noted in '1709–10' with great satisfaction 'That Mr. Dodwell, Mr. Cherry, &c., with their whole families now go to Church again, to the great joy of all that are concerned for union,' he adds in 1732 '(N.B.—I did not know that the Nonjuring bishops had continued their succession).' Of course this meant that he approved of it; otherwise he would have been himself in a false position as a Nonjuror in 1732.

Digitized by Google

of which much might be said, but we have to reconcile Mr. Dodwell with Mr. Dodwell: in other words, we have to bring *The Case in View* and *The Case in Fact*, on the principles of which he returned to his parish church, into line with his *Vindication of the Deprived Bishops*, on the principles of which he seceded from it; and as one reads the remorseless logic with which Mr. Gandy contrasts the views of 'Mr. D.'s old friends' with those of 'Mr. D.'s new friends,' we cannot help thinking that Mr. D. is put into a corner.

And now, as to the 'deprived Fathers' themselves. It is usual to draw a marked distinction between the first generation of Nonjurors, of whom these deprived fathers were the leaders, and the second; and to sympathise with the former and condemn the latter. But does history bear out this distinction? Were they not, to use a homely phrase, both in the same boat? Did not the leaders of the first generation sanction the conduct of the second? Let us look at the plain facts of the case. Our author makes a strange slip when she asserts that 'Archbishop Sancroft in the time of dismay and perplexity which followed his deprivation had consecrated Hickes and Wagstaffe as suffragan bishops' (p. 15). It is true that Sancroft thoroughly approved of the consecrations, and, in fact, actually nominated Hickes as suffragan Bishop of Thetford;[1] nor was there, so far as we can see, any trace of 'dismay or perplexity' in him when he did so; he was perfectly calm and perfectly settled in his own mind as to the propriety of the action; but he died before the consecration took place, and they were consecrated by three others of the deprived fathers—Bishop Lloyd of Norwich (to whom Sancroft delegated his powers as Metropolitan), Bishop Turner of Ely, and Bishop White of Peterborough. Here, then, we have four out of the eight Nonjuring bishops directly and distinctly committing themselves to the policy of the later Nonjurors. Of the other four, Bishop Ken, who most reluctantly entered the Nonjuror ranks at all, was undoubtedly opposed to the new consecrations; but at last he certainly gave his consent to them. Our author has read Dr. Hickes's *Introduction to the Records of the New Consecrations*, and will remember that, when describing what took

[1] That is, under the Act of Henry VIII. The Nonjurors were careful not to assign any dioceses to those whom they consecrated. 'Thetford' was merely a title. They had positively no functions while any of the deprived bishops lived; they were always addressed simply as 'Mr.' The only object was to guard against a failure of the succession, and having done this, to make the healing of the schism, in God's good time, as easy as it could be made.

Digitized by Google

place, he distinctly says, 'Dr. Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells, giving his consent.' Indeed, among the published letters of Bishop Ken is one in which he owns that he had done so.[1] There was only one other surviving bishop, Frampton of Gloucester, and what Hickes says about him in the aforesaid *Introduction* is fully borne out by many other testimonies: 'Here it is to be noted that Dr. Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, absolutely refused all correspondence with his brethren, from which he desired to be excused, alleging that he had retired from all business but what related to his soul, in preparing himself for death.' He does not, therefore, come into the question. Of the two who were dead, can we doubt that Bishop Thomas of Worcester, who 'thought he could burn at a stake before he could take this oath' of Allegiance, would have objected to the far more objectionable oath of Abjuration which the later Nonjurors were obliged to take, or else continue their separation? Or that Bishop Lake of Chichester, who made his 'Dying Profession on the Doctrine of Passive Obedience as the Distinguishing Character of the Church of England,' would have thrown in his lot with the only consistent maintainers of that doctrine? Surely the *leaders* of the first generation sanctioned implicitly the action of the second: and how about their *followers*? Let us take one as a specimen, the most gentle, moderate, and generally respected of all, our author's own hero, John Kettlewell. What can such passages as the following mean except a continuance of the separation?

'They [faithful Bishops and Ministers] are bound to provide such ministrations. For the part of Bishops and Pastors is not, like that of mere lay Christians, to communicate as they can in what is provided for them by others. . . . But as Pastors they are bound to *make Provisions*. . . . They are not only to defend true doctrines, but to take care that they be *transmitted down to others, who shall come next in succession*. . . . When any moral Duties or Precepts, deposited and entrusted with them, are endangered, attempts made to elude or vacate them, they are try'd how true they will prove to their Trusts of *ministerial keeping* and *defending*, and *transmitting of them down*.'[2]

All this is written against taking any part in public worship where the 'immoral prayers' were used, and therefore is

[1] See Ken's letter to Dodwell, inserted in Dean Plumptre's *Life of Bishop Ken*, ii. 114.

[2] 'Of Christian Communion,' &c., ch. iii. pp. 495, 505, 506 of *A Compleat Collection of the Works of John Kettlewell*, vol. ii. (1719). The italics in the text are ours.

Digitized by Google

entirely against conformity to the communion where they would certainly be used, and in favour of continuing the separate assemblies.

And, supposing the Nonjurors *had* closed the schism—that is, taken the oaths, the indispensable condition of so doing—what would they have done if the legitimate line had been restored? Were they to eat their words all over again, and to return to the allegiance which they had, against their consciences, once forsaken? That they expected such a restoration is beyond a doubt.

'The storm,' wrote Collier in 1694, 'in all likelihood will not last always; it may be farther spent than we are aware of. God, who helps those to right who suffer wrong, will arise and maintain His own cause. He will, I question not, vindicate his own Establishment, and appear in his good time for the Restoring of Order and the Support of Right, for the Honour of Parents, and the Majesty of Kings.'[1]

And this was the expectation of all the Nonjurors. Was it a wildly absurd one? Why, we have only to read the commonest of popular histories to see that the return of the Stuarts was the most likely thing in the world. But this article has not to do with politics, so we forbear quoting evidence which any one may find for himself.

Our author is evidently troubled (and we can well understand that she should be) by the action of Hickes in 1713 in continuing the consecrations. 'He seems,' she writes, 'to have considered that their acceptance of the intruded Archbishop had placed the Anglican Episcopate in a state of schism. Such a step on the part of a man of great learning and holy life could be explained on no lesser ground' (p. 15). Hickes has left us in no doubt as to his opinion about the schism; nor have the many others who agreed with him; but as no one has described the Nonjuring position more clearly and fully than Hickes, we venture to quote his words:

'They [the Nonjurors],' he writes to Archbishop Sharp, 'are still as much friends of the Church, and enemies of Schism as ever; but then by the Church they understand the True old Church of England with all her venerable doctrines of Faith, Justice, and Moral Honesty, and all her strict decrees against the resisting, deposing, and forfeiting doctrines; the Church of England with all her plain, primitive doctrines of Christian Honesty and simplicity . . . the Church to which they think you ought to have adhered with them, and that *you* have separated from *her* and *them*, and not *they* from

[1] *A Persuasive to Consideration, tendered to the Royalists, particularly those of the Church of England*, p. 30.

Digitized by Google

you. For they say they are just where they were when you were last with them, and have not budged a foot since from that Church, and that you cannot say they have broken from you unless you will affirm that when a Ship breaks from the Shoar where she lay at Anchor, the Shoar removes from her, and not she from the Shoar.'[1]

This was exactly the line which Sancroft took:

'He used,' writes Dr. D'Oyley, 'to think and speak of those of the prelates and clergy who refused the new oath, and were ejected, as forming the true Church of England, and the rest who remained in possession of their benefices, or were appointed to those vacated by Nonjurors, as forming an apostate and rebellious Church.'[2]

The Nonjurors certainly acted up to their principles of loyalty to the Church, as they understood it. Hilkiah Bedford, who afterwards became a Bishop, does not claim too much when he expostulates with a conforming archdeacon and his condemnation of the Nonjurors in this wise:

'You might have remembered the zeal they have shown for our common mother, the Church of England, and how they have been her constant champions against her adversaries of all sorts since the Revolution. . . . Nor ought it to be forgot that they have all along shew'd their zeal and affection for her, though since the Revolution they have neither eat of her bread nor enjoyed her possessions.'[3]

This is no more than the truth. The Nonjurors had among them not only conscientious men, but an unusual proportion of able and learned men; and, like their brother Churchmen in the time of the Rebellion, they employed their enforced leisure in literary research, the greater part of which was undertaken in the general interest of the Church. Such men as Jeremy Collier, Charles Leslie, George Hickes, Thomas Brett, Thomas Baker, William Law, Thomas Carte, Nathaniel Spinckes among the clergy, and Thomas Hearne, Robert Nelson, Henry Dodwell, and Francis Cherry among the laity, contributed not only to the piety but to the learning

[1] *An Apology for the New Separation*, &c., 1691. To the same effect Laurence Howell wrote more than twenty years later: 'The odious name of Separatist belongs to those who separated from the Church's true Communion in 1688 and since, and not to the *chast* few who for the preservation of a good conscience quitted their present support, and prospect of further promotion. These are still as much friends of the Church and enemies of schism as ever. But by the Church they understand the True old Church of England,' &c. (*Case of Schism in the Church of England truly stated*).

[2] *Life of Archbishop Sancroft*, ii. 31.

[3] '*A Seasonable and Modest Apology in behalf of the Rev. G. Hickes and other Nonjurors*, in a Letter to T. Wise, D.D., on occasion of his Visitation at Canterbury, 1710.'

Digitized by Google

of the Church. Our author does not dwell much upon this phase of their character; perhaps it did not fall exactly within the range of her subject to do so. But she gives a touching description of the last days of that good man, Robert Nelson, and seems to linger fondly on the life of William Law. Indeed, some may think that, considering the vastness of her theme, she devotes a disproportionate space to one individual, when she gives nearly fifty out of her 222 pages to him. But this is not our opinion. William Law was a rare genius and a great saint, and in such a work he ought to be brought very prominently forward. We should hardly have been disposed to give so much space to his quondam disciple John Wesley—at least, in a work called '*Undercurrents* of *Church* Life,' for, to speak frankly, the Wesley movement was rather like a babbling and brawling stream which was not deep enough to have any *undercurrent*, and, in spite of all that has been said, and of what he has said himself, we never can regard Wesley as a proper Churchman, or believe his influence to have stimulated what is properly called '*Church* life.' On the other hand, we heartily welcome her appreciative notice of William Walker of Truro, a Methodist before Methodism, who had Wesley's earnestness, piety, and activity, without Wesley's inconsistencies, wilfulness and insubordination. We think also that she has shown good judgment, on the one hand, in passing lightly over the correspondence between the Nonjurors and the Eastern Church, which has been exhaustively treated by Mr. Lathbury, and which, after all, led to no direct practical result; and, on the other hand, in dwelling at some length upon the sufferings of the ancient Church of Scotland, though we are rather surprised that among her authorities she never refers to the History of Mr. Grub,[1] which is more recent, more able, and written in a higher tone than most of those to which she makes reference.

But we have occupied more space than we intended, and must end, as we began, by heartily commending the book to our readers.

[1] Its title is *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, by George Grub, 1861.

Digitized by Google

ART. VI.—DR. VAN DYKE ON AN AGE OF DOUBT AND A WORLD OF SIN.

1. *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt.* By HENRY VAN DYKE, D.D. (Princetown, Harvard, Yale), LL.D. (Union), Pastor of the Brick Church in New York. Sixth edition, revised, with a new Preface. (London, 1899.)
2. *The Gospel for a World of Sin.* A companion volume to *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt.* By the same Author. (London, 1899.)

DR. VAN DYKE has chosen attractive titles for these two volumes. Sin is always prominent in the world. If the present age has many other characteristics, it is certainly strongly marked by doubt. A remedy for sin is a universal need; the solution of doubts would be welcome to many thousands of thoughtful and troubled minds.

The attraction of the title has not been the only cause of the large circulation of the first of the two volumes, which has run through six editions since its first publication in September 1896. It is a remarkable, and, in many respects, a powerful book. In using the 'Lectures on Preaching' on the Lyman Beecher Foundation at Yale University as an opportunity of speaking on the message of the preacher rather than on the methods of his preaching, and in thus appealing to a wider circle than the students of divinity who listen to the lectures, Dr. Van Dyke has exercised a wise discretion, and has produced a work which the 'men and women who care for the vital problems of faith' (p. v), may well read and ponder. And though the companion volume, which was published last year, does not reach the high level of the earlier work, it deserves and will repay much careful consideration.

In both his volumes Dr. Van Dyke shows knowledge of, and insight into, modern life. His familiarity with the literature of the day enables him to illustrate copiously his meaning in describing the present as an 'age of doubt.' He points out that it is not merely about particular doctrines that doubts are felt. In addition to denials and questionings of separate parts of the Christian faith, there is, he says,

'a profound and wide-spread unsettlement of soul in regard to fundamental truths of religion, and also in regard to the nature and

Digitized by Google

existence of the so-called spiritual faculties by which alone these truths can be perceived' (i. 7).[1]

This prevalence of scepticism, he argues with great justice, is due less to the progress of science, or the 'growth of our conception of the physical magnitude of the universe' (i. 11), than to the arrogant and altogether unreasonable assumption of natural science that it exhausts knowledge. Such an attitude is 'a claim to solve the problems of the inner life by suppressing them' (i. 14). In other words, in the name of science, it is hopelessly unscientific; in the name of knowledge, it excludes from consideration some of the facts.

In describing the present age as 'an age of doubt,' Dr. Van Dyke is careful not to exaggerate the extent to which scepticism of one kind or another has seized upon modern thought and life; and in looking through doubt so as

'to see whether there are not some favourable symptoms, some signs of enduring vitality, some promises of returning health and strength in the spirit of the age' (i. 23),

he discerns and treats at some length three hopeful signs:

'First, the acknowledged discontent and pain of unbelief; second, the practical recoil of some of the finest minds from the void of absolute scepticism; third, the persistent desire of many doubting spirits to serve mankind by love, self-sacrifice, and ethical endeavour. In other words, I would read the lesson of encouragement in the sufferings of doubt, in the doubts of doubt, and in the splendid moral inconsistencies of doubt' (i. 24).

Dr. Van Dyke is at some pains to say that the needed message for this doubting age must be fresh, and new, and original; and to emphasize that 'tradition is powerless,' and 'dry systems of dogma cannot quicken the soul' (i. vi). Yet he allows that 'an altogether new religion can hardly be an altogether true religion' (i. vii); and finds a reconciliation of the old and the new in that view of the Gospel which has its prominent feature in devotion to the Person of our Lord. We are entirely in sympathy with the author's main contention on this subject. The remedy for doubt and the remedy for sin are alike to be found in Him who is the Light and the Saviour of the world. It is the soul which has realized His teaching and surrendered itself to it, and recognized His redemption and come into personal contact with

[1] The two books are separate works, not volumes of one work; but, to avoid continual repetition of the titles, we shall refer to them as 'i.' and 'ii.'

Digitized by Google

it, which is able, amid whatever difficulties, to be free from doubt, and, amid whatever imperfections, to have knowledge of forgiveness. No emphasis can be too strong on the truth that the 'Gospel for an age of doubt' and 'a world of sin' must be one which places living souls in a true relation with the living Person of Christ.

We are thus, as we have said, entirely in sympathy with Dr. Van Dyke's main contention. But we question whether he is just in his references to the powerlessness of 'tradition,' the sterile character of 'systems of dogma' (i. vi), and the 'confusions of theology' (i. ix). It is true enough that a mere 'tradition' and a mere 'system' must be unfruitful, and that theological teachers have not seldom been exponents of 'confusions.' To admit this much is altogether different from assenting to an attack on the systematized dogma and the theological traditions of the Christian Church. Such an attack Dr. Van Dyke makes in effect. He calls for a 'simpler creed' as well as for a 'nobler life' (i. xi). He does not hesitate to assail, not only the methods of dogmatic theology, but also some of its substance.

The line of thought which runs through some parts of Dr. Van Dyke's writings is an instance, we think, of the way in which the conceit of the present time affects even very intellectual and devout minds. It is assumed sometimes that the nineteenth century—and we suppose it will be the same in the twentieth—requires a gospel of its own, and also that past presentations of the truth have been greatly lacking in what human nature needs. And not infrequently we are confronted with the proclamation of a great discovery which, on investigation, turns out to be something which 'holy and humble men of heart' have known all along. Thus, in the particular matter before us, the theological traditions and dogmatic systems of the Church have enshrined the truth of the personal Teacher and Redeemer of mankind.

But, says Dr. Van Dyke, in at least one point the growth of dogma has robbed us of Christ. 'So-called Byzantine art' (i. 130) crushed out the representations of the 'idea of the Christ which was simple and natural and humane' (i. 129). The explanation of the process of destruction is to be found in 'the intellectual life of the Church, out of which this type of art grew' (i. 130).

'The early Greek Fathers, like Irenæus, went directly to the Holy Scriptures for their view of the Person of Christ, and frankly accepted all the features of the living, loving portrait there disclosed. They recognized without reserve the reality of Christ's human

Digitized by Google

growth in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men; the actual limitations of Christ's human knowledge as expressed in the questions that He asked, and in His profession of ignorance in regard to the time of His second advent; the intimacy of His sympathy with us in temptation, suffering, and death. But with the development of theological definition this direct view of Christ was modified, obscured, and at last totally eclipsed. Instead of looking at God through His revelation in Christ, the Fathers began to look at Christ through a more and more abstract, precise, and inflexible statement of the metaphysical idea of God. It became necessary to harmonize the Scripture record of the life of Jesus with the theories of the divine nature set forth in the decrees of councils, and defined with amazing particularity in the writings of theologians. In the effort to accomplish this, two main lines of thought were followed. One line abandoned the belief in Christ's real and complete humanity, and reduced His human life to a tenuous and filmy apparition. The other line distinguished between His humanity and His Divinity in such a way as to divide Him into two halves, either of which appears virtually complete without the other, and both of which are united, not in a single and sincere personality, but in an outward manifestation and a concealed life, covering in some mysterious way a double centre of existence. It is only fair to say that the extreme results of these two lines of thought were condemned by the Church in the heresies of Doketism and Apollinarianism, Eutychianism and Nestorianism. But it is equally fair to say that the influence of these theories was by no means checked nor extirpated. They continued to make themselves felt powerfully and perniciously; now in the direction of dissolving the humanity of Christ into a mere cloud enveloping His Deity; and again in the direction of dividing and destroying the unity of His Person in the definitions of His dual nature' (i. 131–2).

It is at first sight somewhat difficult to see how a charge of 'dividing and destroying the unity' of the Person of Christ can even be brought against the orthodox traditional theology which Dr. Van Dyke evidently has in view. A passage in the Preface to the sixth edition throws light upon his meaning. For it is there asserted:

'There were not two wills and two minds working within the Person of Jesus. The mind that was in Christ was a single mind, and His will was the expression of an undivided personality' (i. xxi).

Read in the light of this passage in the Preface, the definitions which, in Dr. Van Dyke's opinion, divide and destroy the unity of the Person of Christ appear to be those by which the heresy of Monothelitism has been condemned. If this be so, we should like to ask Dr. Van Dyke the simple question how he would propose to maintain the truths of the true Godhead and perfect Manhood of Christ and the doctrine

Digitized by Google

of the unity of His Person and at the same time assert that He had only one will and one mind.

The rest of the long passage we have quoted has to do with the supposed obscuring of the Manhood of our Lord in the teaching of orthodox theologians. Dr. Van Dyke illustrates his meaning with some fulness, and we observe that among the writings of those whom he supposes to have impaired the perfection of Christ's Humanity he refers to the profound work of Archdeacon Wilberforce on the Incarnation and quotes a clear and accurate statement from Dr. Liddon's famous *Bampton Lectures.* Neither Archdeacon Wilberforce nor Dr. Liddon needs any defence from us, but we may point out that Dr. Van Dyke, like many other recent writers, greatly exaggerates the extent to which the Manhood of our Lord has been minimized in the middle ages and subsequently. For instance, he supposes that all those who in the later ages of the Church, prior to the critical investigations of the present day, attained to a real and practical grasp on the Humanity of Christ did so by means of a revolt against current theology. Thus we find him, immediately after declaring that if 'the Christology of Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas' is to be maintained the loss of the human life of Christ makes 'Mariolatry' a necessity for the supplying of human needs, going on to say:

'Through all the ages we see men turning, now in solitary thought, now in great companies, to seek that vision' [that is, the 'vision of the human life of God']. 'The renaissance of Christian art, with its beautiful pictures of the infancy of Jesus, with its piercing and pathetic representations of the sufferings of Jesus, bears witness to the eagerness of that search. The revivals of Christian life, seen in such diverse yet cognate forms as the rise of the "Poor Men of Lyons" and the foundation of the "Brotherhood of St. Francis," are evidences of the same movement back to Christ. Peter Waldo outside of the Church, and Francis of Assisi within the Church, were awakened by the same vision of Jesus, "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," and were inspired by the same desire to make His real human life the pattern of all piety and the example of all goodness' (i. 141–2).

It is a necessary part of Dr. Van Dyke's position on this subject that the characteristics of art and the movements of life to which he refers were of the nature of a revolt from and protest against current theology. We do not know of any evidence which sustains such an idea. Rather it is true that the scholastic theology, whatever its defects, was careful to maintain the reality of the human life and human sufferings

Digitized by Google

of our Lord. The representations of the Passion in the mediæval churches, the appeals in mediæval devotions to the human sufferings of the Son of God, and the stress laid on the helpless infancy of the Babe of Bethlehem, were the practical outcome of the theology which in its technical forms bears so dry an aspect. It is not known that Peter Waldo made any direct or indirect protest against the Church's theological teaching about our Lord. St. Francis of Assisi gave effect to what he believed to be the practical outcome of the theology he had traditionally received. In later times, some of the English Evangelicals of the last century, the Oxford Tractarians of a later date, pious Roman Catholics all over the world, have clung with a passionate devotion to the Child-Christ in the cradle and the dying Saviour on the Cross. In substance the belief of all of them about the incarnate life has been that traditionally handed down in the Church. We hold no brief for the schoolmen. In the proper place we could dwell at length on the many and great deficiencies of their systems. Whatever these deficiencies may be, it is simply unjust—and the injustice is not less because it has been so often repeated—to assert that either in the mediæval period or at any other time the truth of the humanity of Christ was lost in the Church.[1]

We have noticed in many books published in the last few years that the particular way of emphasizing the Manhood of our Lord, which is found in Dr. Van Dyke's *Gospel for an Age of Doubt*, is a prelude to some view which impairs the fulness of His Godhead during His ministry upon earth. The book now before us is no exception to this. In the Preface to the sixth edition the author, having asserted that 'the mind that was in Christ was a single mind,' goes on to say :

'There is no evidence in His life or in His character of the omniscience and omnipresence and omnipotence that would have separated Him from us' (i. xxi–ii).

That is, he first by denying 'two wills and two minds' makes it impossible to limit nescience or ignorance to our Lord's human mind, and then by questioning His omniscience postulates the possibility of such nescience or ignorance in

[1] While we have no doubt that what we have written above is accurate, it is fair to add that allowance must be made for some of the mystics paying insufficient attention to the actual life of our Lord on earth ; and for the obscuring of the Person, as distinct from the work, of Christ by the schemes of salvation of some Protestant systems. But it is not either of these to which Dr. Van Dyke refers.

Digitized by Google

His Godhead. The line of thought thus briefly indicated in the Preface is worked out at some length in the book. Referring to the well-known passages in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Philippians he writes:

'These powerful expressions, "self-beggary," "self-emptying," seem to be directly designed to break up the conventional moulds in which dogmatic theology has attempted to cast the truth and let it harden. They bring back a vital warmth and motion into the facts of the Incarnation. Once more it glows and flows. Once more we see that it is not a mere exhibition of being but a process of becoming. The idea of self-beggary mightily overflows the mere statement that a human nature was added and united to the divine nature; for that would have been no impoverishment but an enrichment. The idea of self-emptying shatters the narrow dogma that the Son of God suffered no change in Himself when He became man. It was a change so absolute, so immense, that it can only be compared with the vicissitude from fulness to emptiness. He laid aside the existence-form of God in order that He might take the existence-form of man. Whatever right He had to an equal state of glory with God, that right He did not cling to, but surrendered, in order that He might become a servant' (i. 146–7).

And further on he continues:

'It may be, as Julius Müller held, that the distinctive attributes of personality [1] are, abstractly considered, identical in God and man, so that by the divine self-limitation in the Incarnation they are actually unified, like two circles which have a common centre.[2] It may be, as Dr. Fairbairn holds, that the Son of God, being the eternal representative of the filial relationship within the Godhead, the symbol of the created within the uncreated, needed but to surrender the form and status of the uncreated Son in order to assume, by the same act, the form and status which man as the created Son was intended to realize. It may be, as Godet holds, that the Incarnation was by deprivation, and that the Eternal Word renounced His divine mode of being and entered into life without omniscience, omnipresence, or omnipotence, as an unconscious babe. It matters little in what form of words we try to express the transcendent truth. But it matters much, it is supremely important for the integrity of our Gospel and for its influence upon the heart of this doubting age, that we should hold fast to the fact that the life of Jesus of Nazareth is simply and sincerely the human life of God' (i. 153–4).

And, again,

'Such a revelation at once rectifies, purifies, and elevates our view of God Himself. For if the Son of God can surrender omni-

[1] But the point is rather that of the distinctive attributes of divine nature.

[2] Dr. Van Dyke mentions that 'for this statement of Müller's view, which he gave in one of his lectures,' he is 'indebted to Dr. George P. Fisher, who was one of his hearers.'

Digitized by Google

presence, omniscience, and omnipotence without destroying His personal identity, then the central essence of the Deity is neither infinite wisdom nor infinite power, but perfect holiness and perfect goodness. And so from the very lowest valley of humiliation we catch clear sight of the very loftiest summit of theology, the serene and shining truth that God is Love' (i. 160–1).

These quotations and other statements make it clear that Dr. Van Dyke fully accepts the position which forms the common ground of the various 'kenotic' theories, and does not shrink from the inference that in the Incarnation the divine nature itself exhibited and used a capacity for change.

We have insisted on many occasions on weighty philosophical and theological objections to any theory of the mutability of the divine nature. More than once we have expressed our strong dissent from the view that distinctions can be drawn between the different attributes of God by means of which it might be said that, while the moral attributes are immutable, the metaphysical attributes are mutable; or that the attributes of power may be abandoned, although the attributes of love cannot be impaired.[1] We have often reiterated the teaching of sound theologians that the distinction between the nature and attributes of God is of thought and terminology only.[2] The arguments against any form of the 'kenotic' theory which may be based on such grounds as these are, in our judgment, of a very convincing kind.

But, it may be urged, the question of the relations of the divine and the human nature in the incarnate life and of the effect of the Incarnation on the eternal nature of the Son of God cannot rightly be decided by abstract philosophical or theological arguments. It is certainly true that such arguments are of weight only so far as they are in harmony with what is taught in Holy Scripture and by the Catholic Church. The opponents of the 'kenotic' theories can have no objection to appeal being made to the Bible and to the Church. So far as the Church is concerned, it is a significant fact that so learned and accomplished a writer as Canon Gore was constrained to admit that even for the form of the 'kenotic' theory which he has advocated—and this is of a far more moderate kind than some views which Dr. Van Dyke thinks to be tenable—he could find no authority from the first to the sixteenth century except some passages in Irenæus,

[1] See especially *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1896, article Canon Gore on the Incarnation and the Eucharist.'

[2] See, *e.g.*, Pearson, *Lectiones de Deo et attributis*, lectio iv. (*Minor Works*, i. 39, ed. Churton).

Digitized by Google

Origen, and St. Gregory of Nyssa, passages which, as on a former occasion we took some pains to show,[1] are by no means clearly of such a meaning as he supposed. So far as the Bible is concerned, Dr. Van Dyke quotes two statements by St. Paul in support of his acceptance of the view that the Son of God surrendered and abandoned divine attributes as distinct from his teaching about the manhood of our Lord. These two statements are, as we have already indicated, the well-known passages in 2 Cor. viii. 9 and Phil. ii. 6-7. In both passages careful examination of the context shows the true meaning. That the words *ἐπτώχευσε πλούσιος ὤν* in the first passage mean 'being rich in His divine nature He became poor by taking lowly human nature' is made clear by the words which follow, 'that ye through His poverty might become rich.' The riches conferred on Christians by means of the Incarnation are due to the taking of human nature by the Son of God, not to any supposed impairing of his divine nature. In the second passage, the reference in the words *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε* is shown to be to the acquiring of human nature by the Son of God, not to any loss in his divine nature, by the explanation which St. Paul himself gives—'He humbled Himself by taking the form of a slave, by coming to be in the likeness of men.'[2] Neither of the phrases which Dr. Van Dyke translates as 'He beggared Himself' and 'emptied Himself,' and prints with the emphasis of italics, can bear the meaning he attaches to them, if they are to be regarded in the context in which they occur.

We have lingered long over this one point because it is a vital point. No book, however valuable in other respects, ought to be recommended, without serious and careful qualification, if it is in any way tainted with the 'kenotic' theory. No theological writer, however able and learned, and in other respects orthodox, can be regarded with confidence if on this supremely important question he holds opinions which lead up into unorthodox theories of the Incarnation and the Being of God. Dr. Van Dyke has destroyed much of the utility which his book might otherwise have possessed by his most unwise treatment of this aspect of the Incarnation.

The volumes before us, and especially the first, are not free from other faults and from imperfections. The absence of any belief in the authority of the Church is a very serious hindrance

[1] See our article in January 1896, already referred to.

[2] We dealt at length with the interpretation of this passage in a former article: see *Church Quarterly Review* for October 1897, article entitled 'The Sacred Manhood of the Son of God.'

Digitized by Google

to the adequate treatment of the subjects with which they are concerned. No Gospel will ever really meet the needs of the present or any other time which is not avowedly and strongly sacramental. Yet we have to thank Dr. Van Dyke not only for good features of the books to which we have already alluded, but also for much which is valuable on the free will of man and the sovereignty of God; on the recognition of the true idea of election as choice for the service of the Almighty and thus for the good of others as well as the person himself; on the need of care for the intellectual side of man's being; and on the doctrine of the Atonement. On a subject about which so much that is unsatisfactory is preached and published, it is refreshing to find a modern writer insisting on the objective efficacy of the Death of Christ and possessing the courage to use language which is sometimes contemptuously set aside.

'No word,' he writes, 'which sharply emphasizes one side of the truth at the expense of the other sides, no word which leaves out of its significance the sweetness of any of those things most "pure and lovely and of good report" which have been done in the spirit of reconciliation, is broad enough to describe the work of Christ in closing the gulf which sin had made between man and God. Sacrifice is not broad enough. Mediation is not broad enough. Propitiation is not broad enough. Redemption is not broad enough. Substitution is not broad enough. Satisfaction is not broad enough. Embracing all these things, Christ's work goes beyond them all. It is simply the perfection of atonement' (ii. 138–9).

And, again:

'The atonement, as has been said, "is the meeting-point of the objective and subjective elements of Christianity." It covers all the ground that lies between God and man, so far as sin has touched it. It has a reference to every element of the divine nature which condemns sin, and to every element of human nature which is affected by sin. It acts directly upon the divine will and upon the human will. There is no possible metaphor, drawn from any real relation of man to God, which is without its value in illustrating the real nature of the atonement.

'So far, then, from denying the verity of these four figures of speech' [that is, 'sin-offering,' 'ransom,' 'satisfaction,' 'reconciliation'], 'we should accept them as expressions of substantial truth. We should seek to make them as real and living as possible in our own experience. And we should go back to the New Testament to see if there are not other metaphors of the atonement which fit in with our consciousness of need as sinners.

'There are four other figures of speech, less familiar, and less frequently used, which throw light upon the subject. They are used by Christ Himself to describe the effects of His sacrifice. It would

Digitized by Google

be well if they were taken more deeply into our conception of the atonement.

'The first figure is the metaphor of germination . . . The second figure is the metaphor of vicarious suffering. . . . The third figure is the metaphor of consecration. . . . The fourth figure is the metaphor of a new covenant of pardon. . . . Now take these four latter metaphors of the effects of the atonement in its relation to us, and lay them beside the four others which are more familiarly employed. See how they mutually illuminate one other, and how the light which comes from each reminds us that no one of them can be interpreted alone as the secret of the "true doctrine of atonement"' (ii. 146–9).

And, earlier in the volume:

'The crown of love is service. The glory of sacrifice is usefulness. The love of Christ, the sacrifice of Christ, draw their deepest power upon the inner life of man from the conviction they really have accomplished a deliverance for sinners from the guilt and curse and doom of sin.

'The first message that the disciples received from the risen Jesus, while their minds were still overwhelmed by the apparent tragedy of the crucifixion, was the truth that it was not a useless loss, but a fruitful gain' (ii. 112).

'Not only from the side of man, but also from the side of God, it' [that is, the atonement] 'is the supremely necessary, and the supremely successful, peace-making sacrifice' (ii. 118).

In a chapter of great power entitled 'The Bible without Christ,' Dr. Van Dyke attempts to depict the difference which would be made in Holy Scripture if the doctrine of the Atonement should be taken away. He points out the sadness, the sense of failure, and the emphasis on the terrible character and effects of sin which pervade the Old Testament. He calls attention to the deepened view of moral evil which is found in the New Testament, the high standard set up by our Lord, and the hopelessness of the teaching of the Epistles apart from the thought of redemption. At the end of the chapter he sums up his main line of thought on this subject:

'To take Christ out of the Bible is to make it worse than useless to a sinful world. It is to make it crushing, disheartening, terrifying —the saddest book that was ever written. The Old Testament casts upon us an unbroken shadow of gloomy fate. The New Testament pierces it with an intolerable light of conscious guilt and coming judgment.

'But restore Christ to His place in the Bible, and it becomes the book of hope and joy. The unbroken shadow is changed into the adumbration of the coming Redeemer: the shadow Christ whose angel moves before the struggling host of all who will follow

Digitized by Google

God's guidance through the wilderness of sin. The intolerable light is transformed into a blessed healing radiance: the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world' (ii. 85–6).

It would not be fair, in reviewing books by a Presbyterian writer, to lay much stress on the shortcomings, to which we have already alluded, with regard to the Church and the Sacraments. And we are so grateful to Dr. Van Dyke for much which is not only interesting but also important and valuable, that we could wish it was possible for us to recommend his writings more unreservedly to that part of the reading public which is interested in theology. We are prevented from making such a recommendation by the treatment of one aspect of the doctrine of the Incarnation. To deny 'the narrow dogma that the Son of God suffered no change in Himself when He became Man' (i. 147) is to deprive the human acts of the Eternal Word of their real significance, and to imperil the true idea of the Being of God.

ART. VII.—A ROMAN APOLOGIST AND HIS TRANSLATOR.

1. *Chrétien ou Agnostique.* Par L'ABBÉ LOUIS PICARD, Vicaire à la Primatiale de Lyon. Avec lettres de NN. SS. l'Archevêque de Lyon et l'Evêque de Laval. (Paris, 1896.)
2. *Christianity or Agnosticism.* By the ABBÉ LOUIS PICARD Authorized translation revised by the Rev. J. G. MACLEOD, S. J. (London, 1899.)

WE were fully prepared upon the first announcement of the English version of the Abbé Picard's work to accord it the most cordial welcome. The subject is one of palmary importance, and its effective handling would be exceptionally opportune at a time when Agnosticism has become almost the fashion in certain circles, and the reputation of being inclined to scepticism is supposed to be a mark of superior intellectual capacity. The discussion of the great and fundamental questions at issue between Christians and unbelievers affords abundant opportunity for establishing the primary truths embraced in the three Creeds and joyfully acknowledged by all branches of Christ's Holy Catholic Church. In a day, too, when the dissensions by which the Church throughout

Digitized by Google

the world is distracted occupy far too large a space in Christian thought, it would be pleasant to dwell for a while exclusively on the points which we hold in common with members of the Latin obedience. The field of Apologetics includes much common ground wherein Anglican and Roman and Greek Christians might dwell together in unity, and might present to the outer world of unbelievers, who are scandalized by the divisions of Christendom, the spectacle of their unanimity in defence of some of the fundamental tenets of the Catholic faith. So much as this and no more was suggested by the title *Christianity or Agnosticism*, and we should gladly have joined hands with the Abbé Picard in upholding dogmatic truth, which is dear to us as to him. It is no fault of ours if our satisfaction with his work is less cordial than we had hoped, but the title of his book is a misnomer in both its terms. It should have been called *Romanism or Scepticism*. With M. l'Abbé the word Christianity connotes not merely the acceptance of the three Creeds, but the admission of every pretension put forth in the name of the Bishop of Rome from the age of Hildebrand to the present hour ; and by thus insisting on the solidarity of Christianity with the latest decrees of the Vatican Council, he undermines a position which had else been impregnable. Indeed, so absolute is the ultramontanism of M. Picard's concluding chapters, that he might be supposed to hold that Christianity exists for the sake of the Papacy, rather than the Papacy for the sake of Christianity. That the author displays a profound ignorance of the Anglican position and such lack of charity towards it as is occasionally too strong for even his English (or Irish ?) translator, are, alas, but ordinary blemishes in Roman controversialists, and do not excite in us any very special amazement.

It is worth while, before commencing a more minute investigation of its contents, to notice the auspices under which the original volume before us and the English version of it are issued to the world. It is not often that a work appears with so many guarantees for its excellency and trustworthiness as those which accredit *Christianity or Agnosticism*. Amid the crowd of books with which the press is daily teeming, what a blessing it is to have the guidance of competent advisers ! and the Abbé's work not only came out originally with the approbation of the Bishop of Laval and of the Cardinal Primate of Gaul, but the English version has enjoyed the supervision of the Jesuit father J. G. MacLeod, and is stamped with the approbation of the Roman Censor Deputatus and with the Imprimatur of Cardinal Vaughan.

Digitized by Google

We can scarce restrain a feeling of envy as we read the laconic judicial permission which guards the faithful from harmful teaching and assures them they are on the right track and under safe conduct in so critical a discussion. Yet we are not a little curious to understand the extent and scope of this official approbation of a work designed not merely to cover the whole field of Apologetics, but to protect the student against the beguilements of all spurious Christianity. Do the magic words 'Imprimatur' and 'Nihil obstat' endorse the tone and spirit as well as the contents of the volume that bears them? Do they guarantee the general accuracy of its statements of asserted fact? Do they affirm that a translation issued under their sign-manual faithfully represents the original and is the work of a capable translator? These are practical inquiries, the reason for which will be made manifest as we proceed with our review. We shall begin with investigating the last of these questions, and we make bold to say that the translation here presented to us under a threefold guarantee is neither a faithful reproduction of the original nor even the handicraft of one who possesses a moderate acquaintance with idiomatic French.

We have some further preliminary observations of a general nature to offer upon the conditions under which this work has been published. Three requirements are of axiomatic importance to the practical and general utility of a treatise which embraces so large a field of inquiry and which includes so wide a range of quotations. First, that the work should be divided into parts and subdivisions, following one another in logical order, whose sequence should be so precisely mapped out that the student may readily turn to any section of the argument. Second, that the book should be furnished with an ample and accurate index. Third, that every page should have full and careful indications of the source of passages quoted and of the authorities on which the author relies. Only the first of these essentials is supplied in the original French, in which the appropriate titles of the parts and of their several chapters appear at the head of each page. In the English version this valuable feature is disregarded and every page throughout bears the same useless heading. Neither version contains an index, and the references in both are so miserably deficient as to suggest a shrewd suspicion that most of the quotations have been borrowed at second-hand. In the English edition the marks are occasionally omitted which tell where a quotation begins or ends, and even the title of Book I. is given incorrectly. Such care-

Digitized by Google

lessness and inaccuracy are not merely reprehensible, but are unaccountable in a translation put forth to the world as carefully revised.

These palpable defects in the conception of the duty which the task imposes have led us to examine this translation somewhat more closely. The translator's aim is described thus in his Preface (p. xiv): 'This English edition is a translation, not an adaptation,' and we candidly concede that the attempt is not easy of successful accomplishment. We should have found no ground for serious complaint because the pointed terseness of M. Picard's style was utterly lost in the sloppy diffuseness of the English rendering. Yet at least we may demand that a translator shall stick to his text, that he shall give us grammatical English, and that his representation of the French Abbé's meaning shall be neither absolutely incorrect nor seriously imperfect.

We pass by such expressions as 'We have an invincible repugnance *in* believing that' &c. (p. 147). 'Even were we to recognize in the Gospels nothing *than* an echo,' &c. (p. 412). Our attention is soon arrested by more serious blunders such as the following:

'Pantheism flatters the highest aspirations of our nature and produces in us a sort of metaphysical intricacy the charm of which is too fascinating' (p. 208). We have known metaphysical intricacy to be painfully irritating, but its fascination was quite inexplicable, until we referred to the French and found that *intricacy* was made to do duty for *ivresse*!

M. Picard, in upholding the reality of our Lord's Resurrection, alleges among other reasons that it was preached very shortly after the event, on the morrow of the Ascension, and adds that it is equally certain that it was accepted as indisputable truth by a large number of persons 'sur les lieux mêmes, à Jérusalem, en Judée, dans les environs.'[1] This is rendered by Father MacLeod's *protégé*, 'upon the very spot where this marvel occurred, *as also* in Jerusalem,' &c.,[2] thus separating places which M. Picard treated as identical. The Abbé urges that the embalming of the Sacred Body must have decided the actuality of our Lord's death. '*Ces cent livres* de parfums, ces *bandages* appliqués pendant plus de trente heures, auraient suffi à déterminer la mort.'[3] The translator turns this into, 'The application of the hundred pounds' weight of perfumes and *ingredients to the Body of Jesus*, with the bandaging during thirty hours *preceding sepulture*,' &c.[4]—a

[1] Picard, p. 392. [2] E.V. p. 413. [3] Picard, p. 395. [4] E.V. p. 415.

Digitized by Google

translation at once ludicrously superfluous in verbiage and absolutely incorrect in fact. Apropos of such intercalated phrases in the English version, we may note that they are not only of frequent occurrence, but they are utterly pointless, as we shall presently show by several examples within the space of a single page.

The translator's complete ignorance of French idiom is betrayed by his misunderstanding of phrases which the veriest tiro would have mastered. Thus '*on a beau* se plaire dans les incertitudes de l'histoire' becomes, in the English edition, '*There may be much pleasure* in dwelling on the uncertain points of history.' M. Picard's insistence on its uselessness is not so much as hinted at, and the imaginary pleasure of the process is all the translator's own. Such brief examples, however, hardly serve to prove the entire worthlessness of the English edition. We will give it the benefit of the comparison afforded by half a page of text and translation. M. Picard is enlarging upon the thoughtful discrimination with which St. Paul adapted his addresses to the condition and the intellectual level of his hearers. And having given other examples, he proceeds:

'Plus loin, avec les pauvres, les petits, il n'offre du Christianisme que les aspects consolants: il dégage la sainteté de sa morale. Qu'on compare les discours d'Antioche, de Pisidie, de Derbé, de Lystre, au discours d'Athènes. Là, saint Paul nous ouvre des horizons immenses et inconnus sur les destinées de l'humanité païenne, en prenant habilement son point d'appui dans l'état de conscience de ses auditeurs. Est-il rien de plus admirable que son apologie devant Agrippa? On nous parle d'enthousiasme. Si enthousiasme veut dire suspension de bon sens, jamais homme ne fut moins enthousiaste que Paul. Il a beau nous emporter haut et loin, dans ses plus sublimes pages, on ne cesse pas de se sentir avec un homme qui discute, qui sait d'où il vient et où il va. Paul n'a nullement le ton d'une religieuse qui s'exalte. Il serait à désirer que beaucoup d'hommes raisonnassent avec une logique aussi serrée, un jugement aussi sain. Il n'était pas dupe qu'il prêchait une chose nouvelle,' &c.[1]

The passage is a plain straightforward one, containing no difficulty in structure or expression, and only calling for simple and accurate reproduction. The revised translation renders it as follows:

'At another [time] he is dealing with the poor, *the sick*, or the young, *always* presenting the Christian faith *to others* under its most *tender and* consoling aspects. He drew the distinction between holiness and morality in his discourses, *as may be seen* by com-

[1] Picard, p. 424.

Digitized by Google

paring *those* delivered at Athens with others given at Antioch, Pisidia, Derbe, and Lystra. *In this* [*sic*] we find him opening out wide and unknown horizons extending over the destinies of pagan races, *where he appeals to the consciences* of his *numerous* auditors. Is there anything *in literature* more admirable than that *fine* apology *delivered* before Agrippa? Some may speak of him as an enthusiast; but, if by enthusiasm they mean the suspension of common sense, no man was ever less of an enthusiast than St. Paul. *Wherever we travel with him* in his most sublime writings, we never lose sight of the fact that we are in the company of a man who reasons, and knows whence he comes and whither he is going. *He never appears like a fanatic, carried away by sentiment or fancy.* Would that many men who argue and *dispute* did so with the *brilliant* logic and *healthy*, sound judgment *exhibited by this converted Jew.* That he was no dupe is clear, *neither did he seek to deceive. He spoke boldly, candidly, and to the point, regardless of consequences.*'[1]

We should apologize for the length of these extracts, but they afford a fairer test than very brief sentences can do, of the capacity of a translator and the character of his work. The most cursory glance will suffice to show that the translation is the veriest travesty of the original. The words in italics, with but one or two exceptions, have nothing to correspond with them in what M. Picard actually wrote, and their insertion is as inept as it is unwarrantable. There are hardly three consecutive lines correctly rendered throughout the entire paragraph; every point is missed, every connexion of thought dislocated, every idiom misunderstood, every telling touch blurred. With inane recklessness the anonymous translator, who did wisely in hiding his identity behind his reviser, so intermingles separate sentences as to confuse what is transparently clear, or to make M. Picard talk the most pointless platitudes. It would take far more space than we can spare to expose the almost incredible blunders contained in this short extract, and the reader must be left, if he cares to do so, to work them out in detail. Probably he will content himself with the conviction that the art of how not to do it has reached its culminating point in this revised translation published with the 'Nihil obstat' of the Censor Deputatus Smith and the Imprimatur of Cardinal Vaughan.

If such blunders abound in the easier pages of *Christianity or Agnosticism*, the confusion will naturally be worse confounded in the more scientific sections, where a clear grasp of the French original, as well as accuracy of terminology, are indispensable. For such qualities we need not look to the English version before us. Twice over on a single page (152)

[1] English translation, p. 449.

Digitized by Google

un fait de conscience—which the entire context shows can there only mean 'a fact of consciousness'—is translated 'a conscious fact,' a rendering which reduces the sentence to sheer nonsense. In the two following paragraphs we are told that 'conscience'—here again it should in each case be 'consciousness'—'directly asserts the unity of the Ego' and 'assures us of our personal identity,' and the translator leaves out the point of M. Picard's words, which run, 'La conscience *m'*atteste directement *l'unité du moi.*' In dwelling on the mystery of pain, M. Picard says with becoming restraint, that if physical pain were an essential and absolute evil, Christ would hardly have accepted a life of constant sacrifice and a death of violent pain, *Voilà un petit éclaircissement*—words which, with most perverse heedlessness, are turned into 'This contains *a very clear* lesson for us.'[1] Indeed, the translator is evidently persuaded that it is his function to improve on the text before him, and he does it with all the diffuseness of a provincial penny-a-liner. Truth, says M. Picard, does not attract men, 'comme un phare rallie les oiseaux *dans la nuit*' (p. 109). His translator amplifies the last three words into 'during their nocturnal migrations' (E.V. p. 115).

But worse remains behind—ignorance so dense and inconceivable as to mar or misrepresent the argument and to stultify its entire bearing. A little patient thought, a little careful inquiry, even the most cursory use of such a work as Littré's Dictionary, would have guarded a translator from falling into such errors as the English version before us displays. The argument from design is a commonplace in the defence of Theism, and is rightly placed by the Abbé in the forefront of his Apology. He maintains that it would remain unassailable even if evolution instead of being only a working hypothesis were scientifically proved: 'à supposer,' he writes, 'que ce système triomphe des objections très fortes qu'on lui oppose, il ne supprimerait en rien la *finalité.*' This in its English dress runs as follows: 'Allowing that this system could obtain the triumph it hopes for over the strong objections that oppose it, it would not destroy *belief in the future life*'[2]—an assertion ludicrously irrelevant to both the meaning and the thought of the original. Nor does M. Picard's clearly reasoned argument against Materialism fare much better later on, when *finality* is twice given as the English equivalent of *finalité.* 'There are too many traces of *finality* for us to admit that the world's mechanism is the

[1] E.V. p. 114. [2] E.V. p. 39.

Digitized by Google

blind result of mere fatalism.' 'Is the belief that the mind is made for truth anything but *an acknowledgment of finality* in the world?' These sentences, unintelligible as they stand, are at once clear and convincing when for the ambiguous word *finality* we put the well-worn term '*design*.'

We will only trouble the reader with one more crowning example of the translator's unrivalled capacity to absolutely misunderstand the plainest of sentences and to pervert its meaning to the exact opposite of that which its writer affirms. M. Picard, when enlarging upon the inadequacy of science to supply the deeper wants of the human soul, quotes some striking remarks of a young student 'who had found his way to Damascus in the path of free inquiry,' and borrows from him the following sentence: 'L'esprit humain peut employer son énergie, travailler d'accord avec la raison, découvrir des vérités réelles dans une sphère aussi supérieure à celle des laboratoires ou de l'industrie que *celle-ci est elle-même à la région des actes les plus grossiers*.'[1] The words and thought alike are as transparently clear as possible. Here is the translator's version of them: 'The human mind can employ its energies, work in harmony with reason and attain *its* discoveries, in a sphere as superior to that of the laboratory or of mere industry, *as the latter is to more intellectual pursuits*.'[2] May we earnestly counsel the translator in future to devote himself to some form 'of mere industry' rather than to those more intellectual, yet inferior, pursuits in which he misses his way so painfully?

We have written enough to justify our stern condemnation of this attempt to palm off under the shelter of great names a thoroughly worthless version of a treatise apparently held in high esteem by Roman Catholic prelates. No doubt the English Cardinal has been most unwarrantably misled in the matter, and has no leisure amid the manifold avocations of his mission for reading all the works he is begged to seal with his approval: but this only shows the unreality of his Imprimatur and the folly of pretending to maintain mediæval supervision of the press at the close of the nineteenth century. In turning to M. Picard's own work, we shall not altogether bid the translator farewell, but shall indicate from time to time in very brief notes that the inaccuracy we have been exposing is interwoven into the very warp and woof of his version.

It would be hopeless within the limits of a single article to review in detail a work covering so much ground as

[1] Picard, p. 61. [2] English translation, p. 61.

Digitized by Google

M. Picard's treatise attempts to fill. We must content ourselves with pointing out some of its excellencies and defects, and if we are constrained to dwell mainly on the latter, it is through no desire churlishly to withhold our approbation of the Abbé's great industry, and of the effective manner in which he deals with many current objections to Christianity. His book contains many eloquent passages as well as much sound and conclusive reasoning, and it is noteworthy that it fails most glaringly in those parts which are not essential to the purpose which his title suggests. So long as M. Picard is defending Christianity against the attacks of Continental scepticism he is largely successful. When he assails other Christian communities than his own, he betrays unpardonable ignorance and a want of charity which is occasionally too pronounced even for his admiring translator. If his whole case is to stand or fall with the accuracy and trustworthiness of his assault on Anglicanism, as he himself risks the whole case for Christianity upon its exclusive identification with modern Romanism, his work must inevitably be condemned as an absolute failure.

We are not surprised that M. Picard is at his best in dealing, in the first part of his treatise, with the objections and the groundless dogmatism of scientific sceptics. The arena of French literature has been largely occupied by the combatants on either side in this great struggle, and the opponents of Christianity have there been more conspicuous, more aggressive, and more reckless in statement than in our English world. No names could be quoted with us that have exercised so wide an influence as have Renan and Littré and Taine in what was once the territory of the Most Christian King.

We notice with regret that, mingled with many admirable passages which we presume are the Abbé's own, and with a great mass of forcible and apt quotation which is exceptionally legitimate in handling so well worn a theme, there are some questionable assertions which tend to weaken unquestionable truths, and an occasional assumption of lofty superiority to opponents which is the reverse of winning. For example, the assertion that the Jews kept the conception of the one true God to themselves [1] is strange in the face of facts known to us about the Hellenists and of our Blessed Lord's saying that they compassed sea and land to make one proselyte; while to say that 'God was not loved before Christ' [2] implies absolute forgetfulness of some of the most

[1] French version, p. 223. [2] *Ibid.* p. 252.

Digitized by Google

striking passages in the Psalms; and the statements that the sages of pagan antiquity drew their inspiration from the Pentateuch[1] is at once doubtful in fact and far too broad a generalization to be based upon the words of Herodotus which the Abbé adduces in support of it. To an English reader, moreover, it is strange that a writer in some respects so well furnished as M. Picard should blunder so egregiously in his references to Holy Scripture. Three times over[2] he assigns to St. Peter words that belong to St. Paul—viz. *that the whole creation groaneth and travailleth in pain together until now*;[3] that the resurrection of Christ was '*not done in a corner*';[4] and a quotation from 2 Cor. vii. 8–10, which the Abbé introduces with the words 'disait Saint Pierre aux fidèles de Corinthe.'[5] This last error only was too palpable for the translator to leave uncorrected, and it may charitably be regarded as a misprint; the two former ones are probably due to the inveterate, although modern, Latin habit of ascribing everything *in posse* or *in esse* to the exclusive authority of Peter.

M. Picard has followed the usual order of demonstration in his essay, dealing in the first of the two books into which it is divided with the supernatural, and in the second with the historic records of Christianity and the nature and the claims of the Christian Church. It is in the former half of his work that he will meet with most agreement and will excite the most genuine interest among Anglican Churchmen; and had the second book ended with his chapters upon the character and teaching of Jesus Christ, on the authenticity of the New Testament and the interpretation of the Gospels, and on the truth of our Lord's Resurrection, it would have been our pleasure to bring out the many points in which we agree with the writer, and to hail him as a fellow-champion of Catholic truth. The form in which, however, the Abbé has cast his apology, compels us not to allow his demands to pass unchallenged, lest we should appear to let judgment go by default. We should be false to our deepest convictions, and betrayers of the cause we hold most sacred, were we to pass without protest his endeavour to unite on one and the same foundation, so that they must stand or fall together, the most unassailable of Christian verities and the most extravagant pretensions of the Church of Rome.

Before we turn to this part of the volume we will say something of its method and manner. The arrangement is

[1] French version, p. 250.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 104, 241, 552.
[3] Rom. viii. 22.
[4] Acts xxvi. 26.
[5] Preface, pp. xxiii, xxiv (E.V.).

Digitized by Google

simple and logical. The writer begins with the proofs of the supernatural, and

'as from the force of circumstances the question of the origin of things has become the strategical centre of the battle between truth and error, he discusses in turn the cosmical, biological, and anthropological problems—Is God the first principle and necessary end of the universe, or is this only an antiquated and worn-out formula? If God exists, where is He? What is the origin of life? Whence comes the soul? Is the soul free, and has it freedom of will for good or evil?' (Avant-propos, p. xii).

Such questions to be treated in all their fulness would of course require volumes, but it is useful to have the Christian argument sketched in its broad outlines, and this task M. Picard has performed with much industry and skill. The following quotations may illustrate his work, and may serve as examples of M. Picard's best manner:

'Science does not prove the existence of the soul. If it did so, there would not be a single scientific unbeliever, as we need hardly say. All that science can do (I mean such science as is not obstinately opposed to religion) is to furnish us with some of the elements of philosophical demonstration. But philosophy, and not science, can alone draw conclusions. We have ideas, sentiments, will, and determination. These we know much more intimately than we know the material world, for we know the material world only through our faculties, whilst we know our faculties by their proper operations. And herein lies the great condemnation of materialism. Instead of studying the life of the soul in itself, naturalists apply to it the result of their observations of the sensible world, which constitutes the most hateful act of treason that can be conceived. They experiment upon the brain and study its functions, and thence determine the nature of the faculties of the spirit and of the principles by which it is governed. How do we examine the brain? With our senses or with our instruments. How do we account for the acts of the soul? Through the reaction of the soul upon itself. For this purpose the senses and the microscope are of no avail. A whole world of things escapes their notice. Those therefore mistake their wishes for realities who proclaim that science has pronounced a definite verdict upon the world of spirit and of conscience. They ask of it that which it cannot give, that which cannot result from any of its discoveries. In wishing science to lay down the law on questions of essence, of origin, they make it exceed its proper domain, which does not extend beyond the question of existence. This is sufficiently vast to suffice for its glorious task' (p. 51).

Out of many other striking passages we can only find room for an extract upon the existence of Providence and the duty of prayer:

Digitized by Google

'It is equally ill-judged to say with Rousseau—I do not pray to God; He knows far better than I of what I have need. On the contrary, if God exists, it is most just that He should require from us this act of dependence. If He exists—and you (deists) admit it—and if He regards me as His child, me His creature, why should He not will that before coming to my aid I should tell Him my wants? That a God, hidden away behind His own laws, incommunicable and holding no communication, should neither will to ask nor be able to obtain adoration, this is comprehensible. That a God who is (at once) everything and nothing, who is not a real being, who has not a heart, does not claim the adoration which after all we could not accord, since this would be in some sort to adore ourselves, this too is comprehensible. But a living God, a God who fills all things with His majesty and His power, before whom all hearts are open, who yearns over us with a solicitude infinitely greater than that of a mother for her new-born child, would this God be the God of our conscience if He did not demand our prayers? Should we have any regard for Him? The most inadmissible, the most crushing of all mysteries is the modern theory. If God does not exist, if beings are born by means of evolution, if the primary cell is able to produce all that we see—organic beings with their mutual relations, their laws, a necessary equilibrium, it is miracle turned upside down.[1] But if God be that which we believe, prayer springs naturally from the soul. The more noble and finely strung the heart, the more spontaneous the prayer. Doubtless God knows our needs better than we do ourselves. But if He wishes that man should unite himself to Him by prayer, that he should thus avow the need he has for his creator, can you refuse this right to God? If God ought to do everything for man and man nothing for God, it was useless for God to create man. He should have sent him straight to heaven' (pp. 134, 135).

Not the least interesting and effective feature of M. Picard's treatise is the frequent introduction, to which he calls attention in his Preface, of the admissions made by unbelievers, 'thus building,' in Bossuet's words, 'the fortresses of Juda from the ruins of Samaria.' In one brief paragraph, for instance, the Abbé gathers from unexpected quarters strong support for the necessity, so keenly debated at the present hour, that ethics to be effective must have their basis in religion:

'"Let us lay the foundations of eternal morality in God," said Robespierre; "no nation has ever yet ventured to socialize atheism." "Laws," said Portalis, "only control the arm, religion rules the

[1] Here, as constantly elsewhere, the translator misses all the points of the original. 'C'est le miracle renversé,' writes M. Picard. It *is* miracle with a vengeance, turned topsy-turvy. This strong expression is watered down in the English to—'then, indeed, is miracle overthrown'—quite a different thing.

Digitized by Google

heart." "The state has no longer any religion," writes Musset, "and whatever humanitarians may say, this is a real misfortune for France. All the taverns of Paris put together are not worth for the State one country church; for there the ills of life are forgotten and hope is received with the host." In a remarkable article on *The Present Crisis of Morality*, Edmond Schérep wrote in 1884: "Let us learn to see things as they are; the true, the good, the authoritative, the ancient morality needs the Absolute, aspires to the transcendental, and finds its mainstay in God alone. Conscience, like the heart, demands a something beyond the grave. Duty is nothing if not sublime, and life would be frivolous but for its relation to eternity"' (pp. 174, 175).

Such quotations are, of course, liable to the remark on the part of unbelievers that they only represent the opinions of individual and weak-kneed sceptics. Yet they testify to the innate force of conviction, which makes itself felt in sundry ways and divers manners. In the aggregate they amount to an involuntary confession that their rock is not as the Christian's Rock, even unbelievers themselves being judges.

As we contemplate the various forms of error which have assailed Catholic truth, and which have for a season seemed so influential, the thought is powerfully borne in upon us that, after all, such systems only have their day and cease to be; that they have their place in the purpose and scheme of infinite and inscrutable wisdom; and that they eventually smoulder and decay as though smitten by some mysterious atrophy. Yet none the less instructive is it to note the severity with which rationalistic interpreters of the Bible demolish one another's theories. Renan abuses Voltaire, and calls his assertion that there are fifty-four Gospels buffoonery, superficial and scurrilous infidelity, and criticism of the lowest type. Strauss demolishes Paulus, Weisse, Ebrard, and Ewald, and in his turn is torn to pieces by Baur, Réville, and Renan. No terms of abuse are too personal or pointed, no logic too pitiless, no sarcasm too biting for the pontiff of Tübingen to apply to those who would explain away miracle or reject revelation on grounds which differ from his own. Weisse, according to Strauss, with his eyes open, obstinately entrenches himself in absurdity; Ebrard carries orthodoxy to the extent of shamelessness; Ewald had better make manure of his rubbish of exegetic criticism. Strauss himself fares no better at the hands of later critics. His book, they say, rejects solid testimony and substitutes in its stead the feeblest hypotheses; his criticism needs to be cleared from nebulosity and Hegelianism. His results cannot be sustained from any point of view—historical, philosophical,

Digitized by Google

or religious. Nor are the differences which elicit such compliments less than utterly irreconcilable. Renan, once the idol of the hour, is now the subject of wide denunciation, and Kuehn—'one of the most distinguished of German rationalists'—compares his work to Eugène Sue's romance, *The Mysteries of Paris.*

An effective chapter in Apologetics might be compiled from a comparison of the demands made by one school of sceptical writers with the concessions freely admitted by another. This had not escaped the acumen of M. Godet, who, after reviewing the objections raised by modern criticism against the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel, continues:

'We may be allowed to bring out this singular phenomenon, which is not without some psychological value in estimating[1] this discussion. Is it not astonishing that each adversary of its authenticity seems to be specially struck by some one of these fourteen objections, which weighs but slightly with the other critics, and in comparison with which he himself assigns but trifling importance to all the rest? We leave to the reader the task of explaining this fact, which has more than once given us food for reflection.'[2]

A yet more telling example of mutually destructive criticism is supplied by quotations from Strauss and Holtzmann.

'If it were proved,' wrote Strauss, 'that the biblical history had been written by eye-witnesses, or at least by men who were contemporaries of the events narrated, the orthodox' (and by the orthodox Strauss means Christians[3]) 'would have won their cause.'[4]

Let the reader compare with this avowal the admissions of Professor Holtzmann of Strasburg, a writer who, as the Abbé explains, has

'of late years most profoundly handled the question of the origin of the first three Gospels, and who is under no suspicion of partiality, since he is the head of the free-thinking party in the Grand Duchy of Baden: (Holtzmann) concludes his study of the Gospels by declaring that the result of all modern research agrees with what the most ancient ecclesiastical writers have transmitted to us—namely, that the writings which form the foundation of our first three Gospels, and the Gospels themselves, must have been compiled between the years 60 and 80 of our era—that is to say, from thirty to fifty years after the death of our Lord.'[5]

[1] *Dans l'appréciation.* E.V. 'in connection with.'
[2] Picard, pp. 328, 329.
[3] The E.V. renders *chrétiens* by 'Catholics.'
[4] Picard, p. 291. 'Auraient gain de cause,' watered down in the E.V. to 'would have a stronger position.'
[5] Picard, p. 321; E.V. p. 333.

Digitized by Google

In plain terms, Holtzmann concedes all that Strauss demands as necessary to establish the authenticity of the Gospels.

Similar difficulties and inconsistencies are betrayed by unbelievers in their attempts to account for the evolution of Christianity. Jacolliot tells us it came from India. Burnouf declares it to be of Persian origin, proceeding from the doctrines of the Zendavesta. Havet maintains that it is a development of Hellenism; while Strauss, Baur, and Renan inform us that it took its rise from the Jewish religion: but that which is for Strauss the spontaneous creation of a popular mythology, is for Baur the conscientious and deliberate work of those who labour hard to make their opinions prevail. One might have thought that Renan's own method was a sufficiently strong solvent of historic narrative, but he evidently thought it conservative in contrast with that of Strauss, of whom he wrote as follows:

'Having no sympathy either with history or with fact, Strauss never gets beyond the ideas of mythism and symbolism. One might say that in his view the events of Christianity were outside the domain of real existence and natural life. All realistic exegesis was completely compromised in his eyes, and he believed it necessary to replace this by a theory . . . which stands alone, of its kind, and satisfies nobody. The historian finds it bare of facts; the critic, too uniform in its processes; the theologian, founded on a system subversive of Christianity.'[1]

We would that this spectacle of internecine strife were presented by the assailants of Christianity only; but unhappily we are compelled to utter a long-drawn protest against the exhibition of a like antagonistic spirit displayed throughout M. Picard's work and forming the entire substance of its final sections.

In enforcing the necessity for submission to the Bishop of Rome the Abbé Picard exhausts all the arguments with which by this time we are but too familiar, and displays a fertility of invention and an audacity of affirmation which we would fain hope are all his own. In a fashion not unusual with controversialists he adroitly assumes the points at issue, and on the basis of the assumption thus made, and not infrequently so insinuated as to evade all but the closest scrutiny, he founds the reasoning which leads him to his foregone conclusion. With many aspects of the modern Petrine claims we have dealt, as our readers know, with much fulness in earlier numbers of this Review. Yet we must

[1] E.V. pp. 405, 406.

Digitized by Google

notice some of the principles laid down in a work sent forth to the world with such authoritative approbation as the volume before us. The confession that Jesus is God, we are told, involves as its logical consequence the recognition of the Catholic—by which the Abbé means the Latin—Church. 'The divinity of Christianity and the divinity of the [Roman] Catholic Church is one and the same thing, and the argument which proves the divinity of the Catholic Church participates in all the force of the argument for Christianity, before entering on any particular proof' (p. 435). 'It is impossible to find out the faith among the different Christian sects: it is enough to mention their divisions. From this it follows that, if Protestantism were true, Christianity would only be a human institution' (p. 434). It would require more time and space than we can give at the close of an article to unravel the intricate tangle of half-truths and assumptions in the context, whence these sentences are culled. We only desire now to call attention to the manner of their introduction, and we cannot do so more appropriately than in the terms of a note, for which we are indebted, not to M. Picard, but to his English translator, and which runs as follows:—

'It should always be borne in mind that assertion without proof is mere dogmatism which fails to carry conviction. *Quod gratis asseritur gratis negatur* is an ancient and universally accepted principle. Until proofs are offered, there can be no discussion and no conviction; nothing, in fact, but assertion on one side and contradiction on the other' (E.V. p. 90, note 2).

In addition to 'proof,' which we are so seasonably reminded is essential, may we suggest that ordinary courtesy to adversaries is not entirely superfluous in religious discussion, and that the controversialist puts himself out of court who, in speaking of many millions of fellow-Christians, can calmly state 'we have no hope of being able to understand how these Churches can possibly number either enlightened or sincere persons amongst their advocates' (p. 485; E.V. p. 513). Stupidity and insincerity are ugly imputations, which are scarcely palliated by the broad statement a little later on, 'that it would be more logical for us to abandon Christianity altogether, and that the religion of many Protestants is reduced to a veritable religious parrot chatter' (p. 508; E.V. p. 541).

It is worth while to inquire how far the writer who utters such opinions *ex cathedra* is qualified to pronounce valid judgment. To test this, we will pass by the wide field of conjecture and prophecy in which the Abbé Picard disports

Digitized by Google

himself effusively, and confine ourselves for the moment to the more prosaic yet more trustworthy pathway of fact. M. Picard undertakes to inform his readers about the principles and the prospects of the Anglican Church. It is divided, he tells us, into the three sections of Low, Broad, and High—the latter of which is the Established Church (p. 498). The translator sagaciously recasts this sentence and the immediate context, but as it stands it may well serve as a touchstone of the author's qualifications to dogmatize about the Church of England. *Solvuntur risu tabulæ.* But M. Picard's sphere of knowledge is not confined to a mere accurate acquaintance with existing facts. His wide grasp of particulars enables him to arrive at an unerring generalization and confidently to draw necessary deductions. With lofty indiscrimination he masses together all outside the pale of Rome, and proclaims that in half a century they will have melted away. While Rome has been developing her creed, perfecting her hierarchy and consolidating her discipline, Protestantism has been slowly dwindling away from inherent disintegration (E.V. p. 487). She is doomed to thorough and complete rout (*ibid.* p. 510). She is smitten with hopeless sterility, and tries vainly to recompense herself by new conquests for her losses at home. The Greek Church is in no better case, and in fifty years Russia will be a free country. All its 'orthodoxy' will have vanished (*ibid.*).

A brief statement of the relative growth of the Protestant and Roman Catholic branches of Christianity will supply a crushing demonstration that M. Picard is hardly more fitted to assume the mantle of a prophet than he is to wear the robe of an historian. Between 1786 and 1890 the world's population is estimated to have increased from 954 millions to 1,499 millions. The Christian-governed nations increased in the same period from 341 to 891 millions. Protestant nations governed 520 millions in 1890, as compared with 157 millions in 1786; Roman Catholic 243 as compared with 154 millions; and Greek Christains 128 as compared with 30 millions. Protestant nations have during the past three hundred years increased the area of their territory from 727,000 to 17,417,900 square miles. These figures, quoted from Mr. Gulick's *Growth of the Kingdom of God* and reproduced in the latest Report of the Church Missionary Society, afford a conclusive reply to the reckless boasting of M. Picard. Nor will it avail him to retort that he is speaking not of the area of government, but of the growth of Churches. The only available method of comparison with which we are acquainted

Digitized by Google

is equally unfavourable to his contention. At the end of the fifteenth century, when the population under Christian rule was 100 millions, there were no Protestants; but in 1890 they numbered 520 millions, out of a total Christian population of 890 millions. Roman Catholic France had 19 millions of population in 1700, and Protestant Great Britain 8. Now both populations stand at the same figure (38 millions). If we turn to Most Catholic Spain we find a decline since the days of the Armada from 43 millions to 17, and in England a growth from 4 millions to 38. Is it indeed Protestant peoples that are smitten with sterility?

We had marked other passages of like spirit with the foregoing, but probably enough has been said about this branch of M. Picard's treatise. It is not needful to dwell upon his repeated contumelies, which can in truth only injure the causes they are designed to serve. The utmost is made of 'our unhappy divisions,' in contrast to which the Abbé's translator tells us in a specially inserted note that Catholicism includes between 200 and 300 millions of human beings of every race and nation, who form one compact and absolutely united whole *differing by not so much as a single hair's breadth on any single point of faith*![1] If this be so now in the Church where formerly Dominican and Franciscan, Jansenist and Jesuit, Gallican and Ultramontane flourished side by side, the wheels of Ultramontanism grind small indeed.

As we read page after page of denunciation, we ask ourselves does this French abbé really know anything about us? Does he really think that the charities of Paris are a conclusive proof that the true Church is in her midst, and that those of London are worthless for a parallel conclusion? Does he really believe that we deny the two natures in the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, as well as the existence and power of the Holy Ghost? Does he really credit the shameless falsehood about our missionaries which his translator silently declines to reproduce, and which our readers perhaps would hardly credit in all their unfounded falsity and malignity unless we quote the *ipsissima verba*: 'Les ministres protestants ne marchent qu'escortés et appuyés par le canon anglais. *Ils ne dépassent jamais les limites après lesquelles ils auraient à craindre la cangue ou le canon*'? (p. 563). The blood of the recent martyrs in China, which stirred England with emotion at once so deep and so signally free from any demand for human vengeance, cries from the

[1] E.V. p. 230 note.

Digitized by Google

ground against a reproach so groundless, so gratuitous, and from the lips of a Christian advocate so exceptionally graceless. 'The variations of Protestants' play, as usual, a conspicuous part in the taunts hurled at us by this latest of Roman apologists. They are in very truth sufficiently lamentable, but are they justly attributable to the free circulation and reading of the Bible? Is it not rather to the neglect of systematic study of Holy Scripture that most of our troubles are due? We wonder how our critic would deal with the commendation bestowed on the Bereœans because they searched the Scriptures daily whether these things were so. When did it cease to be noble, in its high Christian sense, if it be so no longer, for Christians constantly to study God's Holy Word and compare the teaching given them with its inspired percepts?

It is needless to expose at greater length the manifold faults of this much-vaunted apology. So far as its misrepresentations concern the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church, we might have passed them with half-amused indignation that they should be accepted as solid verities among many French (and unhappily also English) readers; but these are not the days when a pitiful silence can be of much avail. The Abbé has missed a great opportunity. With his industry in amassing useful materials, he might have contributed a worthy addition to the grand and select library of Christian writings, which all in common who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity hold in high esteem. He might, without sacrificing one iota of his own personal convictions, have helped to forward the reunion of Christendom by powerful insistence upon the essential truths on which the foundations of Christianity are securely laid, and which the great mass of Christians outside the pale of Romanism cordially accept. He might have rendered essential service by handling with an equipment of scientific knowledge posted up to the latest conclusion of scientific writers and the most recent forms in which sceptical demurrers are presented, the old yet ever new arguments in favour of Christian revelation drawn from the experience of its working during eighteen centuries, and from history and from nature of man. He has preferred to so useful an achievement to turn aside and criticize with equal lack of charity and knowledge other Christians of whose creed and practice he shows himself profoundly ignorant. Bound hand and foot within the narrow limits of modern Roman dogmatism, he cannot conceive of union without absorption, or of unity apart from mechanical

Digitized by Google

uniformity. Blinded by prejudices which distort and weaken his not inconsiderable intellectual faculties, he cannot see the fatal inconsistency of denying, when dealing with Protestants, that innate power of revelation to bear conclusive evidence to itself, which he insists on so effectively when dealing with sceptics. Bigoted by the influence of his surroundings, he cannot allow any good thing outside the range of his own arrogant communion, and is not ashamed to utter pointless sneers against men who, though they follow not with him, yet go forth to preach the Gospel to the heathen, not counting their lives dear unto themselves. All this under the deceptive title of *Christianity or Agnosticism* and addressed 'a la jeunesse'! Alas for this latest exhibition of the burning distraction of Christendom, to which, while ostentatiously deploring it, the writer adds his modicum of fuel! Verily

> 'Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis
> Tempus eget.'

ART. VIII.—MEDIÆVAL CEREMONIAL.

1. *Alcuin Club Collections, I.* English Altars from Illuminated Manuscripts with Descriptive Notes. By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A. (London, 1899.)
2. *The English Altar and its Surroundings.* By J. N. COMPER. The second Essay in *Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book Historically considered.* (London, 1899.)
3. *Missale Romanum, Mediolani* 1474. Edited by ROBERT LIPPE, LL.D. Vol. I. Text. (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899.)
4. *The Genius of the Roman Rite.* By EDMUND BISHOP. (*Weekly Register* Offices, 1899.)

A FEW months ago we were asked by a speaker at the Church Congress why we were so inconsistent as to object to mediæval ceremonies taking place in churches which are now, in accordance with the prevailing fashion, all built in the mediæval manner? Surely, it is said, if the building be mediæval that which is done in the building should be mediæval too. For argument's sake let us accept this method of reasoning and see to what it will lead us. It may be that those who ask for mediæval ceremonies in mediæval buildings

Digitized by Google

have no very clear idea of what mediæval ceremonies were. It may be that what they claim as mediæval may bear no nearer relation to that which history declares to be mediæval than rococo ornaments do to the mouldings of Westminster Abbey. The word 'mediæval' is often used to express mere like or dislike. By it some mean what is in their eyes perfect or almost divine; with others it is synonymous with what is weak-minded and contemptible. Its meaning depends greatly upon the value given it by him who uses the word. To define our terms: if people really mean what they say when they ask for mediæval services, it is that they want the services or ceremonial that were in use between A.D. 800 and A.D. 1500, though some elasticity is demanded by certain historians as to the end of the period: some place the end of the middle ages at 1450, and others in England much later than 1500. It will be seen that the word 'mediæval' covers a very wide area of time.

The books named at the head of this article all appeared last year within a very few months of each other, yet apparently without any intention of coincidence on the part of the authors. But they have similar and important lessons to give to those willing to learn what mediæval services and ceremonies really were.

We may take first Mr. St. John Hope's *English Altars*, published at the expense of the Alcuin Club, which has at last done something to justify its existence. Both the Alcuin Club and Mr. St. John Hope may be congratulated on this beautiful collection of photographic reproductions of English altars. We may be especially grateful for two representations of altars of considerable interest, which have not been reproduced before by photography. One is the altar of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, from the manuscript at Trinity Hall, only known to the world at large by a somewhat imperfect plate in Dugdale; the other is the altar at Westminster in the Islip Roll, of which the Society of Antiquaries near a hundred years ago produced a good and careful drawing, but still not to be set in the same line for accuracy with the results given to us to-day by photography. The other altars shown in the series have not, indeed, the historic importance of these two; but the remainder form a series which begins in the tenth century and ends in the sixteenth, showing us the English altar all through the mediæval period.

Such a series is simply invaluable to the student of mediæval ceremonial. No doubt it will astonish, if not shock,

Digitized by Google

those who are accustomed to the altars of a later date. It will destroy a number of idols cherished in our day, a work, it was understood at the time of its formation, which was to be the special function of the Alcuin Club. It has been silent for some time, perhaps because the iconoclastic zeal of the mediæval antiquaries among its members was not actively supported by the lovers of the present state of affairs. Now that it has begun this destructive criticism let us hope that it may go on and prosper.

As we look through the plates of the Alcuin Club, the first thing that strikes us is the extreme unlikeness of the altars to those that we are accustomed to see, not merely in churches with an 'advanced ritual,' but in churches which aim at moderate Anglicanism. In fact they remind us a good deal of the altars that were to be ordinarily seen about the year 1850, and which we were then taught to look upon with horror. We have only to take up an early volume of the *Ecclesiologist* to find that many things there condemned have a good deal of authority from the middle ages. The men of the Cambridge Camden Society were in truth pioneers in their subject. They cannot be blamed because they did not know all that we know after many more years of study. We can very readily sympathize with them in their position; for they were called upon to act before they had thoroughly grasped the details of the principles upon which they were acting, and thus of necessity they made mistakes, and serious ones too. They seem to have thought that whatever they found existing in the Church of England about 1840 must be modern, while whatever they found on the Continent must be ancient. Now we know that the contrary is often really the case. What the early ecclesiologists found and destroyed was usually some ancient or mediæval custom, that had come down at least three hundred years, from a time before the days of Edward VI.; while the Continental practices which they brought in to replace the old English things were less than two hundred years old. Now, too, the mid-Victorian idea that whatever is foreign and modern is better than what is old and English is, happily, not so prevalent.

Nearly all the things with which the early ecclesiologists adorned their altars are not to be found in the photographs of the Alcuin Club. Absolutely there are no vases of flowers on the altars from the first to the last of the series; nor candlesticks of any sort—even at the obit of Abbot Islip of Westminster, where there is a profusion of candles on the hearse, there is not one candlestick on the high altar; nor

Digitized by Google

the thing that the early ecclesiologists were so anxious to put on the altar to support the candlesticks, and that they called the superaltar: a name which showed how little they really knew; for the superaltar is the small square hallowed stone on which, set upon an unhallowed altar, the elements for the Eucharist were consecrated; nowadays the shelf for the candlesticks is called by its foreign name *gradin*, to show its foreign origin. Nor in the middle ages were there seven lamps burning before the altar, a practice that has become so fashionable within the last thirty years. In the few cases where a lamp is seen, there is only one (Pl. II. 3, IV. 2, V. 1), and that probably was only lighted during service time. Let it not horrify anyone that where the pyx is shown (Pl. X. 1, XIII.) there is no lamp alight before it. It need not be said that there is no instance of a locker on the altar in which the Holy Sacrament was kept, called by the moderns a tabernacle; nor altar cards.

Another thing that would have vexed the early ecclesiologists, one may be sure, is the mediæval arrangement of the altar frontal. One of the first things that these good souls did was to get rid of the frontal in many folds: that was most 'incorrect,' and a stretched embroidered altar-cloth was invariably put in its place. The earliest altar-cloths (Pl. I. 2, II. 3) seem to be mere cloths, whether of silk or linen, just thrown over the altar itself and hanging to the ground. Very soon the frontlet appears, the over-frontal (Pl. II. 2), where the frontal hangs in vertical folds connected by festoons. This arrangement may be seen in Plates III. and IV.; and Plate V. shows altar-cloths in festoons without any definite arrangement. Later on we have altar-cloths in pleats, like a lady's modern dressing-table (Pl. VII. 2 and 3). These are of the fourteenth century, while on the same plate (No. 5), and of much the same date, there is the first instance of a frontal without folds or pleats, and looking like the modern stretched frontal. The frontal in pleats occurs again in Plate XII. in a drawing of the end of the fifteenth century; and this appearance may be somewhat indistinctly made out in the altars of Westminster of 1532 shown in Plates XIII. and XIV. The pleating of the altar frontal is plainly shown in Abbot Lytlington's Mass-book at Westminster, which is of the fourteenth century. Two of these frontals have been reproduced in collotype in the edition of the Westminster Missal.[1]

[1] *Missale ad Usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1891), Fasc. I. plates 1 and 4.

Digitized by Google

The practice of leaving the altar bare has but small countenance from the middle ages. Even the early ecclesiologists did not attempt this; and it was not until we began the practice of making expeditions into France and Belgium [1] that bare altars were seen to any extent in England. In these countries it may very likely be that their poverty and not their will consents to this. A frontal, of the colour of the Mass, is ordered in the Roman Missal of to-day; [2] it is an instance of the way in which the rubrics of the Roman Missal are disobeyed; which ought not to be surprising to those who are accustomed to see the plainest directions of the Book of Common Prayer set aside. The custom of hiding the altar from sight by a veil may be said to be almost universal in the Church; and at a time when so much is said of the importance of following œcumenical custom it is a little surprising that Churchmen should allow themselves to be parties to the breaking of the Church law, merely to fall in with the views of Italianizing architects.

It has sometimes been said that the cross in the middle ages, carried in procession or on the altar, was never without the figure of the Crucified. The statement is negatived by the crosses shown in the book before us. Altar crosses without figures are abundant (Pl. I. 1, 2, II. 2, III. 2, IV. 2, V. 2, 4, IX., X. 2). Crucifixes are also seen (V. 1, VII. 3, 4, VIII. 4, X. 4, XIII., XIV.), but not by any means exclusively.

Riddells, which have lately come much into use among us, do not appear early in the series. The first is of the early fifteenth century (Pl. VIII. 2). Once it seemed a reasonable theory that the riddells and the dossal were directly descended from the curtains of the ciborium of the basilica; but their late appearance in English pictures tells rather against the idea that they are descended continuously from altar curtains in pre-Norman England; they may have been imported from abroad in the fifteenth century, or a little earlier.

The mention of the dossal brings us to the mediæval reredos. The early altars do not show any, and the reredos begins in the early fifteenth century and continues to the end of the period. It is of no great height, not higher than

[1] Even in Belgium bare altars seem to be quite modern. 'L'antependium aux couleurs liturgiques persista, dans la Belgique, jusqu'à une époque récente' (*Revue de l'Art chrétien*, 1886, 3e série, t. iv. p. 459 note).

[2] *Missale Romanum*, Rubricæ generales, xx. (Mechliniae, 1874).

Digitized by Google

would be sufficient to conceal completely the head of the tallest priest at the altar. This supports the opinion that the reredos and dossal are both really the same: that is, part of the curtains which formerly surrounded the altar, and from the offertory to the communion shrouded the priest from sight.

In Theodore's Penitential, steps before the altar are forbidden,[1] doubtless with reference to Exodus[2]; and Durandus refers to the same prohibition.[3] In this series of altars we may note that the altar is but rarely raised on more than one step; sometimes it stands without any. There is in one case a flight of seven steps (Plate VIII. 4). But the great altar at Westminster is (Plate XIII.) raised only on two (Mr. Hope says three) steps; the celebrant would have only two steps to go up when he approached the altar. Mr. Comper (p. 112) points out that it is the tradition of the English churches not to have many steps up to the altar; or even in entering the chancel there may be a step down to a lower level. This arrangement followed upon the importance attached in mediæval England to the low sill of the East window.

All this we have to make out for ourselves. The Alcuin Club does not draw these lessons, which lie on the surface; but it promises a work hereafter in which this will be done. In the meantime, while we are waiting for this tract, there comes most opportunely an essay by Mr. J. N. Comper, the well-known architect, which precisely fills up the gap. It is the second on the list at the head of this article. By a different path Mr. Comper has arrived at results which completely accord with the lessons that we have found in the plates of the Alcuin Club. He tells us of the necessity of the frontal, of the low reredos or dossal, of taking away from the altar the gradin, the vases of flowers, the six candles, the tabernacle, and other modern disfigurements, if we are to return to anything like mediæval practice. He tells us (and here he has all English churches built in the middle ages with him) how opposed to all precedents it is to wall up the east window in an old church, or raise a reredos in a new church so that the east window becomes diminutive or even disappears altogether. No one who has paid much attention to our old parish churches, before they were 'restored,' will deny that in the vast majority of cases the sill of the east

[1] II. i. 6: 'Gradus non debemus facere ante altare' (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, Oxford, 1871, iii. 191).

[2] Exodus xx. 26.

[3] *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, I. ii. 3 (Neapoli, 1859, p. 20).

Digitized by Google

window comes down close to the altar. Now this is the key of the mediæval position. If the sill of the east window be only a foot or two from the altar, it follows that there can be no high reredos or dossal; from this again it follows that the ornaments necessary for the ceremonial of the altar must be kept low. They must not reach the top of the reredos or dossal. 'To make them large,' says Mr. Comper, 'destroys the scale of the church' (p. 92). Be it also remembered that out of Mass no candlesticks were left on the altar; the frontal, frontlets, and sometimes the linen remained, but the two candlesticks were taken away. In our country we know this practice remained in certain cathedral churches until our own time. The candles were placed on the altar only at the time of the celebration of the Eucharist or when they were lighted. It was the same at Lyons in France until the middle of the last century.[1] As Mr. Comper justly remarks, 'they were there as part of the ceremonial, rather than as forming the decoration of the altar' (p. 93). The candlesticks were taken away just as the book or the chalice was taken away.

The Alcuin Club gives us no help in telling the number of lights set upon the altar in the middle ages, for the good reason that not one of the plates in its book shows a candlestick on the altar. Until late in the middle ages the lights were not as a rule set on the altar, but a candle was held in the hand of the clerk. But Mr. Comper is able to help us in the number of lights; and so, too, does Mr. Cuthbert Atchley in an essay printed with Mr. Comper's in the volume before us. Both Mr. Comper and Mr. Atchley (whose exhaustive researches into the ceremonial use of lights in the middle ages compel admiration) agree that no more than two lights were set on the altar for Mass. There were others, sometimes, around the altar, according to the size and wealth of the church, but on the altar not more than two. The ceremonialists of a few years ago made a great mistake in introducing the custom of placing six lights on the altar (or

[1] Morel de Voleine, *De l'Influence de la Liturgie catholique sur l'Architecture*, Lyons, 1861, p. 15: 'L'autel était une table rase et sans autres ornements que ses parements d'étoffes. Ce ne fut qu'en 1746, que l'on prit l'habitude d'y laisser les chandeliers et la croix, qu'auparavant on mettait pour la messe et que l'on ôtait ensuite.' For a view of the High Altar at Lyons in this state see p. 170 of the volume in which Mr. Comper's essay appears. It had only one step; and the author complains of the theatrical number of candles recently introduced; of which he says: 'Il est possible que cette illumination attire des curieux, mais à coup sûr elle est fort opposée à l'ancien esprit liturgique de la Primatiale, si grave, si opposé aux petits procédés mis en usage pour produire de l'effet.'

Digitized by Google

rather on the gradin[1]); it is a mistake, whether looked at from a legal, or historical, or politic, or æsthetic, point of view. If we are to return to mediæval ceremonial the six lights on the altar must be the first things to be laid aside, together with the seven lamps.

It is exceedingly interesting to follow Mr. Comper with his proof that mediæval customs lasted on long after the decadence of the Renaissance. He gives a drawing of an altar from the *Cæremoniale Parisiense* of 1703, where every mediæval feature is retained though clothed in classical form; and, what is very noteworthy, even the classical form fails to take from the altar its dignity and simplicity (p. 47). But at the end of the last century we see the degradation to which rococo taste can lead in the copperplate prefixed to the edition of 1777 of Lebrun's *Explication*, which, for some unknown reason, Dr. Rock reproduced in his *Hierurgia* in 1833, here taking away even the solitary mediæval ornament that remained, the antependium. If Sir Thomas More could be brought back to life he would hardly recognize such an altar as Christian; it would certainly not be like those at which he was accustomed to worship. The surroundings of an old unrestored altar of 1830 would be to him more familiar than the overdone furniture that we too often see in a modern church.

Leaving the efforts of the Alcuin Club and of Mr. Comper to recall us to the law of the Church of England that the chancels shall remain as they have done in times past, not as in the times of rococo ornamentation, we may ask what services did the people attend in the middle ages? Did they have 'devotions'? or did they follow the beaten track of the Church in Psalter and Eucharist? No one who has paid any attention to the life of the English people in the middle ages can doubt that the Psalter took up the greater part of their public worship. Matins, Mass, and Evensong were the duty of every Sunday and holiday. To quote only one mediæval author, Piers the Plowman; speaking of the business of each class, he says:

> 'Lewd [*i.e.* lay] men to labour; and lords to hunt,
> . . . . . .
> And upon Sundays to cease; God's service to hear
> Both mattins and mass; and after meat, in churches
> To hear evensong; every man ought.'

[1] There is a curious legend, met with nearly everywhere, that the Privy Council has forbidden the setting of the candlesticks directly on the altar without the intervention of a shelf. In the Report, however,

Digitized by Google

And of holidays, he says:

'Each holiday to hear wholly the service.'[1]

And it must have been held to be a duty as late as the times of Queen Mary; for a Protestant writer could say that the clergy taught that the first of deadly sins was 'losing of mass, mattins, and evensong,'[2] while drunkenness was only venial.

If, then, we are to return to mediæval services we must every Sunday hear wholly the Mass, Mattins, and Evensong, and the procession, which we now call Litany. It is no mediæval practice to thrust Mattins and Litany into a corner; 'mattins, evensong, and Mass' were 'goodly sung with pricksong and organs'[3]; the mere hearing of a Mass said in twenty minutes or half an hour would have seemed to the mediæval mind a most inadequate performance of Sunday duty. And the popular prayers, the Hours of Our Lady, and the like, all took the form of the Divine Service, Psalms, and Lessons. There seems no authority from the middle ages for getting through Mattins and Litany in a hurry on Sunday morning with hardly any congregation; and then calling the people together for 'solemn celebration' after a perfunctory performance of the Divine Service. The Mass and Divine Service seem to have been required of the parishioner both in the same degree.

Nor will there be found in the middle ages much authority for what may be called exact ceremonial, a ceremonial in which every trifling position of fingers or hands is prescribed with the utmost minuteness. In Dr. Lippe's edition of an early Roman Missal, the first printed copy known to us, such directions are really conspicuous by their absence to those

of the Committee of the Alcuin Club against the lawfulness of the gradin they mention the opinion of Sir Walter Phillimore, which it may be hoped will finally lay the ghost to rest. He says: 'No Court has decided that it is illegal to put candlesticks directly on the *mensa*' (*Alcuin Club Tracts*, i. 64).

[1] *The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman* (ed. W. W. Skeat), Oxford, 1886, i. 240, C. text, Passus X. lines 223–31.

[2] '*A dialogue or familiar talke betwene two neighbours, concernyng the chyefest ceremonyes*, &c. From Roane, by Michael Wodde, the XX. of February Anno Domini M.D.LIIII.' Sheet B. iii. *b*. The tract is said to be rare. Its shelf-mark in the British Museum is C. 25. c. 26.

[3] See *A dialogue*, &c., Sheet D. i. *b*. Organs were as much disliked as any thing by the Puritan. Edward VI.'s commissioners destroyed them as monuments of idolatry and superstition; and our Puritan Oliver in the tract quoted above, after Nicholas has told him of the goodly singing with organs, says: 'Ye pipe him a dance on the organs.'

Digitized by Google

accustomed to the rules given in the Roman Missal of to-day. In the Ordinary of the Mass (pp. 198–211) the rubrics are as 'meagre' as those of the Book of Common Prayer; and before the Ordinary there is just a page of general rubrics of no use at all to those in search of exactness. Very likely during the middle ages there was no such exactness; it seems to have come in with a certain German, John Burchardt of Strassburg, who held a high place in the papal court under Alexander VI. and his successors. This man brought out, in 1502, a book called *Ordo Misse*, in the preface of which he complains how 'incorrect' many priests were in saying Mass, and that he thought it unworthy of the Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all others, not to set out a certain method of saying Mass to be followed by all. He therefore published his book, with a recommendatory letter from Alexander VI.[1] These new directions evidently became popular; later they appeared printed in Roman Mass books, and in the reform of Pius V., in 1570, their substance was definitely prefixed to the Missal as the *Ritus servandus.*

How different this humanist or post-mediæval mind of Burchardt's was from that of the early middle age Mr. Edmund Bishop's tract plainly shows This was read as a paper before a society which enjoys Cardinal Vaughan's protection, so that its freedom from any taint of Anglicanism may be guaranteed. And yet Mr. Bishop's results must come as an astonishment to many who have not made a study of *Ordo Romanus I.* and kindred documents. Mr. Bishop tells us that the character of the ceremonial of the native Roman rite was extreme simplicity, and this character it retained during the first half of the middle ages. We see this when Mr. Bishop has stripped off the accretions of the later middle ages, which came from across the Alps. Such are the *Asperges*, *Confiteor*, *Iudica*, and all the prayers said by the priest until he ascends to the altar; these are 'all non-Roman and of comparatively late introduction' (p. 8). So also 'the whole of the prayers accompanying the acts of the offertory and the censing of the altar' (p. 8); in fact, all from the Gospel or Creed up to the *Secreta* are 'of late mediæval introduction.' In like manner, 'the three prayers said before the Communion, and all that follows the collect called the

[1] Burchardt does not seem to have enjoyed the best reputation among his contemporaries. Paride de Grassi gives him this short character: *Fuit supra omnes bestias bestialissimus, inhumanissimus, invidiosissimus* (Mariano Armellini, *Il diario di Leone X. di Paride de Grassi*, Roma, 1884, notes, p. 96).

Digitized by Google

"Post-Communion" (except the *Ite missa est*) are again late, and all borrowed' (p. 8). Mr. Bishop thinks *Gloria in excelsis* may have come into the Roman Mass in the sixth century, the Creed in the eleventh, *Agnus Dei* at the end of the seventh, while the anthems at the Introit, between the Epistle and Gospel, at the Offertory and Communion are not of Roman origin, but were adopted by Rome as soon as they arose elsewhere and began to spread.

What, then, is left to us of the pure Roman rite as it existed in the early middle ages? Mr. Bishop allows the following:

'1. The Collect. 2. The Epistle. 3. The Blessing before the Gospel. 4. The Gospel. 5. The "Orate Fratres" and the collect called the Secret, and all that follows up to the *Pax Domini* (viz. the Preface, Canon, Lord's Prayer, and the short prayer immediately following). 6. The collect called the Post-Communion. 7. The *Ite missa est*' (p. 8).

And the ceremonial seems to have been as simple as the rite.

'In trying to figure to ourselves,' says Mr. Bishop, 'the true and unadulterated Roman ceremonial of the Mass, we must conceive ritual pomp as confined to two moments: first, the entry of the celebrant into the church and up to the altar; secondly, in connexion with the singing of the Gospel' (p. 10).

Incense was used only at the two moments of entering the church and of singing the Gospel.

'All ideas of censing the altar, the elements for the sacrifice, or persons, are alien to the native Roman rite, and have been introduced into it from elsewhere in the course of centuries' (p. 10).

Some more of Mr. Bishop's statements disturbing to the mind of a seminarist are that 'the ceremonial parts of the old Roman Mass are over, just as the sacrifice is about to begin' (p. 12), and that, 'what is considered most picturesque, or attractive, or devout, or affective—in a word, what is most interesting . . . what some people call the "sensuousness of the Roman Catholic ritual," form precisely that element in it which is not originally Roman at all' (p. 14). These changes are traced by Mr. Bishop to the introduction, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of one single act: the elevation of the host and chalice after consecration, an act which brought in its train great additions to the ceremonial, 'lights and torches, censings, bell ringings, and genuflexions' (p. 10). Before elevation came to be the custom, the Canon must have been recited in profound silence, broken only by *Nobis quoque*; nor could

Digitized by Google

anyone have told precisely the moment of consecration. How long the ceremonies accompanying the elevation were in making their way is shown by the small number of churches in England where censing took place at this moment (probably not more than two), and that no printed English Missal has any rubric directing genuflexion at or after the consecration. No more has the Roman Missal of 1474. Apparently genuflexion only makes its definite appearance in the rubrics after the reform of 1570.[1]

It is likely enough that the demand for or condemnation of mediæval ceremonies is based upon a considerable misconception of their nature and character. Many of those who ask for or condemn mediæval services, think that mediæval means an almost exact replica of the system pursued at the present moment at Farm Street or the Brompton Oratory.[2] The Church Association evidently thinks this. So do many of the public. A mediæval service, they say, must of necessity be of the nature of a pageant. And the Reformers of the sixteenth century, never too scrupulous, have done their best to foster this idea. The changes brought about in divine worship on both sides, Catholic and Puritan, have not yet been properly realized.[3] The Protestants have exaggerated the sensuous character of the mediæval services; while the Papists have quietly assumed that the ceremonial all through the middle ages was exactly that to be found at the present time on the Continent. Mr. Edmund Bishop, whose prejudices, if any exist, would be on one side, tells us that the genius of the early mediæval Roman rite was 'soberness and sense' (p. 22). The modern extravagance in the use of flowers and candles, of theatrical music, the fussiness of modern ceremonial, are all opposed to soberness and sense. If we are

[1] It is not an easy matter to find a pre-Pian edition of the Roman Missal, even with the resources of the British Museum at our disposal, that directs the celebrant to genuflect at or after the moment of consecration. Some of the Roman Missals printed at Paris before 1570 direct the priest to adore *cum mediocri inclinatione*, but not more.

[2] If we attend the services at a church where 'full Sarum ritual' is promised, we usually find nothing but the ordinary Roman ceremonial grafted on to the service in the Book of Common Prayer. All that we really know about the Sarum ceremonial is ignored.

[3] The Cornish rebels of Edward VI.'s time seem to have thought the First Prayer Book not sober enough as compared with the mediæval service. In their Eighth Article they say: 'We will not receive the new service because it is but like a Christmas game, but we will have our old service of matins, mass, evensong, and procession in Latin, not in English, as it was before' (Nicholas Pocock, *Troubles connected with the Prayer Book of* 1549, Camden Society, 1884, p. 169).

Digitized by Google

to return to mediæval services there will have to be a radical change made in the ceremonial adjuncts introduced within the last twenty or thirty years. At the present moment it is no longer authority or precedent[1] that dictates ceremonial. It is mere hedonism—what the parish will like best, or what will draw the largest congregations, or what will look prettiest. To use the words of Mr. Robert Bridges, speaking of another church practice, it would seem if our ceremonial 'is to stir the emotions of the vulgar that it must itself be both vulgar and modern; and that, in the interest of the weaker mind, we must renounce all ancient tradition and the maxims of art, in order to be in touch with the music-halls.'[2] There can be no doubt that to be in touch with the music-halls is the aim of a great deal of the ceremonial of the day.[3] The wish is to draw people to church; by what means, flower services, egg services, doll services, lantern services, or any other extravagance, does not very much matter; nor what they do when they are got to church. The worship of Almighty God passes into the background.

The call, then, to a greater severity and simplification of our services is imperative. It is repeated by one who is not often considered to be desirous of moderating the enthusiasm of 'ritualists.' But Lord Halifax tells us that 'the perfection of Western ritual [*i.e.* ceremonial] was reached in the early middle ages,' and that after the thirteenth century it 'degenerated into over elaboration.'[4] We know the influence of Lord Halifax is very great indeed with a certain number of Churchmen whom the newspapers call 'extremists.' Let us hope that his authority with these friends of his will be sufficient to induce them to carry out this much needed return to a mediæval simplicity of ceremonial to which he

[1] Some of the worst extravagances in ceremonial have arisen merely from copying what is done in a neighbour parish. An 'advanced' church takes up some outlandish trick. Not to be behind the times, it is instantly adopted in another parish, but no one is able to give any reason from authority or precedent for what is done. Its source is imitation. One parish discards altar frontals, or puts lace on its altar linen, lights up seven lamps before the altar, or sets six candles on the altar. At once others begin the same, the canon law or tradition on the subject being left quite ignored. The bishops take no heed of these things as the idea of making the ornaments rubric an effective test does not seem to have yet established itself in the episcopal mind.

[2] *Journal of Theological Studies*, October 1899, i. 48. The whole of Mr. Bridges's essay may be studied at the present day with great profit.

[3] Quite recently a congregation, protesting against some request of a bishop, complained of being deprived of the 'enjoyment' of the use of incense!

[4] *Guardian*, October 18, 1899, p. 1450, col. iii.

Digitized by Google

himself specially invites them. The removal of the post-mediæval ornaments and ceremonies that have been lately introduced amongst us from abroad would also greatly strengthen the position of the Church. We could then appeal to the 'plain law of the land' as set out in the directions that the Chancels shall remain as they have done in times past, and that such Ornaments shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England in a certain year. With the absolutely impregnable position which the Ornaments Rubric gives us, if loyally obeyed, we need never be ashamed when we speak with our enemies in the gate.

ART. IX.—ROBERT GROSSETESTE.

Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. A contribution to the Religious, Political, and Intellectual History of the thirteenth century. By FRANCIS SEYMOUR STEVENSON, M.P., author of *Historic Personality*, &c. (London and New York, 1899.)

MR. STEVENSON is anxious that the present work should come to be regarded as the standard Life of Grosseteste, and there are several reasons which may be given to show that he has done much to justify that claim. If we except the earlier part of Grosseteste's career, and a period of about two years almost at the close of his episcopate, we can say that the materials exist for forming a definite and final judgment upon the man and his work, and Mr. Stevenson has submitted these materials to a very searching examination. Indeed he has followed up the details of the information so closely that it is not always easy for us to recognize our general bearings. He sometimes takes us too near to his subject, so that we cannot properly estimate the position which the Bishop occupies in relation to his surroundings. But there is abundant evidence of the diligence of the biographer at every turn, and although there is much in Grosseteste's life and in the great movements which he directed, or with which he was associated in various ways, that lends itself to controversial treatment, it will be found that Mr. Stevenson has succeeded in his endeavour to approach the questions at issue singly with a view to historic truth. While this is the case Mr. Stevenson is not a cold-hearted chronicler without enthusiasm in his subject. He leaves us in no doubt as to his

Digitized by Google

own view of the greatness of Grosseteste, and perhaps a passing allusion to the man, in a sentence on his native county, shows us what that view is more clearly than a direct eulogy. The county of Suffolk, says Mr. Stevenson,

'which originally derived, from the number of its churches and from the strength and simplicity of its faith, the epithets of "holy" and "silly," in the obsolete sense of the term,[1] by which it became known in early times, has indeed justified its ecclesiastical reputation by producing a long array of distinguished prelates, amongst whom Wolsey in the sixteenth and Sancroft in the seventeenth centuries are, after Grosseteste himself, the most conspicuous figures' (pp. 1–2).

Wolsey and Sancroft are 'after Grosseteste' truly in chronological order, but are they 'after' him in order of greatness? This is the question which Mr. Stevenson gives us the materials to answer, and which we answer, after studying his work and such other information as is at our disposal, both in the affirmative and in the negative—Grosseteste was not greater than Wolsey in the way of brilliance, or in the contrasts presented by the vicissitudes of his fortunes; not greater than Sancroft in his personal piety, or in his courageous defence of the liberties of this Church and nation; but greater than either when we consider the three parts of his work in conjunction, as reformer of abuses, as a promoter of all kinds of sound learning, as a statesman with a constitutional policy of truth and justice and liberty. He was a great man as a foundation stone of a fair cathedral is great, and his strong work was the basis on which much that was useful and beautiful in the later structure of the English Church was built. Mr. Stevenson may be allowed to express his formal conclusion in his own words:

'Grosseteste . . . may be regarded in a threefold aspect: first, as a reformer who sought to reform the Church from within and not from without, by the removal of existing abuses, by the encouragement he gave to the great religious revival of the early part of the thirteenth century, and by the example of unflinching fearlessness and rectitude which he set in the performance of the episcopal office; secondly, as the teacher who guided the rising fortunes of the University of Oxford, gave a powerful impulse to almost every department of intellectual activity, revived the study of neglected languages, and grasped the central idea of the unity of knowledge,

[1] Mr. Stevenson gives no illustration of this sense, and so we may supply the omission by referring to Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, v. iii. 86, 'a silly habit,' that is a simple rustic garment; compare Milton's 'Ode on the Nativity.' He is speaking of the shepherds and says:

'Perhaps their loves or else their sheep
Was all that did their silly thoughts so busy keep.'

Digitized by Google

with which he was the first to inspire the encyclopædic writers and thinkers of that [the thirteenth] century; and thirdly, as the statesman who, applying to new conditions the policy associated with the name of Stephen Langton, endeavoured to combine into one effort the struggle of the clergy for the liberties of the Church with the struggle of the laity for the liberties of the nation, imbued Simon de Montfort with principles of "truth and justice" which went far beyond the mere maintenance of the privileges of his own order, and at the same time by his effort to reconcile him with his sovereign and by the whole tenour of his actions, showed that, had he lived a few years longer, his influence would have been directed to the task of achieving by peaceful means the constitutional advance brought about by those who taking the sword perished by the sword. The services rendered by Grosseteste in each of those capacities, taken singly, are such as to entitle him to lasting gratitude; taken in conjunction, they exhibit the true greatness of his life and work, and render his name imperishable' (p. 337).

It would be easy to quote many passages from various writers in which Mr. Stevenson's high estimate of Grosseteste is corroborated. The preface contains a useful account of the works from which such passages might be selected, together with some discriminating remarks upon their value. There are the contemporary authorities on which Mr. Stevenson bases his own work, authorities and sources of information which are nearly contemporary, and later 'Lives' and works in English, in German, and in French. We cannot mention even the titles of these in detail, but we must find room to say that Mr. Stevenson considers that Archdeacon Perry's interesting little work entitled *The Life and Times of Robert Grosseteste*, published in 1871 by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, confines itself almost exclusively to his career as an ecclesiastical reformer. In regard to matters connected with the diocese of Lincoln it possesses a special value, but its treatment of the larger questions at issue is, Mr. Stevenson says, somewhat unsatisfactory. Among the shorter studies relating to Grosseteste is mentioned a lecture by Dr. Creighton delivered in 1895, though Mr. Stevenson is unable to refer to more than a fugitive report of it. Without drawing at length upon these copious resources we may put one or two extracts beside the quotation which we have made from Mr. Stevenson's biography. At the conclusion of his excellent summary of the episcopate of 'the energetic Grosseteste' in the *Diocesan History of Lincoln*, Archdeacon Perry says:

'Far greater than the reforming energy which he had displayed in his diocese, and which had effected much, was the boon which

Digitized by Google

this famous bishop bestowed on the whole Church of England by his inspiriting and independent words and attitude, which failed not in the future to bear good fruit.'[1]

And a writer in our own pages in an exceedingly interesting article on the county and diocese of Lincoln has said that

'Grosseteste may be regarded as one of the chief glories of the see of Lincoln, as the greatest philosopher, scholar, and theologian of the mediæval Church, not in England only, but in the whole of Europe, the most zealous reformer of the abuses of his age, the Protestant of the thirteenth century, dauntlessly refusing to instal an Italian boy whom the Pope, his uncle, had nominated to a canonry in his cathedral, and denouncing his act as a sin approaching that of Lucifer and of Antichrist; in the words of Matthew Paris "the open opponent of the Pope and the King, the maul and despiser of the Romans, the instructor of the clergy, the support of scholars, the people's preacher, persecutor only of the incontinent." With Grosseteste the period of great prelates closes.'[2]

The life of Grosseteste is full of fruitful lessons for us today. As a reformer before the Reformation he stands before us as a man who was not afraid to argue in favour of very severe disciplinary steps for the cleansing of the Church. Like St. Basil, he has incurred the charge of donnishness, and was perhaps more feared and respected than loved in his diocese. But at any rate he did not fall into the fatal error of supposing that administrative capability was synonymous with worldliness, and he took no sentimental or narrow view of the meaning of the parables of the Pounds and of the Talents, as if shrewd business qualities, strict insistence upon the performance of duty, punctilious fulfilment of promises, justice, impartiality, and courage were no part of the spiritual life. There was a strong moral backbone in Grosseteste's religion, and his life is a striking lesson to all who tread in the steps of such ecclesiastics as St. Gregory Nazianzene and Bishop Putta, and have, as Bede says, no aptitude for mundane affairs.[3] There are, we know, children of this world who in their own affairs are wiser than some of the

[1] *Diocesan History of Lincoln* (S.P.C.K.), by Precentor Venables and Archdeacon Perry, pp. 136–43.

[2] *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 65, p. 164; a longer account is given in No. 89, pp. 181–2. For a popular account the article on Grosseteste in Mr. Cutt's *Dictionary of the Church of England*, pp. 308–12, is satisfactory, but contains a misprint in the closing reference to Archdeacon Perry's work (ed. 1).

[3] Bede, *History*, iv. 12: 'Magis in ecclesiasticis quam in mundanis rebus erat industrius.'

Digitized by Google

children of light, but he must have been an exceptionally clever child of this world who was able to surpass the shrewd wisdom of Robert Grosseteste, well seasoned and sanctified as it was with the salt of Christian grace.

As a teacher and a scholar Grosseteste, like Bede, is a standing rebuke to those who suppose that learning can be divided into two kinds, Christian and useful. His life deserves the closest study on the part of all those engaged in promoting education, those who believe that this world is an education for the next, and those who forget that the Church of England taught the people of England those fundamental principles of education which are now so much a part of recognized national duty that many ignore the Church that made them so. There is no place where the facts of Grosseteste's educational work should be more ceaselessly emphasized than in his own university of Oxford, for there is no place where the divorce between the two parts of learning has been by a long series of steps made so officially possible, and while the Divinity Professorships remain true to Grosseteste's idea of education, we have not yet come to the end of that process.[1] But in the country at large there is hardly less reason for dwelling upon the principles of learning which governed Grosseteste's educational work. We have before us the history of generations of men who have reaped the good fruits of the trees which he planted, and the whole work of the man bears eloquent witness to the moral fruitfulness of religious education. We can appeal to his work and its results as a proof that labour and money are well spent which are generously devoted to the maintenance of schools where all knowledge is based upon sound and definite religious principles. That is a lesson which the Church of England has never been backward in teaching, though she has usually stood alone in the work, and she never taught it more effectually than in the person of Robert Grosseteste.

As a statesman Grosseteste has a strong claim upon both Church and nation. He is one of the foremost of that long line of famous men—there are many of them, and they were powerful men withal, as we must remind our Roman Catholic readers—who resisted Papal tyranny over the Church of England in what are called Pre-Reformation times. This is a point which must be frequently brought before the unhis-

[1] In 1882 Dr. Liddon said, 'Recent legislation makes the process of divorce well-nigh complete . . . The arguments which are supposed to warrant what has been already done, point no less clearly to the completion of the secularizing changes (*Univ. Serm.* ii. 368–9).

Digitized by Google

torical minds of those who suppose that the Reformation was an act and not a process, or who shut their eyes to facts and think that the Church of England tamely submitted to Papal claims from the coming of St. Augustine until the reign of Henry VIII. No less is Grosseteste entitled to national gratitude for his courage in defending the great Charter of English liberties against the oppression of the Crown.

We have spoken, as we feel, with enthusiasm about the claim of this great bishop upon us, and in drawing from Mr. Stevenson's biography the chief facts of his life, we shall select some salient illustrations of the three aspects in which we have, under Mr. Stevenson's guidance, regarded his work. It will be seen, even, we trust, from our own words and certainly from the careful perusal of Mr. Stevenson's chapters, that a very high estimate of Grosseteste is demanded by the facts.

The materials which throw light upon Grosseteste's early years are, unfortunately, scanty, and more than one document exists which serves merely to perplex a biographer—such, for example, as the delusive metrical life of Grosseteste written by Richard of Bardney in 1503, or the vague and unsupported statements of a genealogy of the year 1666 (pp. 3, 4). Mr Stevenson is able to say with assurance that Robert Grosseteste was born at Stradbroke in Suffolk, but he is only able approximately to indicate 1175 as the year of his birth, and he is not sure whether 'Grosseteste' was an inherited or an acquired surname. Robert's father was probably a small farmer; he had a sister named Juetta, who took the veil, and also, according to old records, a brother who was a husbandman, and two kinsmen in poor circumstances. No more is known about his family, and next to nothing about the steps of his education. The priory of Eye was perhaps within his reach, and Leland states that he was sent by his kinsmen or his neighbours to Oxford, though Richard of Bardney says that he went to school at Lincoln. If an anecdote in the Lanercost Chronicle be correct, Robert had studied the characters of the best men in the Scriptures, and had endeavoured to conform his actions to theirs from his earliest years (p. 7). He probably reached Oxford some years before 1196, and his arrival there is one piece of testimony among many which show that promising lads were able to get to the university, often by the help of the Church, long before the days of continuation classes and County Council scholarships. The good side of close scholarships and exhibitions for young men of slender means (and, we add,

Digitized by Google

the good side of the old sizarships) should never be forgotten.[1] If the benefactions of faithful Churchmen in the past only enabled such remarkable men as Grosseteste to emerge from obscurity at the rate of one or two in a generation, they would be well bestowed. But as a matter of fact there are many men unknown to fame who have been able to do good work for God and for the improvement of national life because they were sent to the university by the generosity of zealous sons of the Church. We know but little of the struggle with poverty which must have formed a large part of Grosseteste's early education and academic career, but we have dwelt upon it both in illustration of a good old system of assistance, and by way of encouraging those who have more brains than money.

His merit was soon recognized, and in some way unknown to us he was received into the household of William, Bishop of Hereford, and in 1199 Giraldus Cambrensis writes thus to the Bishop:

'I only ask on behalf of Master Robert Grosseteste, whom you have recently welcomed, as I have learnt with gratification, into your household and your intimacy, that his rewards should equal his merits. I am indeed aware that his assistance in your various affairs and in your determination of causes, as well as in the task of securing and preserving your bodily health, in all of which matters he is signally proficient, will soon be doubly, or rather I should say manifoldly, necessary to you. In his case those faculties which in our days are above all others profitable in temporal affairs, have been built upon the sure foundation of the liberal arts and an abundant knowledge of literature, and are illuminated and adorned by the praiseworthy excellence of his character; for whilst it often happens that those who are skilled in the aforesaid faculties are vacillating in their good faith, you will perceive that he is conspicuous by his good faith and by his fidelity, in addition to his other virtues and the endowments of his mind. In short, to crown all, he possesses such natural gifts and so much industry, that you will find in him, if I am not mistaken, a man after your own heart, and one in whom your spirit will find itself most at ease' (pp. 12–13).

However, the Bishop of Hereford died in the December of that same year, 1199, and Grosseteste proceeded to the schools of Paris, where, says Leland, he 'read with great accuracy almost all the theologians, and thereby became

[1] Burgon gives sample extracts from college statutes to show how largely 'the encouragement of learning in the sons of poor parents' entered into the intentions of pious founders (*Lives of Twelve Good Men*, i. 502). Do the clergy nowadays watch for candidates for Holy Orders among all classes of their parishioners as much as in older times? We fear that they do not.

Digitized by Google

himself one who would have been acclaimed as such even by the most learned period of early Christianity' (p. 17). Mr. Stevenson gives a short but lively account of the condition of Oxford and Paris at this time, and mentions especially the influence of Peter Lombard, the Master of the Sentences. Grosseteste endeavoured to carry out the principles that it was always desirable to resort to actual texts; that therefore Greek and Hebrew should be studied as well as Latin; that the importance of physical science and mathematics should be recognized, and that a better classification of the departments of knowledge was desirable (p. 20).

Upon his return to Oxford with an enhanced reputation, he soon became a leading man in the university. He rose, indeed, to be the first 'Chancellor of the University,' or, as his kind patron Hugh de Wells, Bishop of Lincoln from 1209 to 1235, preferred to call him, the Master of the Schools or of the Scholars. Mr. Stevenson devotes considerable but not too much space (pp. 24–110) to the many-sided activities of this part of Grosseteste's career. It was the period of his most productive intellectual energy, of important pastoral duties arising from various ecclesiastical appointments, of solicitous care for the fortunes of the university, and of special work as Reader in Theology to the Franciscans. We must only refer to Mr. Stevenson's list of his works on Theology, Philosophy, Mathematics and Natural Science (pp. 29–49), and to the estimate of their value to be found in scattered passages of Roger Bacon's works 'invariably marked by a profound admiration of the great teacher's genius' (p. 51). So learned was he that doubtless 'Bacon's mansion' trembled' 'o'er his head,'[1] for the knowledge of Arabic was the only respect in which Bacon had the advantage over him. His encouragement of Greek and of the Friars would be alone sufficient to make his Oxford work memorable.

A serious illness in 1232 led to the resignation of all his ecclesiastical preferments except a Lincoln prebend, but in 1235 the death of Hugh de Wells was followed by the election of Grosseteste, who had then reached the age of sixty. Men even more advanced in years when they entered upon their episcopate had done noble work for the Church of England before Grosseteste's day, for Theodore was sixty-six, and a foreigner besides, when he took up his

[1] Johnson, *Vanity of Human Wishes*, line 140, alluding to the legend that Friar Bacon's tower on the bridge over the Isis would fall when a greater than he should enter it.

Digitized by Google

great consolidating work at Canterbury, and we are not without illustrations in our own day of strenuous activity on the part of prelates who were older still when they entered upon new spheres of work. We are fully alive to the great praise which is involved in the comparison when we say that Grosseteste was in many ways to the diocese of Lincoln what Theodore was to the province of Canterbury. The comparison may be tested by details, as well as by the broad general fact of able administration of a great trust. The two prelates had something in common in their high-handed and decisive way of settling difficult questions, in their encouragement of learning, especially of Greek, and in their bold resistance to royal or papal tyranny. When the eighteen years of Grosseteste's episcopate came to an end on October 9, 1253, men felt as they felt upon the death of Theodore, that a prince and a great man had indeed fallen in the spiritual Israel, and it was felt the more because in each case the great bishop was succeeded by a line of lesser men.

The ten chapters in which Mr. Stevenson describes Grosseteste's episcopate contain abundant details for illustrating his work as a reformer, a scholar, and a statesman. We must be content with a selection merely from Mr. Stevenson's interesting collection of materials. It is not necessary to dwell upon the extent and importance of the great see over which Grosseteste was selected to preside. It is enough to say that it was at that time the largest and the most populous diocese in the country (p. 122). He at once began to make an earnest and fearless attempt to remedy abuses in this vast area, first by a letter to his archdeacons, and then by inaugurating personal and thorough visitations, followed by the issue of far-reaching Constitutions. The monastic houses as well as the parochial clergy were the subjects of searching inquiry, and the records of these vigorous proceedings give a vivid picture of the condition of the diocese. There were drinking bouts, scandalous orgies at funeral feasts, games and sales in sacred places, brawls in parish processions, abuses connected with private marriages, and careless neglect of infant life (pp. 127–8). After the letter which urged the archdeacons to deal vigorously with these matters, and which assumes that archdeacons were supposed in those days to be young enough to do plenty of hard work, came the personal visitation of the bishop himself, young in energy if not in years. Grosseteste's own description of this new and unaccustomed proceeding is the best that can be given of it:

Digitized by Google

'As soon as I was made Bishop I considered myself to be the overseer and pastor of souls, and therefore I held it necessary, lest the blood of the sheep should be required at my hands at the last judgment, to visit the sheep committed to me with diligence, as the Scripture orders and commands. Wherefore at the commencement of my episcopate, I began to go round through the several archdeaconries, and in them through the several rural deaneries, causing the clergy of each deanery to be called together on a certain day and in a certain place, and the people to be warned that at the same time they should be present with the children to be confirmed and in order to hear the Word of God and to confess. When clergy and people were assembled I myself was accustomed to preach the Word of God to the clergy, and some friar either Preacher or Minor to the people. Four friars were employed at the same time in hearing confessions and enjoining penances; and when the children had been confirmed on that and the following day, I and my clerks gave our attention to inquiries, corrections, and reformations, such as belong to the office of inquiry. In my first circuit of this kind, some came to me to find fault with these proceedings, saying, "My Lord, you are doing a new and unaccustomed thing." To whom I answered, "Every new thing which instructs and advances a man is a new thing fraught with blessing;" nor could I suppose at that time that on account of this my visitation any mischief would afterwards befall those placed under me' (pp. 130–1).

It was a severe, thorough, and real visitation, as may be inferred from the fact that seven abbots and four priors were removed from their offices in the course of it, either on account of age or infirmity or some fault of their own. The Constitutions subsequently addressed to the rectors, vicars, and parish priests of the diocese of course bear many marks of resemblance to other contemporary Constitutions, but they are also strongly impressed by Grosseteste's individual character, and illustrate the condition of the clergy, the need of reform, and the history of religious observances in an instructive way. Mr. Stevenson gives a brief summary of their contents (p. 133).

The relation of Grosseteste to the numerous monastic institutions of his diocese is wisely discussed and sufficiently illustrated in a separate chapter (p. 147). Mr. Stevenson says enough to make the salient features of this part of his subject quite clear, and shows that Grosseteste was hostile to the laxity and failings of contemporary monasticism, because he strove to attain a high ideal, which is well described in a noble extract towards the close of the chapter (p. 166). The monks and nuns were stirred up in a wholesome way, and the monastic writers, if they often criticize and condemn the bishop's policy, speak of him with the utmost respect and

Digitized by Google

reverence, and admire his dogged determination. This appears in such a passage as Mr. Stevenson quotes from Matthew Paris, speaking of 'the Bishop of Lincoln, to whom quiet is an unknown thing; whose hand is against every man, as every man's hand is against him; another Ishmael, ready to labour with any amount of toil, and to spend money in reckless profusion, that he may carry his point' (p. 160). We must not quote from the details of this chapter beyond remarking that the Gilbertines, the only monastic order of English foundation, had their original home at Sempringham in Grosseteste's diocese (p. 150), and adding that the prior of St. Frideswyde's (shades of Christ Church!) was one of the objects of the bishop's just visitation of punishment (p. 162).

Vigorous reformers and capable administrators have but little time left for personal literary production, but such an industrious scholar as Grosseteste was before he became a bishop, and especially such a vigorous Chancellor of the University of Oxford, would be sure to encourage learning as a real part of his episcopal duty. We regret that we have not had space to enlarge upon those earlier productions of Grosseteste's own scholarship of which Mr. Stevenson gives such a good account in his second chapter, ending with a description of the relation of those works to earlier and later thinkers. And we must only briefly indicate the contents of the chapter which relates to the work done for learning by Grosseteste as bishop. As before, he did his utmost to promote the study of Greek. He also found time—we wonder how—to undertake some works of translation from the Greek himself, and compiled some practical rules to spread sound notions respecting the management of landed estates and domestic households.

'Grosseteste's Rules show how a lord or lady shall know in each manor the rents, customs, usages, services, franchises, fees, and tenements, and tell the live and dead stock; they indicate the best way of dealing with seneschals and bailiffs; the method of making the various estates self-sufficing, leaving a certain surplus for sale; when the granges should be shut and opened, and how the accounts should be examined. Grosseteste then deals, in a number of brief maxims, with the subject of household economy and the management of servants, hospitality, almsgiving, dress, and the service at table' (pp. 232–3).

He was, in short, playing the part of a kind of ecclesiastical Duke of Bedford in giving advice upon the management of a great estate, and he mixed with these counsels shrewd observations upon domestic affairs, such as Mrs. Earle has

Digitized by Google

infused into her *Pot-Pourri* and *More Pot-Pourri* from her Surrey garden.

Above all, he continued to maintain a great interest in the University of Oxford in the southern parts of his diocese. He procured the charter which conferred a civil as well as an ecclesiastical jurisdiction upon the Chancellor; he gave advice upon the use of a university seal; he instituted the loan-chests, which were the nearest approach to the scholarships exhibitions of a later date. He was in fact the originator of the University chest, and if many generations of undergraduates have marvelled at the absorption of their resources into that mysterious receptacle, they must remember that it was founded to help needy scholars, and has become an institution for good in many untold ways unsuspected by the great man who set it agoing.

We must say a few words, finally, of Grosseteste as a statesman. He showed in the earlier days at Oxford that he possessed that signal gift of statesmanship which enables a man to make wise use of new forces which come within his reach, for he welcomed the Friars to the university; and, as Mr. Stevenson shows in his third chapter, he used them in the work of evangelization and in the promotion of learning and the general advance of religion to the last. His gifts as a constitutional statesman ripened until, as Mr. Stevenson says, he became the virtual ruler of the Church of England, and he had many opportunities of making use of them. Roughly speaking, his acts as a statesman may be studied under the heads of his relations with the King and his relations with the Pope. Mr. Stevenson deals with his civil policy chiefly in the eighth and ninth chapers of his work, and in the eleventh and three following chapters with questions of ecclesiastical policy.

The first of the controversies which Grosseteste found at hand when he became bishop was the question whether bastards became legitimate upon the marriage of their parents, a question of social importance and, under the conditions of the day, involving the larger question of the relations of the ecclesiastical and civil powers. Grosseteste took up the question with intense earnestness, urging that the common law should be brought into harmony with the provisions of the canon and civil law, and that the children in question should become legitimate. The matter was decided otherwise, but Grosseteste did not abandon his interest in the question.

Another important controversy arose when the king

Digitized by Google

—probably as an easy way of collecting funds—called upon certain abbots to discharge functions as itinerant justices. Grosseteste opposed this encroachment upon ecclesiastical rights in a bold manifesto, nominally addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which really dealt with the larger question of the whole principle involved. The Bishop courageously alludes to Stephen Langton and the great Charter, pointing out that the release from excommunication for disobedience to its tenor had been given only on condition that no further violations of it should take place. This firm course was more to the mind of Pope Gregory IX. than to that of the gentle and timid St. Edmund of Canterbury. Indeed, there was a considerable ecclesiastical party in England that appeared to prefer ease to liberty in these matters. The vigorous controversy which arose between Grosseteste and the dean and chapter of Lincoln when he claimed the right to visit the cathedral has an interest of its own, and shows how ably the Bishop could defend his case when he considered himself to be upholding the true privileges of the episcopal office.

The occasion on which Grosseteste, as a leading member of 'the committee of twelve,' refused to grant the king's demands for pecuniary assistance in 1244 is an important landmark in constitutional history, and shows the Bishop in a very fine patriotic attitude, attempting to identify the best interests of ecclesiastical organism with the development of political freedom. Even more admirable was his firmness in resisting papal tyranny, whether it took the form of filling English ecclesiastical posts with foreigners or more direct modes of extorting money from the English Church. We need not go into the smaller details of these matters. It will be sufficient to show that the praise which Mr. Stevenson claims for his hero's strenuous defence of English liberty, both in civil and in ecclesiastical affairs can be fully justified. Probably among the best works which Grosseteste wrought for political freedom was that he imbued his friend Simon de Montfort with the principles which bore good fruit after the Bishop's death. At Rome the importance of the Bishop of Lincoln was amply recognized when money was needed; and when Pope Innocent with his Cardinals listened—much to his credit—to the elaborate memorandum on the evils prevailing in the Church which Grosseteste had prepared, he was face to face with as bold a man as had ever addressed an ecclesiastical assembly. Grosseteste on this occasion even surpassed the courage which he had shown in the presence of

Digitized by Google

the king in 1244, and he did not flinch from desiring the most drastic measures to destroy the corruption which was eating into the heart of the Church. This 'sermon,' as it has been called, represents the very summit of the edifice which Grosteteste built for the Church. It is the noble coping-stone of his memorial. What he proposed from within was to be insisted on in angrier tones in later years from without, and it was no fault of his if his denunciations did not lead to reforms at Rome. He stood firm to his principles; he struggled with all his might against papal 'Provisions'; he often threw away letters sealed with the papal bulls; and he flatly refused to institute foreigners to English benefices, except under special circumstances. 'It is,' he said, 'out of filial reverence and obedience that I disobey, resist, and rebel' (p. 311). He objected, not to a lawful exercise of the authority of the papal see, but to specific abuses and corruptions connected with its exercise. About a month after Grosseteste's death the Pope, on November 3, 1253, issued a bull dealing with the whole subject of papal 'Provisions' upon a principle which crowned the Bishop of Lincoln's efforts with success, though in practice serious difficulties still continued to arise, and hindrances and impediments remained 'to the free exercise of the rights of collation, election, presentation, and institution' on the part of those who were thereunto entitled (p. 317).

We have passed over many interesting matters which might occupy our attention with profit—the origin of vicarages, the division of tithes, the numerous allusions to the Crusades and the interest which Grosseteste took in them, the part which the Jews played upon the border-land of ecclesiastical affairs, the 'fair of St. Botolph,' the 'Dean of Christianity,' the 'Feast of Fools,' and the many noteworthy places, such as Epworth, Godstow, and Leicester, which are mentioned in the course of the narrative. Mr. Stevenson's style is somewhat encumbered by too free a use of modifying phrases, and the summaries at the head of the chapters are not always an easy guide to their contents. But these are small blemishes when we bear in mind his industry and his hearty admiration for Grosseteste. A reference to Bede is erroneous—20 should be 21 on p. 340—and we are sorry that some use was not made of the excellent reflections upon the thirteenth century which are to be found in the late Mr. Baldwin Brown's *Stoics and Saints*. It was hardly necessary to repeat a quotation from Juvenal three times in different parts of the book; and we could make other trivial criticisms

Digitized by Google

which detract from the general merit of Mr. Stevenson's work. But the broad fact remains that he has given us a full, not to say a clear, description of the greatest of all the Bishops of Lincoln. He has shown us why Dr. Luard's remarks are true, that 'probably no one has had a greater influence than Grosseteste upon English thought and English literature for the two centuries which followed his time; few books will be found that do not contain some quotations from *Lincolniensis, the Great Clerk Grostest*' (p. 335). He has shown that the see of Lincoln has another if not a greater claim than that of being the see of St. Hugh, the popular saint whose 'septingentenary' next year is already being talked about.[1] Lincoln may well be called the see of St. Hugh, but we are among those who think that it has a grander title still. It is the see of Robert Grosseteste.

ART. X.—THE EDUCATION QUESTION FROM A CHURCHMAN'S POINT OF VIEW.

Report on Elementary Education addressed to the Leeds Ruri-Decanal Chapter, 1899.[2]

IN order to see exactly what is the position of the Church in regard to Elementary Education at present, and what are the difficulties in the way of suggesting any permanent settlement, it will be well to begin by taking an historical survey of what has happened since 1870.

Such a review will suggest serious considerations, and cannot but be painful to read, as it indicates very clearly how greatly the Church has suffered from lack of any consistent and definite policy.

The Education Act of 1870, establishing the Board School system to supplement rather than supplant the Voluntary Schools, forms our starting-point. In this stands the famous 'Cowper Temple' clause, which provides that 'no religious Catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught' in any school provided by a School Board.

[1] See *Studies in the Life of St. Hugh*, now appearing in the *Lincoln Diocesan Magazine* (the first in December 1899) by Precentor Bramley, by way of preparation for the anniversary. St. Hugh died on Thursday, November 16, 1200.

[2] Printed here at the request of the Committee by whom the Report was drawn up.

Digitized by Google

Throughout the discussions at the time, both in and outside Parliament, it was admitted on all sides that the effect of the clause was not to forbid the teaching of Church *doctrine*, but only to prohibit the use of such a distinctive formulary as *e.g.* the Church Catechism. This was clearly perceived at the time by the Nonconformists, who were consequently in 1870 bitterly opposed to the clause, and one of their ablest representatives, Dr. Dale of Birmingham, actually wrote of it that it

'excluded the Church Catechism, but *left the Board absolutely free to teach every one of its characteristic doctrines.* There was nothing in it to prevent the schools of the nation from being used for the same purpose for which denominational schools had been established —to propagate a denominational Creed. The "formulary" was forbidden, but the dogma of the formulary was permitted.'[1]

In similar terms Mr. (now Sir William) Vernon Harcourt denounced the clause in the House of Commons on the occasion when Mr. Gladstone announced its adoption by the Government, and said that

'while it pretended to do a great deal it really did nothing at all; it simply prevented the formularies of religion being taught; as if the substance of the formularies could not be taught without the words! It would be easy to teach the Apostles' Creed without the form. Even the Athanasian Creed could be put into vulgar and intelligible English, if it were possible, and imparted to the children. He would be no party to a proposal which forbade the form and yet permitted the thing to be done.'

To the same effect Mr. Dixon spoke of it as 'allowing the teachers in all rate-provided schools not only to teach religion, but to teach religion in its most sectarian character.'[2] So also the originators and supporters of the clause did not shrink from making it clear that it was intended to prohibit the use of the formulary, as being a distinctive badge (as it were) of the denomination, *but that it was intended to prohibit nothing beyond this.* The following citations will, we think, make this clear. Mr. Cowper Temple himself said that 'the exclusion of Catechisms and formularies simply amounted to the exclusion of lesson books which bore upon their title-page plain indication of their origin.'[3] Mr. W. E. Forster, in defending the Government for adopting the clause, asked

'Why was there an objection in the country to Catechisms and special formularies? It was not so much on account of the actual

[1] *Life of R. W. Dale*, p. 280.
[2] See the *Times* for June 8, 1870.
[3] The *Times*, July 1, 1870.

Digitized by Google

words of the Catechisms and formularies, but because the putting them into the hands of children appeared to be like claiming those children as belonging to a particular Church. This circumstance induced the Government to propose the exclusion of Catechisms and formularies.'

On the same night Mr. Gladstone said, 'that he denied that the system was that of the British and Foreign Schools Society,' and added in reference to Mr. Jacob Bright's amendment referred to below :

'we are about to be invited to provide by Act of Parliament that the exposition of the Bible in the schools shall be undenominational and unsectarian ; and if these epithets are not to be revived others yet more stringent and trenchant are to be used in their place, and it is to be asked of us that in an Act of Parliament we shall impose these fetters upon the exposition of the Bible in schools. My right hon. friend near me has said that the Government sympathized with the desire for unsectarian teaching, and I am prepared to support that statement in what I conceive to be its true sense, viz. it is our wish that the exposition of the Bible in schools should take its natural course : that it should be confined to that simple and devout method of handling which is adapted to the understanding and the characters of children ; and we do not consider that the simple and devout character of teaching can be secured by an attempt to exclude all reference to tenets and to doctrines. That is an exclusion which cannot be effected, and if it could, it ought not to be : it is an invasion of the freedom of religious teaching such as ought not to be tolerated in this country.'

Again, he spoke of this as the point for which the Committee were invited by the Cowper Temple clause to legislate, viz.

'to provide for the reading of the Scriptures, and to exclude the use of Catechisms and distinctive formularies, and not beyond that to impose limitations on the freedom of teaching. If [the teachers] are to act as honourable and Christian men, the commonest justice requires that we should not undertake the task of defining and settling beforehand the terms of their advice, and telling them what are the tenets they are to avoid.'[1]

Moreover, it must be remembered that a determined attempt was made in the House of Commons to curtail the freedom of the teacher by grafting on to the Cowper Temple clause a provision that in rate-supported schools in which the Scriptures were taught, 'the teaching shall not be used or directed in favour of or against the distinctive tenets of any religious denomination.' These are the terms of an amendment actually proposed by Mr. Jacob Bright, and supported

[1] The *Times*, July 1, 1870.

Digitized by Google

by the Nonconformist and Secular Education party. It was, however, resisted by the Government, not as being unnecessary, since the Cowper Temple clause secured what it asked for, but as being objectionable, and by the help of the Conservative party it was defeated.[1] Nothing can be better or clearer than the words of Sir Roundell Palmer (afterwards Lord Selborne), who, though not at that time a member of the Government, gave it valuable and independent support. He denounced the amendment strongly, saying that

'distinctive Catechisms and formularies are necessarily symbolical of the predominance of particular denominations, and, though convenient and useful, are not necessary for the integrity and freedom of religious truth and teaching. It was quite different with the proposition of the honourable member who had just sat down. What meaning was really attached to the phrases so often used in debate, "unsectarian religion" and "our common Christianity"? God forbid that he should deny such things existed, for he valued nothing more than the assurance that his own beliefs and feelings were held in common with the generality of Christians. But every man who held the common faith, held it in the particular way and with the whole system of belief which himself had personally received. And if a man wished to teach religion, he must speak of it and teach it as he himself had received it, and as he himself believed it. He could not teach religion in fetters or a strait-waistcoat: he must be permitted to speak like an honest man of the facts and truths he had received. If a positive law were laid down on the subject, and the teacher acted in good faith, he would feel himself always on the point of overstepping some imaginary line which no man yet had defined or could define, or he must be continually endeavouring to repress that mode of teaching which was most in accordance with his own convictions. . . . The exclusion of religious formularies would remind the teacher that he was not to constitute himself the organ of any particular denomination, though at liberty to teach freely and without fetters.'[2]

Unfortunately Churchmen to a great extent stood aloof in the first instance from School Boards, and their control passed largely into the hands of those who were either hostile or indifferent to distinctive Church teaching. Thus there gradually grew up a different interpretation of the clause, which came in time to be regarded as prohibiting definite Church teaching and as establishing the system of 'Undenominationalism.' This, in spite of the vigorous protests of

[1] There voted for the Amendment 132 Liberals, 133 abstained; and against the Amendment 121 Liberals (including 25 Government officials) and 132 Conservatives. The Government was therefore saved by the Conservatives.

[2] The *Times*, July 1, 1870.

Digitized by Google

Dr. Dale and others,[1] appears to be now regarded by the majority of Nonconformists as entirely satisfactory, and is so generally accepted as the system intended to be secured by the Cowper Temple clause that the N. U. T. in their edition of the Code not only persistently misquote the words of the Act as if it forbade a *formula* (and not *formulary*), but boldly say that, should a School Board 'decide to give religious instruction, it is forbidden to include in such instruction any *teaching* which is "distinctive of any particular denomination."'[2]

It is much to be regretted that Churchmen should have so widely acquiesced in this misinterpretation of the clause, and that currency should have been given to it by the late Archbishop of Canterbury in his Charge for 1893, where he says that 'Non-Sectarianism has dogmas which are rapidly becoming formulas, and these have no right to be taught any more than any other formulas.'[3]

At the same time it appears to us that the Cowper Temple clause is wrong in principle, even when correctly interpreted. It is unjust and illiberal, and the Church ought never to have assented to it. It forbids the Church's faith to be taught in the Church's own way, even where every ratepayer who contributes to the maintenance of the school, every member of the Board that manages it, and every parent of a child educated in it desires it.[4] Moreover, the general acquiescence in the wrong interpretation of it has led to the establishment of the system of undenominationalism, which is apparently satisfactory to one large section of the community, while to another yet larger section it is abhorrent. And yet the one section obtains the religious education it desires at the cost of the country, and entirely out of public funds; while the other section, in addition to being heavily rated for the cost of a religious education which it dislikes, is compelled to provide from voluntary sources for that which it desires.

But to pass on. Since the Act of 1870, which provided from the rates a source of apparently inexhaustible funds for the maintenance of Board Schools, the cost of elementary education has increased by leaps and bounds, and thus the difficulties of the supporters of Voluntary Schools have been greatly augmented. These difficulties, already serious, became painfully acute in the North on the passing of the Act

[1] See *Life of R. W. Dale*, pp. 478, 557.
[2] *N. U. T. Edition of the Code.* [3] *Fishers of Men*, p. 49.
[4] See the case of the Sanderstead Board, in the Blue Book on Religious Teaching in Board Schools, 1895, p. 642.

Digitized by Google

which established 'Free Education' in 1891, for the fee grant of 10*s.* a head produced nothing like the amount previously brought in by fees in the majority of schools in our large Northern towns. Hence began the 'intolerable strain' of which we have heard so much. A situation was created, to deal with which required the utmost care and statesmanship, if the Voluntary Schools were to be saved from destruction; but it was apparently some time before the gravity of the position was realized by those to whom Churchmen naturally looked as their leaders; and even when it was at length admitted that 'something must be done,' we regret to have to add that no definite and consistent policy was placed before the Church and energetically pressed upon the Government and the country.

A brief review of the course of events will make this clear.

When the pressure was first felt it was for some time denied that there was any difficulty at all; and the only answer returned, when the Bishops were twitted with having no policy, was this: 'We have a policy: *go on raising money.*' But even as lately as 1894 this was the sole remedy offered by the present Archbishop of Canterbury at the Exeter Church Congress.[1] It was pointed out that it was impossible to raise sufficient money from voluntary sources, now that the cost of education was rising and fresh demands were continually being made by the Department, while the source of income derived from fees was so seriously diminished; and at last the impossibility was admitted by our leaders. But instead of formulating any scheme for relieving the financial strain, the late Archbishop of Canterbury declined altogether to give any lead in the matter, but contented himself by saying in his Charge, already alluded to, that some relief must be given, but that whether it should be asked for from the rates or from the taxes was a question for laymen, and that it was by them that it must be settled.[2]

At length, however, some attempt was made by those in authority to arrive at a solution of the question and to formulate a policy. At the request of the National Society the Archbishops were induced to appoint a Committee to consider the subject. This Committee, after very careful inquiry and examination, unanimously reported in favour of the payment of the salaries of the entire staff of teachers by the Imperial Government, 'allowing neither School Boards nor

[1] *Report of the Exeter Church Congress*, p. 201.
[2] *Fishers of Men*, pp. 40–51.

Digitized by Google

Managers of Voluntary Schools to diminish or to add to the grant so made,' in accordance with the plan adopted in Ireland. The Report was published in January, 1895, a few months before the General Election in which the claim of the Voluntary Schools for increased financial aid was made a prominent question. But, strange to say, the acceptance of the Report was never pressed upon the Church generally, nor does it appear to have been strongly urged or commended in any Episcopal utterance. It was quietly put on one side, and in the autumn of the same year (Nov. 20, 1895) a large and influential deputation waited upon Lord Salisbury to urge the claims of the Voluntary Schools. The deputation, which was headed by the Archbishops, laid before the Government a memorial, asking not for the payment of the teachers by the Imperial Government, but for the following ten points; thus pressing for a solution of the difficulty on very different lines from those recommended by the Archbishops' Committee only a few months before!

1. The abolition of the *17s. 6d.* limit, and of the other limitations on the Grant in Article 107.

2. The exemption from rates of all Elementary School buildings.

3. An increase of contributions from public sources sufficient to meet the general cost of Education throughout the country, to be administered in such a manner as will prevent what is harmful in the competition between Voluntary and Board Schools.

[To this was added the expression of the memorialists' belief that it was 'better that the required contributions should come from the Imperial Exchequer rather than from the local rates.']

4. The rearrangement of all Government Grants, so that poorer schools may share equitably with richer schools in those Grants.

5. The revision of School Board precepts by some superior public authority.

6. Increased facilities for federation of Voluntary Schools.

7. That classes, scholarships, and other educational advantages provided by School Boards at the cost of the public, shall be open to the teachers or scholars of Board and Voluntary Schools on the same terms.

8. Provision that all reasonable facilities shall be afforded for the separate religious instruction of children in Board or Voluntary Schools whose parents may desire it, in the spirit of the Industrial Schools Act of 1866.

Digitized by Google

9. Liberty to provide in any district 'Annual Grant' Schools where the Department is satisfied that no satisfactory provision exists for the children for whom the school is intended, regard being had to the religious belief of the parents.

10. The embodiment of the proposed changes in an Act of Parliament.

The answer of the Government to these demands of the Church was given in the Bill of 1896. Out of the *ten* points specified in the Memorial, no fewer than *eight* (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10) were conceded and directly embodied in the Bill, which provided for the 'Aid Grant' from Imperial Funds, for which, as we have seen, the deputation had expressed a preference, rather than from the rates. Clearly the right policy for the Church was to accept the Bill with gratitude, and strain every nerve to secure its passing, while guarding herself carefully against being supposed to regard the 4*s.* grant then offered as an *adequate* relief from the 'intolerable strain.' This unfortunately was not the course universally followed by Churchmen, nor was it strongly urged on them by their natural leaders. No sooner was the Bill fairly before the country and past its second reading, than an agitation sprang up within the Church for the substitution of aid from the *rates* for that promised in the Bill from the *State*. Bishop after Bishop expressed his adhesion to the demands, until at last at the Northern Convocation, under the express guidance of the Archbishop of York, carried unanimously in the Upper House, and by a majority of forty-five to eight in the Lower House, a resolution in favour of *rate* rather than *State* aid. This was in the second week in June, and on the 22nd of the same month the Bill which had passed its second reading by a majority of 267 was withdrawn by the Government which had introduced it! It is not denied that there were other causes for its withdrawal as well, notably the acceptance by the Government of Sir A. Rollit's amendment, extending to municipal boroughs with a population of 20,000 the power of appointing educational authorities; but it must be admitted that the half-hearted manner in which it was received by the Church, and the change of front on the part of leading Churchmen on the question of rate-aid, was largely responsible for the lamentable failure of a really statesmanlike endeavour to settle the whole question of Education, primary and secondary, and place it once for all on a sound and solid basis.

Once more a Committee was appointed to consider the subject, and when it reported in the autumn a joint meeting of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, together with

Digitized by Google

the Houses of Laymen for the two Provinces, was held at the Church House, on Nov. 5, to formulate anew the demands of the Church. It was then discovered that the rate-aiders had triumphed, and the whole Church was for the first time formally committed by her representatives to the principle of rate-aid as embodied in the following resolutions, which among others were passed:

(1) To ask the Government for statutory aid from the Imperial Exchequer at a rate not less than 6*s.* a child to all public Elementary Schools alike. (No. 1.)

(2) To ask for aid from the rates (*a*) in School Board districts only; (*b*) this rate-in-aid to be expended within the School Board district from which it is raised; (*c*) to be payable to federations of schools only, on their written demand; (*d*) not to exceed the total amount of voluntary contributions, including endowments and donations. (No. 3.)

(3) That in any scheme for granting aid from the rates, while it is essential that the appointment of the teachers and the control of the religious teaching in denominational schools shall remain under the control of the denomination, it is reasonable that the rating authority shall be satisfied that the secular part of the teaching is efficient, and the money economically spent. (No. 6.)

(4) In addition to the rate-aid hereinbefore mentioned, the following shall form part of any scheme for rate-aid: If any School Board raises the maintenance rate per child in average attendance above that which was expended in 1895–96, the additional rate shall be called an excess rate, and shall be divided among all the schools, whether Board or Voluntary, in the district, in proportion to the number of children in attendance. (No. 7.)[1]

It appeared, however, that those who were responsible for thus committing the Church to a demand for rate-aid had reckoned without their host; for a member of the Cabinet[2] who was present at the meeting showed very plainly by his

[1] The remaining resolutions concerned the formation of federations (Nos. 2 and 4), the right to open new schools and power to re-transfer schools previously transferred to a Board (Nos. 7 and 8), the removal of the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit, and the abolition of rates on school buildings (Nos. 9 and 10).

[2] Lord Cross. A warning was also addressed to the meeting by Lord Cranbrook and Sir John Kennaway (see the *School Guardian* for November 14, 1896).

Digitized by Google

speech, not only that Her Majesty's Government had never been asked whether they would take up such a scheme, but that, if asked, there would be no likelihood of their doing so! Whether the scheme was ever strongly urged on the Government after the Church had been committed to it we have no means of knowing. The Conservative Press at once pronounced against it, and there was apparently no attempt made to secure any popular and unanimous demand for it on the part of Churchmen throughout the country. Like the Report of the previous Committee, and the memorial of the Deputation, the demand was dropped as soon as it was made. It was under these circumstances that the Bill of 1897 was introduced, which ignored altogether the scheme formulated by the Church, and gave us the grant-in-aid from the Imperial Exchequer: the Bill being noteworthy from the fact that it passed into an Act without the alteration of a single word in its passage through either House of Parliament.

Such a review as has here been attempted is not pleasant reading for Churchmen; but it has been thought well to bring the facts together, in order that when fresh difficulties arise we may learn wisdom from past experience. For the moment our difficulties are materially lightened so far as the maintenance of our existing schools is concerned. But we cannot conceal from ourselves that at any moment they may begin again, owing to fresh demands from the Education Department, or an increase of expenditure on the part of the School Boards. Moreover, the attention of Churchmen ought to be urgently called to the fact that while the population is increasing, Voluntary Schools are, and under existing conditions are compelled to be, almost stationary. It is the rarest thing for a new Voluntary School to be opened, and consequently year by year an ever-increasing percentage of Church children is becoming entirely dependent for their religious training upon the undenominational system of the Board Schools.

Under these circumstances it is thought that the present is a suitable time not only to review the past, but also to attempt to formulate a policy for the future. Accordingly an endeavour is here made to consider the whole position, and to indicate as far as possible wherein lies the best security for that which all Churchmen must desire to see, viz. *freedom for the children of the country to be educated in the religion of their parents, without being in any way penalized in consequence of their belonging to any denomination.*

In the first place mention may be made of various alter-

Digitized by Google

natives suggested which involve the abandonment of the dual system now in vogue, and the substitution of a uniform system of schools maintained entirely from public funds, for the existing Board and Voluntary Schools.

Three alternatives have been suggested:

1. A purely secular system of State Schools all over the country; facilities being given to all denominations alike to provide at their own cost such religious teaching as they may deem necessary.

This has the merit of simplicity and apparent fairness, inasmuch as it deals out the same measure to all alike. It is, however, we believe, eminently unfair to those who hold that no education is really worthy of the name which is not based upon religion; for

(*a*) By divorcing the religious from the secular instruction, and by throwing the whole responsibility of providing for the former upon voluntary effort, it would go far to emphasize the distinction between the two, and to instil into the minds of the children the notion that the lessons of which their regular teachers took no account whatever must be of little or no importance.

(*b*) The plan is already at work in some of our Colonies, and the unanimous opinion of religious-minded men who have seen it working in them is that it is disastrous to the best interests of religion.[1]

(*c*) Even if the Church of England was prepared to accept it, there is no doubt that it would not be accepted by the Roman Catholics, and the result would inevitably be in England what it is in those countries on the Continent where a purely secular system is in vogue, viz. the establishment of a large system of (unaided) private schools, established at the entire cost of those who are already heavily rated for schools which they regard as godless, and thus the creation of a fresh grievance of enormous magnitude.[2]

2. A second scheme proposed is that of universal School Boards, with the power to decide whether any religious teaching shall be given, and if so, what; subject, however, to the maintenance of the Cowper Temple clause,

[1] See the Reports of the Folkstone (1892), Norwich (1895), Church Congresses.

[2] See Mr. Howard Gill's paper on the Schools of France (Nat. Soc.), and a paper in the *Guardian* for June 14, 1899.

Digitized by Google

'facilities being given to the denomination owning any school building to give special instruction to children who voluntarily attend for that purpose out of school hours.'[1]

Such a system is not likely to find favour with Churchmen. It is obviously unfair to them. While destroying their own schools it would perpetuate on an enlarged scale and in a still more glaring form the injustice under which they already smart in School Board districts, viz. that of being heavily rated to support a form of religious education to which they conscientiously object, while compelled to provide from voluntary sources for that which they desire, while members of other denominations who are satisfied with 'undenominationalism' obtain the religious education which they desire wholly at the expense of the community.

3. A third scheme is that of universal School Boards, with the repeal of the Cowper Temple clause; absolute power being given to the Board to say whether any religious teaching shall be given, and if so, what.

Such a scheme is entirely in accordance with the generally received maxim that the will of the majority is to prevail, and if minorities have no rights of conscience no exception can be taken to it. Something like it is adopted in Scotland, where it works without friction. But the conditions which obtain in Scotland are so different from those found in England, that it is impossible to infer from its success there that it would also succeed here. In Scotland practically the whole body of the people are Presbyterian, and the 'religious difficulty' is almost unknown. No one there opposes the teaching of the Apostles' Creed, or even of the 'Shorter Catechism.' But in England such a scheme would be fruitful in creating frequent and bitter controversies. In country districts it would probably mean that the Church would generally control the religious teaching of the Board, and the grievance of which Nonconformists complain in these districts would be rendered greater, because they would be called upon to pay rates; while in the large towns there would be a shifting and fluctuating policy according as one or other political party obtained an ascendency. In the best interests therefore of true religion it is impossible to recommend it.

(*a*) It would perpetuate the disaster of embittered and heated conflicts at the Triennial Election of the School Board.

(*b*) It would create a feeling of utter uncertainty and bewilderment as to *what* was to be taught from time to time, which would be bad for teachers, children, and parents alike.

[1] See the *School Guardian* for August 28, 1897.

Digitized by Google

(*c*) It would accentuate the grievance already felt by Nonconformists where there is only a Church school accessible, and by Churchmen in School Board districts, that the only alternatives offered to them are—

(1) To withdraw their children entirely from religious education, or

(2) To expose them to a form of religious instruction to which they conscientiously object.

Since then it is not possible to regard any of these Schemes for *unifying* our system of primary education as satisfactory to Churchmen, we have to consider what *modifications* of the dual system already in existence would give us that which we desiderate for our schools, viz. the opportunity to 'live and thrive.'

What we are justified in claiming for ourselves may be summed up under the following heads:

1. Free and full opportunity for opening new schools, and thus developing the Voluntary Schools equally with those of the Boards in growing districts. At present this opportunity is practically denied to us, because the Department will not sanction the opening of any new school in a Board district without the consent of the School Board, and in considering whether a new school is required it takes no account whatever of the religious question.

2. Some system of financial aid which shall not remain stationary as the cost of Education increases, but shall provide a way by which fresh funds from public sources may be forthcoming to meet fresh demands on the part of the Department.

3. The removal of the injustice from which the Church suffers in consequence of the Cowper Temple clause—an injustice, it must be remembered, which is peculiar to England, for in Scotland (as has been already shown), where the schools are mainly supported from the rates, the Shorter Catechism of Presbyterianism is freely taught, and even in some cases where Romanists predominate Roman Catholic instruction is officially given; while in Ireland, where the schools are maintained from Imperial funds, Roman Catholic Catechisms and formularies are employed without let or hindrance of any kind.

If these three points can be secured it is thought that Churchmen may well acquiesce in the present dual system as a permanent settlement of the controversy. Nor does it appear at all impossible that Churchmen, *if only they are united*, should succeed in obtaining them, for—

Digitized by Google

1. With regard to the first of them, the adoption of a clause similar to that which is actually found in the Scotch Education Act would provide a remedy for our present disabilities which would meet the necessities of the case.

The Act for Scotland enacts that no Parliamentary grant shall be made to 'a school established after the passing of the Act, not being a public school, unless the said Department shall after due inquiry be satisfied that no sufficient provision exists for the children for whom the school is intended, *regard being had to the religious belief of their parents*' (§ 67).

If such a clause as this were made really operative in England, Churchmen would have only themselves to blame if they did not extend their system of schools amid the growing populations of our large towns.

2. As to the second requirement specified above, it must be remembered that the creation and recognition by the Government of 'Voluntary Associations' gives to Churchmen an advantage which they never had before. Although these Associations have at present very limited functions assigned to them, there is no reason why their powers should not be greatly increased in the future. Moreover, there is every probability that the creation of the new Central Education Authority by the Bill introduced last year by the Duke of Devonshire will be followed by the creation of *local authorities* in the near future. And we can see no reason why such authorities should not be empowered to aid *from the rates* Board and Voluntary Schools alike. This is a demand which the Church should be urgent in making, and at the same time she should claim with no uncertain voice that 'Voluntary Associations' under the Act of 1897, as well as School Boards, should be represented on the local authorities, and should signify her willingness to see representatives of the local authorities placed on the Governing Body of her Voluntary Associations; for to admit them on the Governing Body of an Association whose main business is to prepare schemes for allocating aid to the schools is a very different thing from admitting representatives of the ratepayers on to the separate bodies of managers of individual schools. Such a demand as this the Church might well resist, but the former method of procedure she would, in our judgment, be wise to welcome. Those who would be called upon under this scheme to lay the rate would certainly be justified in claiming to be represented on the body which would assign it to the several schools, and in thus asking for an oppor-

Digitized by Google

tunity of satisfying themselves that the money was properly spent. A similar procedure is already adopted in the case of those Church Schools which receive a grant from the technical education funds of the County Councils; and there need be no hesitation whatever on the part of Churchmen in assenting to it in the case of our Voluntary Associations for our Elementary Schools.

3. There remains the third point, viz. the repeal of the Cowper Temple clause. And it would only be fair that this should be accompanied by some such provision as that which was made by clause 27 of the Education Bill of 1896, viz. free opportunity for any denomination to teach its own children (whether in a Board or a Voluntary School), instead of their being required to attend the official religious instruction if not that of their own denomination, without forfeiting any of the other benefits of the school. The clause in question runs as follows:

'One of the regulations in accordance with which a public elementary school is required to be conducted shall be that if the parents of a reasonable number of scholars attending the school require that separate religious instruction be given to their children, the managers shall, as far as practicable, whether the religious instruction in the school is regulated by any trust deed, scheme, or other instrument or not, permit reasonable arrangements to be made for allowing such religious instruction to be given, and shall not be precluded from doing so by the provisions of any such deed, scheme, or instrument. Any question which may arise under this section as to what is reasonable or practicable shall be determined by the Education Department, whose decision shall be final.'

It should be added that, according to the rules laid down by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, opportunities are to be offered to all for receiving such religious instruction as their parents or guardians approve of.

It is, then, in this direction that it is suggested that Churchmen may be encouraged to look for an ultimate settlement of the Education Question, and a removal of the grievances under which they have so long suffered. Let them concentrate their endeavours on securing the three requirements indicated above, viz.:

1. A provision similar to that conceded in Scotland, for the development of the Voluntary School system.

2. Power to the local authorities to grant aid from the rates to be allocated to the several schools through the Voluntary Associations created under the Act of 1897.

Digitized by Google

3. The repeal of the Cowper Temple clause, coupled with the imposition of clause 27 of the Bill of 1896.

If these things can only be secured, and there is no obvious reason why a resolute and united demand for them on the part of Churchmen should not be successful, we believe that our difficulties would be so far removed that if our schools were to fail to 'live and thrive' the fault would rest entirely on Churchmen themselves. Our difficulties in regard to School Board elections would be to a great extent removed, for where the Church was not only in possession of schools of her own, but was able also freely to develop and extend them where needed, meeting, as is but just, from *public* funds the increased expenditure necessitated by fresh demands from *public* authorities, there would be no need for her to aim at securing a majority on the School Boards. It would probably always be desirable that Churchmen should find a place upon the Board, but the need for aiming at securing an ascendency upon it would have disappeared, and the heated and embittered conflicts, injurious to all parties alike, would, it might fairly be hoped, become a thing of the past.

ART. XI.—THE LOAN OF CONSECRATED CHURCHES IN INDIA.

1. *The Indian Church Directory*, 1899. (Calcutta.)
2. *The Loan of Consecrated Churches in India to Presbyterians and others.* By the Rev. W. K. FIRMINGER, M.A., F.R.G.S. (Calcutta, 1899.)
3. *Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department (Ecclesiastical) under date Simla, the 20th April* 1899. (Nos. 146-61). *Indian Church Quarterly Review*, July 1899.

DURING the last three years the Catholic Church in India has been called upon to confront and oppose a powerful movement which, if crowned with success, would not only deprive the Church in India of the control of her consecrated edifices, but would also afford no inconsiderable precedent for the extension of a like policy to the Churches of England and Wales. The subject will not be entirely a new one for our readers, for in our issue of January last we severely criticized certain regulations issued by the then Presbyterian Viceroy. Under these 'Rules' consecrated

Digitized by Google

churches in India were to be placed at the service of the Scots Kirk, the Wesleyans, and all other denominations such as the Government of India might from time to time be pleased to specify. The ultimate right to control such churches was, at the same time, taken out of the hands of the episcopate and vested in those of the Commander-in-Chief of the army in India. The policy of these 'Rules' was obviously the policy of the Liberationist party at home, and if, by default, English Churchmen are prepared to allow judgment to be given against their brethren in India, it is not unsafe to prophesy that the cost of their apathy will at no very distant date prove severe in the extreme. It is well that the element of a common danger should be emphasized, although it is manifestly true that, quite apart from the mere consideration of common interests, the cause of our brethren in India has an almost paramount claim upon English sympathy and support.

In India there are, as the reader is probably well aware, a large number of churches which are somewhat misleadingly described as 'Government churches.' These churches may be divided into two classes: (1) those that are provided for the military, and (2) those that are provided for the civilian British-born subjects of the Government. Both of these classes alike come under the questionable heading of 'Government churches.'[1] It is of supreme importance, therefore, that this expression should be clearly defined. In the first place, it must be carefully noted that the term cannot be interpreted to mean that any one of these so-called 'Government churches' owes its existence simply and solely to the generosity of the Government. The Church has, as a matter of fact, supplied a moiety of the funds required for the erection of these buildings, and, as a general rule, the Government has taken no action in the matter until the spiritual needs of the various stations have been brought before its notice by the bishops or chaplains. In the second place, as we shall presently have to argue more fully, the expression does not mean

[1] The Government in the case of civil churches will only make a grant in cases where private subscriptions have been obtained, but whatever may be the amount raised by private subscribers it is ruled by the Public Works code that 'the private contribution is to be looked upon as an addition to the Government grant instead of the public funds being considered as a grant-in-aid of private contributions.' In a certain case, which need not be further specified, a church erected by private funds was held to be a Government church because the Government had *promised* a grant, which it never has actually given! The rules of 1898 were then in force, and the Bishop declined to consecrate.

Digitized by Google

that the Government enjoys absolute rights of property in the said buildings, for, were this the case, the Government could never have entered upon the solemn and explicit obligations which, as we shall see, it has entered upon. The churches are 'Government churches' simply and solely because they have been erected in the interests of the servants or subjects of the Government, and that the said churches, being erected under these circumstances, the Government in causing them by consecration to be vested in the Bishops, is still interested that the Churches should be preserved for the sole purposes to which the Government originally devoted its grants—*i.e.* the provision of churches for English Churchmen in India.

It is, however, the contention of our opponents that the churches were provided for undenominational use by Protestants in general, and that, since the churches are the property of the Government, it is quite open for the secular power to take their control into its own hands and extend the privilege of using the buildings to any such Christian sect as it may from time to time be pleased to favour. To sustain such a plea, it is necessary either to ignore the fact that the churches have been lawfully consecrated, or else to assume that consecration is an act which, if it has some spiritual significance for Churchmen, is of absolutely no importance in the eyes of those who deal with the present question from an undenominational point of view. Consecration, it is alleged, is a purely domestic affair for the Church of England to deal with as she pleases, but if the Church does choose to consecrate property of which she is after all but a part-holder, so much the worse for her if she finds that she has acted under an illusion. There would, of course, be a considerable element of truth in this view of the position were it not the fact that so far from consecration being a purely domestic matter, the Government of India has, as we shall see, *been associated with the act of consecration.* It suits the purpose of our opponents to dwell on the term 'Government churches,' and to assert that the secular power is free to do as it pleases with its own buildings. And yet it would seem that, according to these gentlemen, there is one thing which the Government can never do with its own property: that is, they can never set buildings apart for the services of the Church of England exclusively. Churches have been built for the Roman Catholics exclusively, and for the Established Kirk exclusively, but churches such as are provided for Anglican worship must of necessity be at the disposal of each and every sort and description of Protestant dissent which finds

Digitized by Google

itself powerful enough to gain the day with the Indian Home Government! It is patently absurd for our opponents thus to insist on Government ownership and to insist upon the right of Government to do as it pleases with its own property, and yet in the same breath to challenge the action of the Government whenever, by authorizing acts of consecration, it devotes property to the use of by far and away the largest and most influential Christian body in India.

The commencement of the present movement in reality dates from about the year 1858, when the state of affairs created by the Mutiny necessitated the presence of Highland regiments in India. The Indian episcopate at that time were very anxious lest large bodies of Christian soldiers should be compelled to forego the benefit of public worship, and Bishop Cotton, first in the Punjab and afterwards in Mhow, sanctioned loans of English churches to the chaplains of the Scots' Kirk. The Bishop of Madras, who was pressed by the Government of Fort St. George to make a similar concession in favour of the Presbyterians in Bellary, while anxious to comply, felt that such a concession might in view of the act of consecration be of an illegal nature. It was determined, therefore, that the Archbishop of Canterbury should be consulted, and that through him the opinion of consent should be taken. It will be of interest to quote in full the opinion given by the Dean of Arches:

'In England, when a church has once been consecrated, it cannot be lawfully used for any Divine Service save that of the Church of England.

'It is then expedient to consider how far the law as to churches in India is the same as that in England.

'The ecclesiastical law of England, save particular portions thereof by Act of Parliament, has not been introduced into India.

'I think that if the Bishop of Madras should, with the sanction of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, direct that this church might be used for Presbyterian services, as proposed, such act could not be impugned by any ecclesiastical authority.

'But there may be another difficulty. Before this church was consecrated, the freehold must, as I necessarily presume, have been conveyed to some one. How this is I have no distinct information. I use this term *freehold*, because by whatever name such a title is called in India, it must be equivalent to freehold, and because Sir W. Grant in effect decided that land held in perpetuity by Europeans in India was deemed to be freehold.

'Now if this church and the land on which it was built was conveyed to trustees upon trust for Divine Service according to the rites of the Church of England only, I apprehend that if the church should be used as proposed, a breach of trust would be committed,

Digitized by Google

and that the Supreme Court in India might take cognizance thereof. It may be very improbable that any such proceedings would take place, but I feel bound to point out the possibility thereof. Should it be ultimately determined to grant the permission, *I think it should be granted during pleasure only, with a clause giving the Bishop a right to revoke it whenever he thought fit.*

'It should be further stated that this permission is granted for the performance of Divine worship according to the rites of the Established Church of Scotland. Such is the proposition of the Madras Government, and it is not expedient to go further.

'(Sd.) S. LUSHINGTON.'

The important words are those which we ourselves have italicized. Dr. Lushington, guided by English analogies, was evidently labouring under the idea that before the consecration of Bellary church could have been effected the freehold must have been conveyed by a trust deed to some duly constituted body of trustees. That this was the case is clear from the fact that the Home Government a little later on caused inquiries to be made as to whether any such trust deed was in existence. The fact that no such document could be found is one of great importance: it carries us into the heart of the history of the consecration of churches in India. Why was there no conveyance of freehold? Why where there no trust deeds?

To answer these questions we must with all possible rapidity sketch the history of the consecration process in India, and we can only hope that the dulness of the topic will be somewhat relieved by the undoubted fact of its importance to the Church throughout the Empire.

The practice of the Church in regard to the consecration of churches has, since the establishment of the Episcopate in India, been of a fairly uniform nature. The cases of consecration which occurred before that date need hardly be dealt with in this place. It has been laid down as a stated rule that 'no church can be consecrated without the consent in writing of the owners of the fabric or their authorized agents,' and, since 'consecration in all cases involves the legal conveyance of land in perpetuity to the Church,' great care is taken that in every case the title should be secure. Forms of memorial asking the Bishop to consecrate are also regarded as necessary to the legal validity of the ceremony. It is thus obvious that in regard to the 'Government churches,' which alone we are bound to consider, before any consecration ceremony can take place, the assent of the Government must first be obtained; and, secondly, there must be a secure title in order to secure the perpetuity of the

Digitized by Google

Church's interests; and, thirdly, there must be a memorial petitioning the Bishop to consecrate. It must also be carefully noticed that the memorial or petition usually records the sanction accorded by Government to the proposed act of consecration, and the memorial is, as a rule, signed by the principal civil or military authorities resident in the particular district in which the church in question is situated. The form of consecration itself has been sanctioned by Government, and the wording of the act or deed is therefore of great importance.

It now remains for us to study the question why in the case of 'Government churches' there are neither trust deeds nor deeds of conveyance. To settle this question we must go back to the days of the first Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Middleton. In the year 1821 (July 8) we find the Bishop writing to the Governor-General in Council to the effect that St. Stephen's Church, Dum-Dum, with its burying-ground, was ready for consecration, and requesting that 'instructions be given to the Company's solicitor to prepare the requisite deeds of trust, and to be in communication with me upon the subject.' 'To such deeds,' he adds, 'according to ecclesiastical usage, the Founder or Donor and the Bishop are parties.' The Bishop at the same time sought for a deed of trust in order that he might proceed to consecrate an additional burying-ground for the garrison of Fort William. On the following day the Governor-General in Council informed the Bishop that his requests would be complied with, and that the Company's solicitor had been directed to prepare trust deeds in consultation with his Lordship.

Some months elapsed, but on November 23 we find the Government instructing the Company's attorney to report whether or no deeds of trust for St. Stephen's, Dum-Dum, had been completed, and in case that they had not been executed, directing him to expedite the business. It was not until December 7 that the Company's solicitor was in a position to reply. He had prepared a draft grant such as had been required, and had laid it before the Advocate-General (Mr. Spankie) for his approval and settlement. The last-named official, however, had for the following reasons been unable to settle the matter:

(1) 'The nature of the trust under which the church is to be held by the Bishop had not been explained to him so as to enable him to prepare the proper deeds.'

(2) 'He was of opinion that the church in question, being situated in a military cantonment and erected for the accommoda-

Digitized by Google

tion of the military force stationed there, the usual licence for performing Divine Service would answer every purpose, and would be preferable to any more permanent arrangement; and (3) that the transfer of the property in the manner which the Advocate-General has since learned to be proposed by the Lord Bishop does not appear to be expedient or necessary, and that he should not feel himself authorized to prepare any deeds for this purpose without being relieved from all responsibility by the express orders of Government.'

Upon the receipt of this letter, the Governor-General in Council instructed the Company's attorney to obtain from the Advocate-General a 'more full exposition of the difficulties which have occurred to him in executing these instructions.' Upon December 14, this 'full exposition' was furnished, and we must cite this important document in full:

'OPINION.—When this subject was first brought to my notice, and the draft of a Trust Deed laid before me, I had received no information whatever as to the object of the Trust, and the instructions which accompanied the documents submitted to me furnished no explanation.

'I now understand—but not from any case stated to me or any authentic official communication—that the purpose in view was that the property in the church at Dum-Dum should be vested in Trustees as a preliminary measure to the consecration of the edifice by the Bishop.

'Knowing this, it appears to me that any Trust Deed under the circumstances of the case vesting the property in any person or body corporate, and particularly in the Lord Bishop, is unnecessary, and the latter mode objectionable and not conformable to the usage in England in cases that are considered analogous.

'By the ecclesiastical law of England a new church cannot be consecrated till it is endowed with a provision for the minister and for other purposes of the like nature, and it seems that the instruments testifying such provision and the dedication of the ground and edifice to the service of religion ought to be produced to the Bishop before the consecration takes place.

'I apprehend that the nature of the ecclesiastical establishment in this country renders the preliminary steps to the consecration of churches in England totally inapplicable here. I cannot suppose that it is meant to require from the East India Company any special endowment of the church of Dum-Dum, and if any security is required that the edifice and ground shall never be withdrawn from religious service and turned to profane uses (which I should have considered perfectly unnecessary) a declaration by Government deposited with the Bishop's Chancellor or Registrar declaring such dedication would be quite sufficient to answer every purpose. With the strict usage or law of the Church of England at home in regard to the consecration of new churches, and the endowment of them, it seems altogether impossible to comply.

Digitized by Google

'The only object of a conveyance in trust to any person or body corporate is to prevent the danger of the church being hereafter profaned by secular uses, but that the Bishop himself should be the Trustee seems to me to be contrary to usage and to form. If a Trust is to be created at all, which I cannot advise being done, proper trustees must be nominated.

'Upon the mode of proceeding in such a case I can only speak from what is to be found in the books of ecclesiastical law, matters of this sort being in England confined in practice to a distinct branch of the profession. I can find no form to regulate the proceedings in this present case, and if conducted on the model in England it will be proper that the forms at home should be strictly pursued. Everything relative to the religious part of the ceremony is to be seen in the books, but there is no Deed of Trust to be found analogous to the Deeds of Trust I have been called upon to prepare, and for which I must acknowledge my incapacity. I need not add that the draft laid before me is in every view of the case both informal and in substance totally inapplicable.

(Sd.) R. SPANKIE,
Advocate-General.'

FORT WILLIAM, December 11, 1821.

In view of this opinion the Government felt that the proposal of deeds of trust could no longer be entertained, but they were anxious to afford every security which might be necessary in order that the Company's churches might be consecrated by the Bishop. Upon December 14, therefore, Dr. Middleton was informed:

'In consequence of the difficulties stated by the Advocate-General to oppose the proposed formal Deed of Trust, I am directed to express the hope of the Governor-General in Council, that your Lordship will be satisfied with a declaration on the part of the Government relative to the dedication of the church and the ground annexed to it at Dum-Dum of the tenor and description suggested by Mr. Spankie.'

Such was the state of affairs when Bishop Middleton died, 'at the hour of eleven on Monday night, July 8, 1822, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the ninth of his consecration, to the inexpressible loss of the Christian Church.' He was succeeded in the See of Calcutta by that great and shining light—Reginald Heber. The churches of St. Stephen's, Dum-Dum, and St. James's, Calcutta, still remaining unconsecrated, the new bishop within three weeks of his arrival claimed from Government the declaration which the Advocate-General had stated to be all that was adequate, and which the Government had promised to supply.[1] The

[1] In a letter dated March 13, 1825, Bishop Heber writes to Archdeacon Baines: 'With regard to the guarantee of the inviolability of

Digitized by Google

declaration thus given became the basis of the action of the Indian Episcopate in the matter of the consecration of the so-called 'Government churches,' and we will, therefore, cite in full, not only the declarations in regard to two churches, which have been specified, but also two typical declarations based on the original declaration of October 20, 1823:

I

'Government Department, Ecclesiastical.

'To the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

'My Lord,

'1. I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter.

'2. The Government entirely concurs in your Lordship's opinion with regard to the propriety of the Churches of Dum-Dum and St. James being consecrated, and it is the wish of the Governor-General in Council that the solemnity in question should take place at such time as may suit your Lordship's convenience. I am at the same time directed to intimate to your Lordship that it is the intention of Government to preserve the Sacred Edifices referred to from desecration of all kinds, and to dedicate them *to the exclusive service of the Church of England.*[1]

I have the honour to be, with great respect
My Lord,
Your obedient humble servant,
(Sd.) C. LUSHINGTON,
Secretary to the Government.

COUNCIL CHAMBER,
20th October, 1823.

II

'The Governor-General in Council entirely concurs in the expediency of your Lordship's suggestion, that you consecrate such churches belonging to the Honourable Company as you may have occasion to visit, and *engages for the same guarantee in each case as was given in the instances of St. Stephen's Church at Dum-Dum and St. James's at Calcutta.*[1] (27th May, 1824.)

III

'The Governor-General in Council being desirous that the consecration of churches at Agra and Futtyghar shall take place according to the prescribed form is pleased to declare the intention of the

the churches consecrated, the plan which I have adopted in your archdeaconry is the same with that which I was advised was sufficient in that of Calcutta: namely, the recital by me, in my letter to the Government, of the different churches which had been erected, *offering to consecrate them if the Government would undertake to maintain them for the exclusive worship of the Church of England, &c., their assent to which terms was accounted enough to warrant my proceeding.*' The italics are ours. (*Life of Reginald Heber, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta.* By his Widow. London, 1830, vol. ii. p. 294.)

[1] The italics are ours.

Digitized by Google

Government to be, that the ground on which the said church is built shall be considered to have been assigned by Government for the religious uses to which the spots are at present respectively appropriated, and that it is the intention and desire of the Government that the above premises shall continue to be dedicated to such religious purposes *and to no other.*[1] (12th June, 1826.)

IV

'My Dear Lord,

'With reference to your Lordship's Letter of the 24th ultimo, I am directed to state that the churches under this Presidency which have not yet received consecration are the following, viz.:

2 at Muslipatam,	1 at Cunmore,
1 at Secunderabad,	1 at Tellicherry,
1 at Bellary,	1 at Bangalore,

1 at Arcot,

and that it is the wish and intention of the Honourable the Governor in Council that these buildings, when duly consecrated, should be applied *to no other purpose than the performance of Divine Service, according to the ceremonies and canons of the Church of England.*'[1]

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your most obedient humble servant,

FORT ST. GEORGE,
27th January, 1826.

D. HILL,
Chief Secretary.'

Such, then, has been the nature of the undertakings of the Indian Government. It is surely quite clear that a Government which without scruple entered into obligations such as have been described must have all along intended the churches which it helped to provide *to be in the fullest sense of the term Church of England churches.* These declarations either create a trusteeship in which the Indian diocesans occupy the position of *cestui que trust*, or else they form a contract subject to the cognizance of a court of equity. It is possible that in a certain number of cases, the assurances of the Government have not been as definite as those which we have cited, but the important point to be borne in mind is that the cases of St. Stephen's, Dum-Dum, and St. James's, Calcutta, were intended to be regarded as authorized precedents, and it is upon this basis that the Bishops have consented to each and every consecration of a Government church. The moral aspect of the question is even stronger than the legal. If upon mere technical points the Indian Government should elect to depart from its own signed and sealed obligations, it must necessarily strengthen those feel-

[1] The italics are ours.

Digitized by Google

ings of mistrust which are only too easily raised, and when once raised are not easily silenced.

The force of our reasoning can be to a certain extent tested by the opinion given by the Indian Government in the matter of Mundla church so recently as 1888. In this case a church, built on ground granted by Government, and erected partly by Government and partly by the subscriptions of the chaplain's friends and the Calcutta Church Building Fund,[1] had been consecrated without a previous execution of any deed vesting the property in trustees. Some two years after this consecration a movement was set on foot to secure the execution of such a deed or deeds. There is no need that we should inflict upon our readers the details of the case: the essential point to be noticed is that, after a thoroughgoing investigation of the facts and principles connected with the case, the Indian Government came to the decision that 'As the Mundla church was consecrated on the formal assurance given through the Deputy-Commissioner, the Government regards the church as vested in the Bishop, and considers it unnecessary that any trust deed, not desired by the Bishop himself, should be executed in respect to it.'

We wish carefully to abstain from the discussion of any such technical issues as may arise from the working of the law of trusts in India, but it is necessary also to safeguard our position by making it clear that, in leaving legal points to the lawyers, we do not in the least admit the existence of weak points in our defences. It is the moral aspect of the question which is of supreme importance, and, this being the case, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the Government of India can for any considerable length of time endure the continuance of the present situation. They must, sooner or later, make it clear to those who have questioned its integrity, that its solemn obligations are at least worth the paper on which they are inscribed.

The documents which we have quoted have yet another point of significance. The Government would never have entered into such obligations had it not all along intended to erect and secure buildings for Divine Service according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. That the Government provides buildings for the exclusive use of the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians has never been disputed, but that it has, or that it can provide churches for the vast majority of British-born subjects is precisely the point

[1] This purely Anglican fund has provided over five lacs of rupees for churches, many of which are 'Government churches.'

Digitized by Google

now challenged by the loud-voiced but numerically feeble Established Kirk in India.

Quite apart from any question as to the validity and consequences of the act of consecration, or the trusteeship or contract created by the assent of the Government to that act, the obligations so willingly entered upon by the Government at once pulverize the whole basis of the Presbyterian contention. Such obligations[1] are absolutely irreconcilable with the idea that the churches concerned were built for any other purpose than that of the services of the English Church in India.

Our Presbyterian friends have, however, still the hardihood to claim that the so-called 'Government churches' which have been consecrated for the Church of England, were intended for their use quite as much as they were in-

[1] There are also other documents of importance, such as :—

1. The original grants of land or funds by the Government.

2. The petition for consecration, in which the Government, in all cases with which it is concerned, appears either as sanctioner or even petitioner.

3. The actual deed of consecration, the form of which has Government approval.

The Calcutta clergy, in a memorial addressed to the Acting-Metropolitan in 1898, thus pleaded :—'The Government in all cases have sanctioned, and in practice have requested, the consecration of all churches of the Church of England in which they are in any way interested. It is necessary before consecration that a memorial be presented to the Bishop praying him to separate the church and ground from all profane uses, and to consecrate the same to the honour and worship of Almighty God according to the custom of the Church of England, and assign it to be perpetually the church of . . . . at . . . . to the aforesaid worship and use. This memorial is signed by the principal Civil or Military Government officer of the district or station and other principal residents. In the Deed or Decree of Consecration the words are, "We . . . . do separate and set apart the said Church from all profane or common uses and do hereby consecrate the same as the church of . . . . at . . . . to the honour and worship of Almighty God, and for the celebration of Divine Service therein according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and we do publicly declare that it shall so continue for ever hereafter separated and consecrated by this our decree."

'In the Deeds of Consecration in use in the days of the East India Company also, the trusts were clearly stated ; and the act of consecration has been performed from the time of the first establishment of the Episcopate in India, with the full knowledge and consent, and in many cases at the direct request of, the Supreme Government of India or the Local Government of the Province in which the church was situated. Thus for eighty years past the Government of India have sanctioned and encouraged the consecration of churches which they have built for the use of the Church of England in India. And the act of consecration has been performed for the past eighty years by Bishops of the Church of England in full reliance that the Government would duly observe the trusts so declared, and in faith of their protection.'

Digitized by Google

tended for ours. It is, then, only natural that we should ask what, as a matter of fact, has been the part which the Kirk has played in their erection.

Neither the Kirk, as a corporate body, nor any society connected with or acknowledged by the Kirk, has ever contributed one-hundreth part of a farthing to the funds raised in order to provide the buildings which she now, in such strident tones, claims as her own. But, on the other hand, what has been the share of the Church? The following table, which speaks only for the Calcutta diocese after the dioceses of Madras and Bombay had been severed from the mother See, will tell its tale:

GOVERNMENT CHURCHES.

	Sum contributed by	
	Government	Subscribers
	Rs.	Rs.
Bengal	6,76,116	3,75,235
Central Provinces	1,57,681	35,349
Assam	14,255	27,972
Central India	24,592	58,800
Diocese of Calcutta	8,72,644	4,97,356
North-Western Provinces and Oudh (Diocese of Lucknow)	5,84,850	3,50,193
Punjab (Diocese of Lahore)	2,42,110	2,43,308
Burmah (Diocese of Rangoon)	28,987	19,696
GRAND TOTAL	17,28,591	12,10,553

But this by no means does justice to the facts of the case. The majority of churches, in point of fact, owe their existence to the pressure which the Episcopate has brought to bear on the Government. The secular authorities have naturally been content to await until the spiritual needs of the various stations have been brought before their notice by the accredited spiritual authorities. A considerable number of the so-called 'Government churches' not only owe their existence to this activity of the Episcopate in pleading the claims of the various stations, but even to the unfailing liberality of those great men who have in turn filled the Metropolitan See. We will venture to cite some characteristic instances.

The extent to which India is indebted for her churches to Bishop Wilson's personal munificence can in part be

Digitized by Google

estimated by the fact recorded of him by his domestic chaplain that during his Visitation in 1837, he gave away Rs. 8,300 in addition to his regular subscriptions to public objects. The Bishop contributed thus Rs. 2,000 to Christ Church, Cawnpore, and it is important to note that the Government only undertook to build a second church (St. John's) [1] at Cawnpore on condition that the Bishop should first find the requisite funds for the erection of Christ Church. Such an arrangement would be exceedingly unintelligible on the novel theory of the Presbyterian claimants. No one who has read the *Life of Bishop Wilson* can fail to misunderstand the history of the foundation of our so-called 'Government churches.' The story of the churches at Cawnpore is very significant: Cawnpore was an immense station even in 1857, seven miles in length, containing three thousand Christian inhabitants, but devoid of churches. 'An officer had been in command whose influence was very great and injurious. A regiment of cavalry had been in cantonments, as conspicuous for its bravery as for its immorality.'

'Happily, however, changes had taken place just before the Bishop arrived. An admirable man, Colonel Oglander, was now commanding officer: and a new regiment had replaced the old. Still the visit was looked to with apprehension, for prejudices were strong, the society was scattered, the stream was adverse, the station seemed unmanageable, and to have been gentle and tender as at Meerut, would have been out of place at Cawnpore. The Bishop finally decided on a totally different course. He dropped suddenly as it were into the station on a Saturday night: and on the Sunday morning he rose up in the pulpit and said all that was in his heart. First, he mourned over the "cruel" removal of one of their excellent chaplains. Secondly, he openly denounced the irreligious conduct of those who had been recently removed from the station. Thirdly, he announced his purpose of laying the foundation stones of two new churches before he left. And lastly, he intimated his resolution of discovering whether there was "any grace and good feeling in Cawnpore or not." Nothing less than this, or something like this, could have produced the desired effect. As it was, the station was effectually aroused.'

And so the churches of Cawnpore were built, but if the churches built here and elsewhere were built for the Presbyterians no less than the Church of England, doubtless we should find the energy and liberality of Bishop Wilson paralleled by the zeal and munificence of some of the senior Presbyterian chaplains. But we look in vain for Presbyterian

[1] Now used by the Kirk.

Digitized by Google

Church Building Funds. We look in vain for evidence of Presbyterian chaplains asking their flock to subscribe to the cost of the erection of the churches which they now claim so confidently as their own. And yet why did not the Government appeal to a Presbyterian Church Building Fund if the churches were to be Presbyterian quite as much as they were to be 'Anglican'?

If from general statistics we pass to individual instances, our case becomes much stronger. Let us suppose a Presbyterian regiment to be stationed at Barrackpore. The church at that place cost Rs. 42,565, and of this sum Rs. 22,565 were raised by the Church of England, and by the Church of Scotland not a single copper. Then, again, take the case of Christ Church, Bareilly. This church has an exceedingly touching history.

Finding that Divine Service had to be held in the chaplain's house, Bishop Wilson took immediate steps to raise funds for an English church.

'An unexpected obstacle, however, appeared in the person of the Brigadier in command. He not only passively declined contributing, but actively opposed the project. He declared it was the duty of Government to build churches; that individual interference was uncalled for and unwise; and that he was not only determined to sit still himself, but hoped nobody else would move. These arguments were urged loudly and unreservedly at his own table, and before a large party whom he had invited to meet the Bishop. With hopes all sanguine and plans matured, the Bishop was totally unprepared for such an outbreak—his nerves failed—before the whole company he shed tears as the only reply! No one at the moment could interfere, however painful the scene, as they were the guests of the Brigadier. No sooner, however, had the party left the dinner table than a fine old civilian of fifty years' standing quietly put down his name for a subscription of Rs. 1,000. Major Smythe joined him and put down his name for Rs. 200; another gave Rs. 100; all gave something; and in two days Rs. 4,000 were raised, a committee formed, and an application forwarded for aid from Government. Christ Church at Bareilly is the result of an appeal which at first looked so unpromising.'

The cost of Christ Church, Bareilly, as given in the official report, amounted to Rs. 7,992, and of this sum Rs. 5,492 was raised by private subscriptions and Rs. 1,500 were furnished out of the Church Building Fund. In 1898 Christ Church was one of the first consecrated churches claimed by the Wesleyans under the Rules of that year. The Bishop of Lucknow accorded his permission, and in consequence the Wesleyans were permitted to hold their parade in the sacred

Digitized by Google

edifice. Our friends, however, were by no means contented, and they immediately put in a claim for the use of the church for their voluntary evening services. The permission, which would have been quite in the teeth of what was contemplated by the Rules could not be conceded by the authorities, especially when the request wore very much the appearance of a demand. Upon this refusal the Bareilly correspondent in the *Indian Methodist Times* complained bitterly that 'there are two Government churches at Bareilly and the Church of England coolly claims *both*.' Our readers will be the better able to judge the justice of this complaint when they are reminded of the fact that the second 'Government church' (St. Stephen's) at Bareilly was built entirely by private subscription. The editor of the *Indian Methodist Times* in a short and angry 'Note for the Month' expressed the hope that the Presbyterian and Wesleyan authorities would treat the Bareilly incident as a test case: we can only hope that our readers, in view of the facts which we have given in regard to these 'Government churches,' will also regard this incident as 'a test case.'

The history of Bareilly church, however, by no means stands alone. The fine church of All Souls, Cawnpore, is a 'Government church,' and yet the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel contributed to its erection Rs. 19,019, and private subscribers Rs. 62,000. Barrackpore church cost Rs. 42,565, and to this sum the Calcutta Church Building Society contributed Rs. 6,249, and private subscribers Rs. 16,316. There are many other and even more striking instances which might be quoted *ad nauseam*. The important point, however, is that these so-called 'Government churches' owe their existence to the initiative of English Churchmen, and, while the Church has strained her utmost powers to secure their erection, the Presbyterians have never, as a body, expended a single farthing in behalf of the cause in which they now claim to be vitally interested. We do not in the least wish to blame the Scots Kirk for thus standing aloof from the labour of providing churches for the military and civil servants of the Government, and this for the obvious reason that it was all along recognized that the churches in question were to be Church of England churches. The Scots Kirk, however, now claims the said churches as quite as much her own as they are ours. The facts which we have given should cause even the most zealous advocate of the Kirk to blush with shame. We need not trespass far into the province of natural history

Digitized by Google

in order to name the bird which lays her eggs in another's nest.

By way of summary, it may be said that there are at least three good reasons for concluding that the churches which our Presbyterian and Wesleyan friends lay claim to were intended to be Church of England churches in precisely the same sense as the parish churches in England are Church of England churches:

(1) For their erection English Churchmen have taken the initiative, and the Government has acted only in connexion with Anglican Church customs.

(2) The Government has all along been party to their consecration, and has given the most absolute guarantees.

(3) The Presbyterians have never, as a body, contributed to their cost, while in some cases the Church has borne the entire cost, and in the majority made large contributions.

These considerations are obviously of so conclusive a character that our readers may wonder how it has come about that the position of the English Church has ever been put to the question. The present controversy, we must explain, owes its existence to the extremely liberal principle on which Bishop Cotton attempted to solve the problem in its earliest form in the year 1860. During recent years Presbyterians have sought to compel the Government to extend the scope of the Rules which were, in consultation with the Episcopate, issued in 1860 for the loan of consecrated churches in military stations. The Government, on their part, have accepted the Rules of 1860 as a precedent for the extension of the loans to the Wesleyans. It is, therefore, of some importance that the history of the problem as it stood in 1860 should be carefully studied.

The idea of loaning consecrated churches for the purpose of Presbyterian church parades came into existence with the necessities created by the arrival of Scotch regiments after the Mutiny of 1857. In the Presidency towns the Government had provided suitable and even elegant edifices for the service of the Kirk, and it no more entered the head of Churchmen to conceive that these chapels were intended for undenominational purposes than it was dreamed that the consecrated churches were intended for the Presbyterians. 'St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church,' with its spire—'the cock flying higher than the Bishop Cross,' as the then Scots Padre put it—with a 'kist of whistles' calculated to arouse the ghost of John Knox, was erected in Calcutta at a time when, despite repeated applications for a suitable building for Divine

Digitized by Google

Service, the English troops at Fort William assembled for worship at their barrack room. A similar state of things existed, even in quite recent years, at Allahabad. In the majority of military stations it had, however, been unnecessary to provide special Presbyterian chapels, for the Government only places a Presbyterian chaplain with troops at stations where Presbyterian—that is to say Scotch—regiments are posted. As the disposal of the regiments is continually being changed, it was thus thought scarcely worth while to build large chapels in places where they would in all probability for many years remain unused and locked up. The difficulty of the problem becomes all the more obvious when the circumstances of the Indian climate are taken into consideration. To march troops to chapel within civil lines under a blazing Bengal sun, or through drenching tropical rains, could not be regarded as a practical policy. The Episcopate, and the Metropolitan in particular, could not bear the thought that large numbers of Christian soldiers should be deprived of the opportunities of prayer and instruction in a land of which, from a soldier's point of view, it has always been only too true

> 'The best is like the worst,
> And there ain't no Ten Commandments,
> And a man can raise a thirst.'

Hence there came into existence what may be called the 'Concordat' of 1860. Having consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury, who stands towards the Indian Episcopate as a a sort of Over-Metropolitan, and taken the legal opinion of the Dean of Arches,[1] Bishop Cotton assented to a series of Rules under which, 'with the consent of the Bishop of the diocese in each case,' churches 'consecrated for the service of the Church of England were to be made available to the Presbyterian congregation.' It was at the same time laid down that 'the church shall not be used for the service of any other denomination, not being of the Church of England, than Presbyterians, nor shall any other minister officiate in it than a minister of the Church of England.'[2] The Bishop of the diocese was to be free to 'withdraw his assent to the use

[1] See Opinion quoted above on p. 447.

[2] Constant grievances arose at a later date, since applications were made that churches should be loaned for Presbyterian services to be conducted by Wesleyan ministers. The refusals, which the Rules necessitated, were of course represented as acts of sacerdotal intolerance on the part of the chaplains.

Digitized by Google

of the church for Presbyterian worship whenever he shall think fit.'

We will not raise the question whether Bishop Cotton's policy can be justified on ecclesiastical grounds: we believe that it cannot, but in view of the troubles in which his concessions have from first to last involved the Church in India, we cannot help being wise after the event, and declaring the whole policy to be a decided mistake. The 'suitable regulations' with which the Bishop sought to safeguard his compromises have been evaded and at last set aside, and even the spirit of courtesy which dictated the policy is ignored by those who are now busily claiming the consecrated churches as theirs by lawful right. Bishop Cotton soon tasted the bitterness of the cup thus prepared for him: 'he found,' writes his biographer, that 'to administer the Church of England in behalf of her own adherents and of Dissenters was an impossible task.'[1] He was all but led to repeat the lament of Bishop Middleton over a Presbyterian movement of nearly fifty years earlier: 'Explanation and conciliation are rendered absolutely impossible.' At Simla he was brought face to face with a movement which he himself describes as 'the Presbyterian *fracas*,' and about this time we find him writing:

'I am quite willing, not only to co-operate with Dissenters on common grounds, and to surrender all exclusive and offensive Church privileges (such as the sole validity of marriages performed by Episcopal clergy and marriage registrars), but also to meet them as far as possible in concessions such as the loan of our churches to Scotch regiments, who must either hold their services in them or be exposed to the sun of May or the torrents of July; but as to making our churches and burial-grounds common, and mixing up all so-called "Evangelical Protestants" in a confused mass, I can only say, in spite of Arnold, that it is impossible to govern a diocese on such principles, on account of the disgust which it causes to those whom I have to govern; that I doubt whether an individual bishop has any right to play such tricks, or to lose sight of the chief peculiarities and distinctive merits of the English Church in pursuit of an unpractical pretence at unity; and, moreover, that in all such matters every concession comes from the Church side and none from the Dissenting. If I get more and more of a High Churchman, I shall be made one by captious and perverse agitations.'

The Rules were at once misunderstood. Under their

[1] It is impossible to escape the fact that the Church in India, being in full communion with the Catholic (*i.e.* the 'Episcopal') Church of Scotland, Presbyterians cannot, on the grounds of the State establishment of the Kirk, be held by the Church to stand in a different relation to her than do any other of the non-Catholic Christian sects.

Digitized by Google

cover, attempts were made to hold undenominational prayer-meetings to the neglect of the authorized services, and at one station it was actually mooted that the Church of England service should give way to a united service, in which both the Church and the Kirk ministers should take part. The Rules were intended to restrict the concession within the narrow limits of military exigencies; but this, again, was not understood, and the Bishops found themselves compelled to deal with applications for the loan of churches to purely civil bodies of Presbyterians. Thus in the long run, as Mrs. Cotton writes, 'the Bishop found himself in an ungracious position.' And even in the strict application of the Rules to military stations we find that at one time there was a marked inclination on the part of the Government to claim for the Scotch parade service, under certain circumstances, a prior right to the use of the church.

The Rules issued in 1898, in supersession of those issued in 1860, afford in themselves a sufficient proof of our contention that Bishop Cotton's policy was a mistaken one. However much the Rules of 1860 had been misunderstood, they had at least studiously safeguarded the rights of the Diocesans to forbid the loan of the churches to the Presbyterians. This safeguard was, as we have seen, based upon the opinion of eminent counsel, and according to that opinion to insist on a loan which the Bishop had vetoed would involve a 'breach of trust' of which the 'Supreme Court in India could take cognizance.' The Rules of 1898 did, in point of fact, provide that 'it shall be necessary to obtain the consent of the Bishop in each case,' and that 'he may withdraw his assent . . . whenever he shall think fit.' But in an ominous preamble the Church was admonished to the effect that 'the Government of India have noticed with regret that instances have occurred when the use for Presbyterian worship of buildings provided by the Government and consecrated for the services of the Church of England,' and that the Governor-General in Council trusts that such instances will not be allowed to recur. At the same time the Presbyterian or Wesleyan applicants, as the case might be, were allowed an appeal from the decision of the Bishop to the Commander-in-Chief in military cases, and to the Local Government in civil. It is perfectly obvious that the concession made by Bishop Cotton in 1860 could not seriously be regarded as a precedent for the Rules of 1898. In 1860 the concession was clearly regarded as a matter of favour which could not of right be demanded, and, as a letter addressed to Bishop Cotton by the senior Presbyterian

Digitized by Google

chaplain at the time indicates, the matter was regarded in that light by the Presbyterians themselves.[1] The Rules of 1898 were, on the other hand, a clear step in the direction of the ultimate secularization of the churches which the Government had for over eighty years pledged themselves to maintain for the services of the Church of England.

The publication of the Rules of 1898 naturally gave rise to a very considerable protest on the part of English Churchmen in India. Nothing can be more absurd than the attempt of the English Protestant press to stigmatize this movement as 'sheer sacerdotalism.' The protests were signed by clergy and laity of all schools of thought, for, quite apart from any considerations of a theological or ecclesiastical nature, it was obvious to all that when the Government claimed to be able to devote the consecrated churches 'to any other denomination to which the Government of India may from time to time make these Rules applicable,' the bare preservation of the churches for purposes of Christian worship of any kind whatsoever was at stake. The extension of the policy of loans of churches to Wesleyans was based simply on the fact that the Wesleyans 'have become sufficiently numerous to justify the concession being made to them.' Would a numerical increase of Jews or Unitarians, or possibly even the Brahmo Somaj, justify similar extensions of the concession?

The movement of protest was so far successful that, backed by its strong support, the new Metropolitan (Dr. Welldon) shortly after his arrival was able to induce the Government to reopen the subject, and, in consequence, the Rules of 1898 were on April 20, 1899, superseded by a new set of Rules of far less objectionable character. The power of giving an ultimate decision upon questions arising under the Rules was transferred from the military and local authorities to the Metropolitan, and the clauses recognizing the

[1] Strangely enough the view which both the Church and the Government have taken as to the meaning of the terms on which the Presbyterian chaplains may in cases of necessity ask for the use of the English Churches—the view which is now so warmly challenged by the Presbyterians—was, as a matter of fact, the view taken by the senior chaplain of the Scotch Church in 1860. In a letter thanking the Bishop for his kindness in consulting his opinion on the subject of 'the Madras reference,' the senior Scots chaplain (the Rev. A. Herdman) advises the Bishop:

'I hardly think there can be any good ground of complaint if you say that the *loan of your churches* to the clergy of the Church of Scotland is intended for public worship only, not for occasional services such as are not necessarily, nor in Scotland ordinarily, performed in ecclesiastical edifices.'

Digitized by Google

rights of the Bishops to veto the loans were no longer overshadowed by an implicit menace in the preamble. So far so good, but it still remains to be noted that the extension of the loan policy to the Wesleyans was allowed to stand, and that the clause of the Rules of 1860 which limited the loans to cases in which the proposed services would be held by Scotch chaplains on the establishment was amended so as to allow officiating Presbyterian or Wesleyan ministers to conduct their services. The present Rules, despite the removal of the injustice which placed our consecrated churches at the disposal of the secular authorities,[1] still remain a precedent for the granting of loans of sacred property to such sectarian bodies as the Government may choose to nominate, and however great may be our satisfaction in regard to the removal of a staring abuse, the precedent preserved by the present Rules is one which cannot be permitted to pass without severe censure.

The revision of last year's Rules has lashed the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland into a white-heat condition of rage and fury:

'Are we not an Established Church?' is the outcry; 'why, then, should we not be treated on an equality with the English Church?'[2] The churches which the Bishops have sought to filch away by some superstitious mediæval act of consecration were intended, so the Public Works Code has it, for all Protestant and European British-born soldiers or subjects, and by "Protestant," the same Code tells us, is meant "the members of the Church of England and of the Established Church of Scotland, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and such other denominations of Christians as may be included by the

[1] The present Commander-in-Chief (Sir W. Lockhart) and the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir John Woodburn) of Bengal are both Presbyterians. It is quite impossible to suppose that men so distinguished for their upright and honourable dealings would be party to any act of partisanship; yet nothing can be more temerarious than submitting to a system which is inherently wrongful with easy contentment because the men who administer it are notoriously high-minded and just.

[2] In the debates in Parliament which led to the passing of an Act for the creation of the See of Calcutta, it was proposed that a Scotch Establishment should be also legalized for India. This was negatived by Lord Castlereagh on the ground that such a step would be an admission of the principle 'that every establishment of the English Church in our dependencies must be accompanied by an establishment for the Church of Scotland also.' The Company, however, on their own responsibility sent Presbyterian chaplains to India, but these gentlemen on arrival discovered that, not being 'clerks in Holy Orders' from the point of view of the law, they were unable to perform marriages until an enabling Act had been passed by Parliament, India being held to be an English domicile. This was secured.

Digitized by Google

Government of India." The churches having thus been built for all these kinds of Protestants, what right have the Bishops or Metropolitan to an exclusive control of their use? The Metropolitan is, after all, an interested party, and though we have every respect for Dr. Welldon, whose breadth of mind and courtesy are universally recognized, yet we, Scots Kirk men, are asking for the recognition of our rights, not for Episcopal acts of favour.'

Such is the Presbyterian contention, and the following *ad captandum* utterance of Dr. Storey will best illustrate the warmth and persistence with which our northern neighbours pursue their interests:

'If he managed to make his way into the Anglican church, or rather the church which the Anglicans had assumed the right to occupy, what might the Presbyterian chaplain find there? He might find the Stations of the Cross; he might find the statue of the Virgin; he might find boxes for the confessional; he might find the incense pots which had been used at the previous service of the Anglican Church. Whether the incense were fumigatory or sacrificial it left pretty much the same scent behind, a scent very obnoxious in the nostrils of a regiment of Presbyterian soldiers. Was it fair or just that that should be so, and that there should be no appeal against it but to the Metropolitan, under whose sanction and with whose concurrence all these absurdities, all these superstitious additions, were introduced and made use of?'

Dr. Storey is obviously well acquainted with the requirements of an Edinburgh gallery, and it is even quite possible that this sort of thing passes for humour in a General Assembly of the Scots Kirk. The point of the Doctor's remarks lies in the fact that the question of the use of incense was before the English archbishops at the time when the speech was delivered, and, as there is not a single military church in India in which incense has ever been, or for many years to come is likely to be, used, it is plain that what Dr. Storey claims is a right not only for the Presbyterians to use the churches, but even to control the ritual of the English Church in India. In reply to the Metropolitan's powerful letters to the *Times*, Dr. Storey has condescended to be more temperate, but this has been at the expense of the cogency of his former position. The zeal of the Scots Kirk on behalf of their brethren in India, if not always according to knowledge, is at least commendable. If English Churchmen had all along taken a like amount of interest in the welfare of the Indian Church, the present attack on its position would have been outside the range of practical politics.

With the documents which we have cited before them,

Digitized by Google

our readers will be in a position to judge the accuracy and justice of this claim to equal rights of possession and control. Nothing can be clearer than that during the long period in which the greater number of the churches were built, the Government intended to build Church of England churches for the Church of England, Roman Catholic churches for the Roman Catholics, Presbyterian churches for the Presbyterians.[1] The reasons why the latter churches are few in number may be easily determined. The courtesy of Bishop Cotton, in the first place, made it hardly worth while for the Government to erect Presbyterian buildings at any special place, on the chance that at one time or the other Presbyterian troops might be temporarily stationed there. In the second place, it may be said that the zeal of the Presbyterian chaplains has not condescended to be interested in bricks and mortar. It was left to a prelate like Bishop Wilson to look after such details, and to his unfailing exertions and unparallelled munificence many of the so-called 'Government churches' in the then wide Calcutta Diocese, owe their existence. For more than half a century the Presbyterians have been, when occasion needed, permitted to use these buildings, but they did so on terms which they now find it convenient to ignore. They were, in fact, content to ask permission from the Bishops; it is therefore scarcely possible for the same gentlemen in 1900 to pretend that the Bishops never had anything whatsoever to do with the case.

[1] Even in the rescinded Rules of 1898 it was expressly stated that the churches are 'provided by Government and consecrated for the service of the Church of England.' In the Public Works Code, to which our friends attach an almost superstitious esteem, it was until 1885 laid down 'for Protestants, accommodation will be provided for the Church of England services only.' That the Government in 1860 regarded the loan of churches as an exceptional policy is clear from the following important passage which we venture to quote from a letter addressed by W. Grey, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and dated, 'Fort William, June 27, 1861':—'The Governor-General in Council concurs in the opinion expressed by your Lordship in the eighteenth paragraph of the Report as to the desirability of a separate building when practicable being provided for the Presbyterian service, whenever there is a permanent Presbyterian congregation.' In 1864 the Government actually requested the Archdeacon of Calcutta to 'move the Lord Bishop to consider the expediency of laying a foundation of an independent existence for the *English Church* in India,' and as a means to such an end it was suggested that pew-rent should be charged on the non-military occupants of seats in military churches. Again in a document (No. 549) dated 16 March 1867, the officiating secretary to the Government of India styles the military churches '*Anglican churches*.' It would be easy to give many instances of the use of such language.

Digitized by Google

With the facts now before us, we can only express our surprise that the Government should have gone so far as they have done in the direction of cancelling their solemn obligations and throwing open the churches which they have pledged themselves to preserve for the exclusive use of the Church of England, not only to the disciples of the Scotch Kirk, but to the sectarians who exist only because they are discontented with the Catholic doctrines of the mother Church. The policy of treating the Church of England as but one of many competing Protestant sects dates from the days when a Roman Catholic Viceroy, with the support of a minority of his Council, set to work to see how retrenchments could be effected in the 'Establishment.' Among the first fruits of that policy was the addition of a remarkable clause to the Rules of the Public Works Code, under which churches are 'provided' for Her Majesty's Protestant and Roman Catholic British-born European subjects. This additional clause defined the term 'Protestant' to mean 'members of the Church of England, the Established Church of Scotland, Presbyterians and Wesleyans, and such other denominations of Christians as may from time to time be included by the Government of India.' At the same time it was made clear that 'as a rule only one Protestant and one Roman Catholic church will be provided.'

The Public Works Code so revised is naturally made much of by our Presbyterian friends. The vast majority of churches now claimed were, however, built long before the year 1885, in which the Code received the said revision. The revision was then effected without any consultation with the members of the ecclesiastical establishment, and the Churchmen who have subscribed so liberally to the erection of churches have not been in the least aware of the fact that their money was being employed to relieve the Public Works department of its self-assumed burden of finding funds wherewith to build undenominational chapels.[1] The important point, however, is that the rules were not at the time,[2] nor in

[1] Even the revised P. W. Code did not contemplate the holding of Methodist services in an Anglican church. The Rules of 1860 were not rescinded until 1898, and by these Rules such a service in such a church was strictly forbidden. The aim of the Code was simply to define the number of 'Protestants' for which a place of worship would be provided. Doubtless if Methodists were in a majority, they would be favoured, and if they were, the Church of England would 'as a rule' have to forego Government assistance, or be content with Methodist ministrations. And so all round.

[2] This can be proved, text and verse, from the communications of the Secretary of the Home Department of the Indian Government.

Digitized by Google

view of the pledges of the Government can be, held to be retrospective in their force. They can apply to undenominational chapels built at a date subsequent to the issue of the Code, and erected under a clear understanding of the character they were intended to maintain.

In conclusion, we must repeat our opinion that the whole policy of loaning churches is in itself inherently objectionable. At the time at which it was initiated it was understood that such loans should be restricted to cases of bare necessity, and it was not in the least intended that the Rules of 1860 should be viewed in the light of a precedent for the extension of the loans to each and every sort of Protestant body. As long as the policy is continued the Church will remain restive and uneasy; agitation will be necessary, and the spirit of bitterness will rule the day in either camp. The loans, too, defeat the very object for which the churches have been consecrated. This aspect of the matter has been stated as follows by one in a position to be familiar with the sentiments and feelings of the British soldier. The undenominational use of the churches, writes a 'Chaplain on the Establishment,' tends to destroy the feeling of reverence in the average soldier: it augments that sense of uneasiness and lack of sympathy which the soldier associates only too often with the garrison church. Every chaplain must be familiar with this state of feeling, which undoubtedly exists in varying degrees of intensity among the men and even to some extent among the officers. Under existing circumstances it is with the greatest difficulty that the average soldier can be led to associate his religious life with the sacred House of which at compulsory parade service he will sing so lustily

> 'We love the place, O God,
> Wherein Thine Honour dwells;
> The joy of Thine abode
> All earthly joy excels.'

This is just what a zealous chaplain longs to make his men feel for themselves, but in his endeavours to inculcate such a feeling he is severely handicapped by the fact that the garrison church to the majority of his flock reeks of the compulsory church parade. If our eyes were opened so that we could see things as Master Tommy Atkins sees them, we should probably see the broad-arrow as a sort of Satanic device on the chaplain's forehead, on his surplice, on his Bible and Prayer Book, on each sheet of his sermon, on the altar, on the altar linen, and on the font. Things are bad enough as they are, but if we must go one stage further, and

Digitized by Google

witness the broad-arrow altar (duly limited in size and design by a parsimonious executive engineer) wheeled in at 6.30 and wheeled out sharp at 7.45, to be replaced by a Methodist *rostrum*, we are not at all certain whether we should not cast our vote with those who would root and branch abolish compulsory church parade.

The desire of the Presbyterian clergy to hold their services in our churches is a not insignificant token of the progress made by the Oxford Movement. The plain and undecorated buildings in which Presbyterians after the mind of John Knox would wish to worship are not in keeping with the taste which the 'Ritualistic' movement has created even outside its proper sphere. To-day the Presbyterians are asking for our *consecrated* churches: God grant that in the near future they will be seeking for our Apostolic Succession. In the meanwhile we can see no other way out of the present difficulty than that all rules for the loan of churches should be withdrawn, and that *in future* the Government should provide plain and substantial buildings for the widest devotional purposes, and that these buildings should remain unconsecrated and open to the use of any religious body whose numbers may justify direct cognizance on the part of the Government. If the Churches of Rome and of England should be content to avail themselves of such buildings, well and good; if not, let them make their own arrangements with a Government which from a long and honourable past may be expected to deal with the religious convictions of its subjects in a generous and far-seeing spirit. In any case, let the Government abide by its pledges.

Digitized by Google

ART. XII.—RECENT PRONOUNCEMENTS.

1. *The Case against Incense.* The Speeches of Mr. Dibdin, Mr. Errington, and Professor Collins at the Hearing at Lambeth, May 1899. Edited by J. S. FRANEY, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. (London, 1899.)
2. *The Conditions of Loyal Churchmanship in regard to Public Worship.* A Paper read at the Durham Diocesan Conference at West Hartlepool, October 24, 1899, by the Worshipful LEWIS T. DIBDIN, D.C.L., Chancellor of the Diocese. Privately printed.
3. *The Obedience of the Clergy and the Mission of the Church of England.* A Paper read at Sion College on Wednesday, November 8, 1899, by W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church, Honorary Fellow of Exeter. Published by request. (London, New York, and Bombay, 1899.)
4. *The Present Crisis.* A Letter to the Bishop of Exeter. By the Rev. S. BARING-GOULD, M.A., Rector of Lew Trenchard, Devon. (London, 1899.)
5. *Answer to the Letter of the Lord Bishop of Lincoln* demanding Conformity with the Lambeth Opinion of July 31, 1899. By the Rev. N. GREEN ARMYTAGE, M.A., Incumbent of St. Aidan's, Boston. (London and Boston, 1899.)
6. *The Vocation and Dangers of the Church.* A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Rochester at his Primary Visitation, October 24, 25, and 26, 1899. By EDWARD STUART TALBOT, D.D., One Hundredth Bishop. (London, 1899.)
7. *The Passing Cloud.* An Advent Pastoral Letter addressed to the Clergy of his Diocese by WILLIAM DALRYMPLE, Archbishop of York. Advent, 1899. (London and York, 1899.)

SINCE the appearance of the article on 'The Decision on Incense and the Hearing on Reservation' in our last issue,[1] the number of letters on the subject in the *Times* and the *Guardian* has greatly decreased, and our review of the situation as it now stands is thereby much simplified. In his second pamphlet Professor Sanday observes that 'it would be no small public service if some one with the requisite leisure and the requisite self-command would collect, sift, and pass

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1899, p. 210.

Digitized by Google

in review the mass of materials and arguments that has accumulated during the last few months, not in the spirit of an advocate, but in the spirit of a judge' (pp. 17–18). The Professor alludes to our Short Notice of his first pamphlet (on p. 17),[1] but he does not seem to be aware that our article professed to do the very 'public service' which he desires to see performed. Few of the writers in the *Church Quarterly Review*, we suppose, have much 'leisure,' and of the 'requisite self-command' it does not become us to speak. But we can frankly say that the article in question took into account every article and every letter of importance that appeared in the *Times* and the *Guardian* from the time of the delivery of the Archbishops' opinion until the very eve of our going to press. The decision on Reservation is not yet given, and we shall chiefly confine the first part of our remarks to some of the literature which has appeared on the subject of Incense since our last issue. The vigorous discharge of the small-shot of letters has abated, for ordinary men have found little left for comment, and the South African war has absorbed all general interest. But the Incense controversy involves deep underlying principles of Church life and government; some of the materials in the papers and pamphlets before us are of considerable value; one or two important incidents have occurred since the middle of October; and it will be admitted that the season of the Epiphany is an appropriate time for a survey of the present state of the Incense discussion.

Our remarks upon the 'incidents' to which we have alluded, as distinct from Incense literature, must necessarily be very brief. We are not yet in a position in all cases to say how far coercion is to be applied to clergymen who are continuing to use ceremonial incense in public worship. But it is impossible to stifle the English sense of justice, and there is a growing conviction that stringency upon one point cannot possibly be applied unless wholesome stringency is to follow upon many notorious matters of neglect. An influential protest against the stringent application of the Act of Uniformity in one direction has been presented to the Archbishop, who is not likely to ignore a just plea. We have no fear that the Bishops will be excessively stringent if they realize that stringency must be evenly distributed among all sections of their clergy. Another incident of the Incense

[1] We notice that Dr. Sanday does not answer the very forcible objections which a specialist of high distinction made against his first pamphlet. (*Church Quarterly Review*, October 1899, p. 233.)

Digitized by Google

controversy has been the 'irreconcilable differences' between the proprietors and the editor of the *Guardian*, which have led the proprietors to place the editorship in other hands.[1] We are told that these differences were principally, though we gather by no means solely, in regard to the manner in which the editor had dealt with the questions arising from the Archbishops' hearing. There are other incidents to which we might allude in detail, but they fall under one or more of the principles with which the literature of the subject sufficiently deals.

Mr. Franey's reprint gives us the advantage of possessing 'the case against Incense' in a convenient form. In this case Mr. Franey has not supplied notes and appendices, as he did in his edition of Mr. Dibdin's Reservation speech which we reviewed in October. All that is necessary has been done in the brief Preface in which Mr. Franey introduces the three speeches of Mr. Dibdin, Mr. Errington, and Professor Collins against incense to our notice. These speeches constitute the case against the legality of incense as presented on behalf of the Bishops of London and Norwich. The authors have corrected their speeches for publication, and we heartily associate ourselves with Mr. Franey in hoping that their publication at the present time will remove some misconceptions which, judging from the published criticisms of the Archbishops' decision, seem to be abroad. We must add a word of deprecation against the habit of talking about the Archbishops' decision without continued reference to the exact terms in which it was delivered, a habit which results in reading into the decision an Erastianism which is not really there, and in ignoring much plain and clear teaching upon the constitutional rights of the Church which really is there, and stares a reader of the decision in the face. We need only say that another reading of these speeches impresses upon us the marked ability with which the case against incense was presented to the Archbishops; and the more we study the decision, the more convinced are we that the answer given to the precise question 'Is Incense now legal?' was correct. We are not now discussing whether it was desirable to leave other matters than bare legality out of account, nor what course is now desirable, if any, to give effect to the decision. But such questions could not be far from our minds when we study 'the conditions of loyal Churchmanship in regard to public worship' as they are set forth in the truly admirable paper

[1] *Times*, December 11, 1899.

Digitized by Google

which Mr. Dibdin read at West Hartlepool at the last Durham Diocesan Conference.

Mr. Dibdin speaks with just severity about those who have rushed into print and offered 'inadequate criticism' upon the Archbishops' decision, and this rashness he might have added has even marked the procedure of some who were eminent scholars in non-liturgical fields of study. The errors which have been perforce committed in such partially informed action have gathered very much round the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity. Upon that matter, apart altogether from the special question of incense and lights, Mr. Dibdin proposes three questions. What does the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, according to its true construction, say? Is the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity to any (and if so to what) extent, and in what sense, an existing and effective statute? Are clergymen of the Church of England bound in conscience to obey a prohibition contained in the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity?

Mr. Dibdin's answer to the first question is that the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity prohibited the use in public worship of any ceremony not mentioned in the Elizabethan Prayer Book (p. 6). In setting forth the reasons for this conclusion Mr. Dibdin gives a lucid account of the contents of the sections of the Act, and replies to several objections which have been made against its enforcement. He shows that the statute is for the most part a consolidation of most of the provisions of the two Edwardian Acts of Uniformity, so as to make them applicable to Elizabeth's Prayer Book. He urges that what was intended by certain words in 1549 was also intended by the same words used with reference to the same subject in 1559, and he contends that to take language which is perfectly precise in its prohibition in its natural sense cannot be to interpret it with the utmost possible stringency. If words mean anything, prohibition means prohibition, and an Act of Uniformity is an Act intended to enforce one uniform pattern of public worship. We may not now consider that strict uniformity is desirable, but in seeking to arrive at the meaning of Elizabeth's Act we must remember that the Queen herself undoubtedly believed in rigid uniformity inside the Church of England. Mr. Dibdin says that he is surprised to find that there is apparently a widespread notion that the Archbishops have followed a new course, or adopted a new construction of the Act in relying upon the prohibitory clauses of it. For the sake of those who have offended against modesty by

Digitized by Google

publishing their views upon the Act without adequate study. Mr. Dibdin points out that no judge and no lawyer who has had to deal with the matter has ever hesitated to read the Act as the Archbishops have read it. He quotes Sir John Nicholl and Lord Cairns and the very full consideration of the Act by Archbishop Benson in the Lincoln case, in proof of his assertion.

Mr. Dibdin's second question as to the present force of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity only needs a few words, for it is 'a simple matter of fact, not admitting of legitimate difference of opinion or argument.' The Caroline Act of Uniformity in establishing the present Prayer Book refers to the Elizabethan Act and incorporates its provisions, without repeating them, so as to make them applicable by reference to the present Book. Professor Sanday and Canon MacColl have both erred seriously on this point, and Mr. Dibdin quotes their opinions with a certain amount of apology to his audience. 'I hesitate to take up your time by dealing with criticism so trivial and crude as to be scarcely worthy of the name' (p. 6). The answer to the question is really quite clear. The Elizabethan Act is an existing and effective statute applicable by force of the Caroline Act to the present Prayer Book and the rites and ceremonies mentioned therein. Mr. Dibdin is careful to point out that the seventh section of the Act—often quoted to justify a charge that the whole Act is obsolete—has been repealed (p. 3).

The third question which Mr. Dibdin has asked deals with a delicate matter, and is a question of great practical importance. Are the clergy bound in conscience by the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity? Mr. Dibdin's answer is given with a force and dignity which excite our heartiest admiration, and we consider that it is our duty to give it as wide a circulation as we can by quoting it in full:

'It may be taken that the Elizabethan Prayer Book was not at the outset sanctioned by Convocation, and that the Elizabethan Act was a mere act of the State opposed by the Bishops in Parliament. But the present Prayer Book was sanctioned by Convocation, and the Caroline Act of Uniformity which incorporates the Elizabethan Act, and through which alone the latter statute has any present importance, was passed with the full consent of Bishops. Moreover, the Church of England by its Canons of 1603 again and again refers to the Prayer Book and its Rites and Ceremonies as "established by law" (see Canons iv., vi., x., and xiv.), words which are surely an express acknowledgment of the Acts of Uniformity. Further every clergyman at his Ordination binds himself, in obedience to the 36th Canon, to use the form in the said Book prescribed

Digitized by Google

in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority. These are explicit words used at a very solemn crisis of a man's life, and any ingenious narrowing of them is, I venture to think, painfully inconsistent with what ought to be the attitude of his mind. I do not know any spectacle more unpleasant than to see a man trying to wriggle out of an engagement into which he has entered, but when the man is a minister of religion, and the engagement concerns his holy calling, the humiliation of it is greatly aggravated' (p. 7).

For these reasons there seems to Mr. Dibdin to be 'something almost dishonouring to the clergy in the suggestion that they are not bound by the Act of Uniformity.' And as he points out, there are wider considerations. If the Church now repudiates the Acts of Uniformity after centuries of acquiescence in them and in the arrangement of which they were a part, such a course would be a departure from the only existing regulations of public Church of England worship. It would be an exchange of one method of control for another. Mr. Dibdin himself looks upon the reconsideration of existing arrangements as a possibility. But he wisely observes that the hope of autonomy in the future is no reason for advocating anarchy and lawlessness in the Church as it is to-day. We can well imagine that many readers who recognize the cogency of Mr. Dibdin's paper as a plain exposition of the legal facts of our present position will turn hopefully to the prospect of the time when 'Acts of Uniformity may have to give place to conditions of greater elasticity and more freedom regulated by the Church of England herself' (p. 8). Few will venture to prophesy how far 'existing arrangements' may be altered when they are once disturbed. At any rate it is clear that when the Canons are explained away, and men decline to see any reference in them, or in the Ordination oath, to the prohibitions of the Acts of Uniformity, there is no limit whatever to the innovations which a clergyman might not safely introduce without the slightest chance of his lay parishioners, or his bishop either, being able to restrain him, or to control the disintegrating influences which work so powerfully in much modern English religious life. It does not come within the province of Mr. Dibdin's paper to consider what chance there is at the present time that the Bishops will attempt by severe coercion to enforce the Act of Uniformity all round. But that is a very practical matter, and we have no difficulty in believing that the Bishops have not the slightest intention of attempting anything of the kind. Yet that course would be the only logical outcome of Mr. Dibdin's paper.

Digitized by Google

When we turn from Mr. Dibdin's paper to Professor Sanday's, we pass from a legal expert, who has been strictly confining himself to matters within his own domain, to a distinguished expert in the region of New Testament exegesis, who has already been once drawn away from his special subject into the discussion on the Incense decision, and induced to express his views on a delicate and intricate problem 'on the spur of the moment' (p. 9). Professor Sanday regards himself among the number of the 'bystanders' (p. 13) and the 'neutrals' (p. 15) in this matter, and as we have in effect previously observed, his first pamphlet was marked by that calmness of tone and fairness of treatment which we should expect from such a standpoint of detachment. But the discussion on Incense needs special knowledge, if not that inner sympathy which is a second understanding, and an acute writer in the *Times* supported more than one passage in our own pages by showing that Professor Sanday had made some grave mistakes in his first pamphlet. In this second venture the Professor more wisely avoids too much detail. He maintains—he could not have improved—his previous tone. He is as eager as before to be perfectly fair to both sides. But he is much more general in his remarks, and his paper is rather a criticism of criticisms of the Archbishops' decision than a positive contribution to the question at issue. His own explanation of his generalities is that the Incense question, 'a question of the moment,' should be judged in the light of 'the character and work, the ideals and tendencies of the Church' of England (p. 3). This is the explanation of the title of the paper, and it is a position which Professor Sanday is eminently fitted to take up with success, allowing room for an impartial discussion of the matter in hand from outside, and making no great demands upon special knowledge. We ourselves sincerely respect the excellence of Professor Sanday's intention, but we can imagine that some of the younger men who listened to the opening passages of this paper may well have called them platitudes. 'We should look back and round and forward,' says Dr. Sanday, 'if our action is to be really wise,' and he proceeds to spend a few words upon the danger of disestablishment, a topic, as he well observes, which 'is no doubt very trite and threadbare.' We are pleased to observe that Dr. Sanday does not share the opinion of those who see in disestablishment a way of escape from present difficulties, and he has an easy task in giving reasons for his opinion. When, however, he asks, as one part of his reply to a believer in disestablishment, how

Digitized by Google

new churches could be built, and how education in the principles of the Church could be provided when the State connexion, and presumably existing endowments, had been withdrawn, he does not mention that the Nonconformist bodies are able to build and maintain places of worship, and in a few stray cases schools also, although their contributions to hospitals and similar institutions are as a consequence miserably small. To disestablishment Dr. Sanday adds the prospect of disruption, by way of urging the historic parties in the Church of England to treat each other with mutual respect and consideration. With this laudable preface Dr. Sanday approaches once more the recent decision of the Archbishops, and bravely acknowledges that the view which he had formed for himself at first in regard to this matter—and also published a hasty pamphlet upon—'is inadequate to meet the real necessities of the case as they must present themselves to those who are more directly concerned.' We are very glad to give publicity to this confession, because we spoke very plainly about the pamphlet soon after its appearance, and we applied stronger words than 'inadequate' to some passages in it. What Dr. Sanday means here, however, by the word is that he did not sufficiently limit the principle that obedience to the command of a superior is an entirely different thing from assent to its wisdom or justice. He sees now, he says, that this is true only so long as the command involves no conflict of duties. He still thinks that 'obedience (*i.e.* sufficient obedience) under some kind of protest is the right course.' But he recognizes that the case for disobedience is stronger than he had supposed. He proceeds to show why he cannot agree with all the arguments which have been put forward against the decision. He agrees with the Archbishops' view of the acceptance of the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity on the part of the Church in 1662, although it must be confessed that this portion of the paper seems very thin when compared with the special learning of Mr. Dibdin's argument. But quite apart from the action of the Church in 1662 Dr. Sanday cannot sympathize with any opposition to the decision which rests upon the ground that the consent of Convocation to the Act of Uniformity was not obtained in Queen Elizabeth's reign. He does not think that we can afford thus 'to go back upon the history of our Church,' as we should do by repudiating an Act which has been 'virtually accepted' by many generations of Churchmen, and the flaw in which (if there be any) has been condoned for more than three hundred years. As for the objection that œcumenical usages

Digitized by Google

can only be withdrawn by œcumenical authority, Dr. Sanday says that this contention is in fact a denial of any national right of self-reformation, and contradicts Article XXXIV. Another objection relating to the fact that the two Archbishops are not legal experts, and that the recent procedure throws too much weight upon them as individuals, might be answered by a reference to the words in the Prayer Book under which the Archbishops expressly said that they were acting. Dr. Sanday, however, will not say more than that the action of the Archbishops was the best course that seemed open to them under existing circumstances, and advises his hearers to work to the best of their power for 'the complete revision and reform of the constitution of our Church, including its judicature.'

These at all events are sweeping words, and we are not so sanguine as Dr. Sanday is that the course which they indicate would provide 'the only really satisfactory solution' (p. 13). The argument that the greatest gains of the Catholicizing party have been won by disobedience is, as Dr. Sanday justly observes, 'really at bottom anarchic.' Among other points which Dr. Sanday notices are the great value and amount of reluctant but voluntary submission to the decision, and of sympathetic and considerate episcopal action (he mentions Rochester specially), and the strong claim to which a use of forty years is entitled. It is somewhat late in the day, but a welcome utterance nevertheless, to hear Dr. Sanday say that he prefers to leave the thorough threshing out of the legal and historical issues of the controversy to those whose previous studies have better qualified them to take part in it (p. 17). If he had studied more in this special line he would not be so much impressed by 'the very unsatisfactory nature of appeals to the documents of the Edwardine and Elizabethan periods' (p. 18). There is in fact some likeness to the process which is commonly described as sitting on the fence in this observation when we take it in connexion with what Dr. Sanday has said about the subsequent continuous acceptance of the Acts of Uniformity in the earlier part of this paper (pp. 10–11), and we cannot do better to help Dr. Sanday to come down boldly on the right side than by referring him to Mr. Dibdin's paper. Finally, Dr. Sanday makes a sanguine appeal to his hearers to try to bring about 'the endowment of our Church with a real representative system,' as a visible expression and instrument of the voluntary consentient action of its members. The paper is a broad-minded deliverance, couched in quite unexceptionable language, but in the way of real grip of the

Digitized by Google

grave historical and legal issues involved it comes badly out of a comparison with Mr. Dibdin's paper, and it is much more admirable for its tone than for the value of its contribution of materials for the settlement of the controversy.

We need not occupy much space with comments on the letters of Mr. Baring-Gould and Mr. Green Armytage to their respective Bishops. Mr. Baring-Gould writes under the very strong conviction that 'this is no time to butter one's tongue,' and evidently lies in a state of the most profound ignorance of the obligations imposed upon him by the facts of Mr. Dibdin's paper. Everyone knows that Mr. Baring-Gould can write powerfully, but in this instance he has expressed himself even violently, as one who looks on the Archbishops' opinion 'merely as one tendered by an amateur lawyer, and therefore hardly worth the customary six and eightpence' (p. 7). The truest kindness to Mr. Baring-Gould is to pass over the greater portion of his letter in silence. We will quote the first part of a passage from him which seems to us to show both the best and worst qualities of his letter:

'Let an incumbent deny the truth of the Incarnation, or the fact of the Resurrection, and [our Archbishops and some of our Bishops] are dumb. Let one neglect to feed the flock of Christ with the Bread of Life, save at long intervals, and they have not a word of reprimand. Let one ignore that Creed which he is bound to recite on certain days, by solemn vow of fidelity to the Church, and he meets with no admonition; let the bulk of the clergy pass over unnoticed the festivals, disregard the fasts, fail in their obligation to the recitation of the daily offices, they are unrebuked. But let a poor priest, labouring night and day among the seething ungodliness of our great cities, burn a pinch of incense in honour of Christ, his King and his God, and they denounce him, and would hound him from his cure. The Bishops are ready enough to . . .' (pp. 17–18).

But we will not repeat what Mr. Baring-Gould allows himself to say in the latter part of this paragraph. There is, as will be seen from our quotation, much truth in what he says, but much also which is beside the mark, and much which reminds us of the man who called a spade a dirty old shovel.

Mr. Green Armytage's answer to the request of his own Diocesan that he will conform to the Archbishops' ruling is a much more sober utterance. He declines to accede to the Bishop's request for two reasons, first, because he believes that he would be yielding to an unscriptural, non-primitive, and uncanonical decision, as he describes the Lambeth opinion, and secondly, because he elects to wait for the settlement of the matters in dispute by 'a meeting of bishops and

Digitized by Google

clergy of this province assembled in convocation' (p. 8). In other words, he waits for the arrival of the Greek Kalends, and meanwhile chooses to ignore his plain obligations to obey the Act of Uniformity and the decision of the Archbishop of his province, given expressly under the direction of the Prayer Book. It is not likely that the Bishop of Lincoln, who is by disposition always more inclined to use the crook than the spike of his pastoral staff, will adopt any severe coercive measures against the solitary incense-burner left in his diocese, and the behaviour of Mr. Green Armytage is reduced to a significance which is less than any assignable quantity by the fact that no parochial area is attached to the little chapel where he conducts his peculiar and well-advertised services. A census and an analysis of his congregation would not be likely to give much increased importance to his action, as we are informed.

There is doubtless a danger at the present time that the discussion on Incense should lead us to forget the great questions that lie behind it, and their relation to the whole treasure of the Faith which is entrusted to the Church. We know not how to avert this danger more successfully than by recommending the study of the Bishop of Rochester's thoughtful Charge. It is truly an admirable model of well-balanced ecclesiastical statesmanship. It puts the work, the controversies, and all the matters of Church life and discipline which arise out of Visitation Returns in their proper place, in their exact relation to the whole counsel of God. It is an eloquent answer, a flat contradiction proved up to the hilt, to the assertion so freely made in some quarters that the Bishops were letting things slide, in incompetence and through want of insight, until they were forced by brawlers, or by letters in the newspapers, to arouse themselves into action. No man, we confidently assert, can read this Charge without being convinced that Dr. Talbot has spent the last four years at Rochester in continuous study of the work and needs of his diocese, a study which, in combination with singular gifts for seeing all round and into complicated questions, has resulted in very sagacious words upon 'the vocation' and the chief 'dangers of the Church.'

The details of the Visitation Returns lead the Bishop in the first part of his Charge to make some very valuable remarks on many of the duties and branches of work which fill up the life of the Church. On the directions of the Prayer Book about daily public prayer, which the Bishop prints in an appendix, he says:

Digitized by Google

'They are after all very clear and distinct, and as plain as any directions in the Book; they are reinforced by other features in it, such as the Lectionary and the Psalter; and they represent the very ancient practice and the very profound instinct of the Church, to give public and visibly united expression to her daily corporate supplication before the Throne' (p. 9).

We notice that the Bishop's request that the liturgical use of incense should be discontinued in ten churches in the diocese has been dutifully obeyed, and we may take occasion to observe that the almost unanimous obedience of the clergy to the requests of their respective Bishops in this as in other matters enables Churchmen to ask proudly where the lawlessness is which was alleged to exist. The Bishop's comments on various usages connected with the Communion Service cannot be quoted here, but we must just say that they are wonderfully fair and shrewd (pp. 21–29). The evidence of the Returns on the subject of schools is so satisfactory that it must also be mentioned. Not a single Church school has been lost, one has been recovered, nine new ones have been opened in the last four years; and, what is more, the clergy have generally thrown themselves into the work of making the Board Schools as good as possible by sitting on the School Boards or on local Managing Committees (pp. 31–2). The Bishop considers that the most striking feature of the picture which the Returns present is 'the witness which they bear of loyalty to the Church of England and contentment with her order of worship and instruction' (p. 17). Where, again we ask, is the evidence of lawlessness?

Important as is the treatment of the subjects in the first part of the Charge, it is in the second part that the Bishop rises to the consideration of more widely reaching principles. He enters upon a very masterly treatment of God's purpose as revealed in Christ through the Church. He traces the fulfilment of that purpose in the worship and corporate life of the Church, and comments upon some existing circumstances by which that fulfilment is obscured and endangered. He reviews what is done and what is left undone by the Church in her work upon the world, and concludes with some practical hints for further progress. We despair of being able to illustrate by quotation the magnificent development of the line of thought which we have so briefly summarized, and we must restrict ourselves to the humble task of indicating one or two remarkable parts of the Bishop's argument. The movement of all created things is regarded as the return of the creature's love to the loving

Digitized by Google

Creator, and the Church's commission is to accomplish in her members that great action by which man is brought in Christ to that true character for which he was destined (pp. 38-42). Christian work and worship therefore are stamped by an oblationary character. The 'great Christian truism that life is offering' is commended to us 'as truth of most fertile and stimulating force.' It is the essence of our Lord's aim and work, and it finds its expression in the corporate life of the Church. The Bishop does not hesitate to illustrate his argument here by referring to the true significance of the Eastward position, and he touches thus boldly on this controversial matter because he believes that 'peace is not served without touching contentious subjects pacifically' (p. 49). He speaks of the dangerous tendencies of ecclesiasticism as opposed to true Churchmanship, of dogmatism as opposed to clear teaching of definite doctrine, of insufficient regard of the true position of the laity, and of our relation to Nonconformists. In speaking of the relation of the Church to the masses around her the Bishop gives a discriminating account of the present position of the Church in South London (pp. 82–91). His hints for further progress are that we should so behave ourselves as to leave men in no doubt of the identity of religious and moral aim, that we should be teachable when we cannot teach, and that we should always remember the personal supremacy and presence of Christ. If the Bishop indulges—as some might think, overmuch—in the seductive pleasure of lecturing his friends by his most necessary warnings against a mechanical form of externalism or ecclesiasticism, which the recent ceremonial developments have fostered to the general detriment of the Church, yet he does not leave any section of his clergy without sensible admonishment and advice. Such a Charge as this has within it a consolidating force which will effect, we trust, abundant good in the diocese of Rochester, and in a far wider area. It encourages us 'to lift up our hearts, to look abroad, and to look forward, to see the things of our own choosings and contentions in something more like their true proportions, and to feel the solemnizing yet kindling power of a great responsibility and a great hope' (p. 108).

Nor is the Bishop of Rochester's able Charge a solitary example of wise counsel and acute judgment. The Archbishop of York's *Advent Pastoral Letter*, which is conveniently issued in pamphlet form, is a document of great importance, both from the high office which its author holds and from the share which he had in the Lambeth decision.

Digitized by Google

The Archbishop places on record a brief and accurate statement of the real facts of the case, both as regards the history of the proceedings and the actual conclusions of the decision itself. He deliberately says that the Archbishops regarded their pronouncement as a 'decision,' not as a mere opinion, and he holds that the case came undoubtedly within the scope of the provision of the Prayer Book. He finds it difficult to believe that those who allege that the decision was entirely based upon an Act of Parliament can have read the decision itself. There are in fact five considerations which the Archbishop says justify the decision, quite apart from the Act of Uniformity. He regards the absence of a direction in the Prayer Book in regard to the 'two matters of inquiry as no mere accidental omission, but a practical and deliberate prohibition. There is no 'time of ministration' in the Prayer Book for these ceremonies. The retention of an ornament does not necessarily involve the retention or the re-introduction of the ceremony in which the ornament had been used. The 36th Canon excludes the liturgical use of incense. And, lastly, there had been practically a non-user of incense liturgically for nearly three hundred years. The Archbishop says that the Act of Elizabeth was quoted as giving coercive jurisdiction in the matter of restraining unauthorized ceremonial. He repeats the evidence for the full recognition of this Act by the Church, and points out that the Ornaments Rubric itself—which, we may observe, is not always recognized as a fine bulwark against Popery—professedly derives its whole authority from previous statute law. The irrelevancy of much of the discussion upon the decision is pointed out, and the real question at issue is said to be 'Whether any clergyman of his own will, and without any other authority, is entitled to introduce into the services of a parish church any usage for which he believes he can claim the custom of the Catholic Church' (p. 15). The Archbishop believes, and we read his words with profound interest and satisfaction, though without surprise, that there is not a single Bishop who would think of prosecuting the non-conforming clergy in the matter of incense. But the Bishops have the power to do so, and would not be likely to 'place any impediment in the way of others who desired to take this step.' We trust that this remark will not be allowed to encourage, as it very well may, vexatious litigants. The Archbishop himself turns to St. Paul and finds that those who walk *ἀτάκτως* are to be marked and avoided that they may be ashamed, being treated not as enemies but

Digitized by Google

admonished as brethren. So regretfully will he apply this apostolic precept by a chastened process of archiepiscopal boycotting to the recalcitrant incense-burners, and he tells those who desire to see the liturgical use of incense made lawful that their proper course is to work for the action of Convocation sanctioned by the authority of the Crown. This is to turn from the present to the future, and the Archbishop concludes with exhortations to seek for closer fellowship with God and to engage more diligently in the sacred work of pastoral visitation. The allusions to mediæval services and to the Eucharistic presence of our Lord (pp. 16–17) are too brief to allow the Archbishop to show how far he has studied the liturgical features of mediæval times, or what real importance he attaches to the Consecration of the Eucharist. We are not ourselves at all clear that he has sufficiently reflected upon the many valuable elements of mediæval services, nor do we gather much light from his attempt to trace the lines of sound statement as to the Eucharistic presence. But as his letter is an explanation rather than a defence of some points about the Lambeth decision which have been misunderstood, we may hope that it will still further promote a peaceful settlement of the Incense controversy. At any rate its indication of the absence of any episcopal intention of coercion is welcome, because the door of further troubles would have undoubtedly been opened wide by that method of procedure. It would be well at the present time to do nothing to increase the importance of the small number of the clergy who hold out against the decision. The vast majority of the clergy are law-abiding, and if they wish to use incense will seek the right to do so by constitutional means.

The Bishop of London has spoken the right words about our present duty in his New Year's message. We must practise greater humility, we must set ourselves to have less confidence in our own inherent wisdom, to have more sympathy for other peoples, and more charity towards all men. The Church must not spoil herself for the work of teaching this lesson by reproducing in her own quarrels the temper that prevails around her. The forbearance of her members must be known unto all men. She must let her light shine before them.

Digitized by Google

SHORT NOTICES.

St. Paul the Master-Builder. Being Lectures delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. Asaph in July 1897. By WALTER LOCK, D.D., Warden of Keble College and Dean Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture in the University of Oxford. (London: Methuen, 1899.)

FOR twenty years or more Dr. Lock has delivered lectures on St. Paul and his Epistles at Oxford, and during the whole of that time he has kept level with the results of study in the Pauline field. Yet, with the modesty of a true scholar, he speaks of hindrances in the way of an adequate preparation for these St. Asaph lectures, and of a hesitation when he was pressed to publish them. The fact is that Dr. Lock knows as well as any theological lecturer in any university that no lectures on St. Paul can be regarded as final. From the first comment upon the Pauline Epistles—the inspired reflection of St. Peter that brother Paul's writings contain 'some things hard to be understood'[1]—down to the most recent productions of Bishop Lightfoot and Professor Ramsay, the readers of St. Paul have been conscious of unfathomed depths as well as of the simplicity of clear teaching; the river of Scripture contains 'shallow pools for children, and deep parts in which elephants can swim,' as St. Gregory says. In the first lecture some notable instances are given from commentaries upon St. Paul which show how deeper study and investigation have modified, or even abolished, more than one earlier confident conclusion. Dr. Lock in particular acknowledges his recent obligations to Professor Ramsay and Dr. Hort. He justly praises the works of both these eminent scholars, but his praise is not unqualified by mild discriminating criticism. For our part we should be compelled, as our readers know, to speak more strongly than Dr. Lock has done about some unsatisfactory passages in both writers, especially in Dr. Hort.[2]

St. Paul is regarded in these lectures as the missionary, the ecclesiastical statesman, and the ethical teacher. In looking at St. Paul as a missionary Dr. Lock sees traces of definite lines of policy in the great Apostle's work. The primary aim of the missionary journeys was that each Apostle should evangelize his own native country. This purpose was overruled by St. Paul's infirmity in the flesh, and on the second journey, after strengthening existing believers, a larger aim may be traced—the aim of Christianizing the Roman Empire, by passing along the Roman roads, working in various Roman provinces, and chiefly in the towns, as the centres of Roman government. St. Paul was specially fitted for this work because he was a Roman citizen, and by concentrating his efforts on

[1] 2 St. Peter iii. 15, 16.

[2] For Professor Ramsay, see the *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 72, p. 363; Dr. Bright's *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, p. 260. For Dr. Hort, see the *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 76, p 379; No. 90, p. 312; Dr. Bright's *Some Aspects*, p. 12.

Digitized by Google

the chief towns he made strong centres for Christianity from which the faith could spread into the neighbouring country. Dr. Lock notes also that St. Paul's work is marked by sympathetic trust in his fellow-helpers and by the exercise of control and discipline over the various parts of the Church through organized ministers. It follows that the Apostle remains still for us the type of the true missionary:

'Our Church, too, should follow the lines of our empire; it must not be narrower in its scope; it must choose its centres wisely; it must trust those whom it converts; it must organize them on a moral basis; it must aid, foster, guide the new Churches until they stand in their own strength, knit to the Mother Church by the ties of a common faith and a common sympathy' (p. 37).

It is obvious to add, in the bi-centenary year of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, that that invaluable missionary handmaid of the Church has always been true to these Pauline principles.

The object of Dr. Lock's lecture upon St. Paul as an ecclesiastical statesman was to show how the Apostle helped to form that strong sense of Catholic unity which is the chief mark of the Christian Church in the second century. Dr. Lock gives four reasons for supposing that this unity is not the result of a deliberate federation of congregations primarily independent, but is an original unity, implied in the essential conception of the Church. The first is that the Lord's own choice of the word Ecclesia, as the name of His spiritual kingdom, emphasizes its unity. The word stands for the whole society or body of the spiritual Israelites. In the second place, St. Paul's picture of the ideal Church appears to have been partly framed upon the ideal of the empire, and imperial unity was a unity of privilege granted freely to new-comers by the central body. Thirdly, the keynote of the Epistle to the Ephesians is 'the one God and Father of all,' and out of this arises the most explicit and most clearly marked conception of the unity of the Church in the writings of St. Paul. Fourthly, the incorporation of Gentile Christians into the body of Christ, and the settlement of many questions about the relation of Jewish and Gentile Christians, rested upon the principle that Christ was Lord of all and that His teaching and work had a universal scope. St. Paul's statesmanship was exercised in the treatment of the delicate situation which was established by these two sets of Christians, and between them he endeavoured to create a sense of mutual dependence and obligation. In an interesting supplement to this argument Dr. Lock traces the meaning of the use of the word Ecclesia in the Epistles and speeches of St. Paul. He finds that the Apostle's first point of unity is sympathy in suffering, and his second, a growing conformity of doctrine and of custom. According to St. Paul, the unity of the Church

'comes from above, from the one Father; it is mediated from the one Word given to be its Head; it is analogous to the unity of the race of Israel or to the Roman Empire; but it embraces all races and gives them spiritual peace. On the other hand, it is realized in experience from below, in a

Digitized by Google

common sense of salvation from sin, in common suffering, in common doctrines and customs, in mutual deeds of charity, in respect for the works of others, in a common literature and a common spirit of toleration, subordination, forbearance, and love' (p. 67).

Of the two lectures which are devoted to St. Paul as an ethical teacher, the first is an examination of the doctrine of justification by faith. This doctrine, says Dr. Lock, is in St. Paul's Epistles the theological expression of the truth that 'the invisible, the risen, the heavenly Christ could do and be for men now all that He had done and been for those who had seen His life on earth. He was still a living personal power, still the source of healing, righteousness and life to all who would trust Him.' 'Thy faith hath saved thee' is the historical formula for which 'justification by faith' is the 'dogmatic' (pp. 69, 70). A closer examination of 'justification' and 'faith' follows, and makes the truth still clearer, and answers, we believe, more than one current difficulty about agreement upon this doctrine. Dr. Lock shows why St. Paul laid so much stress upon justification by faith by a discussion of the alternative view, against which the Apostle contended. The Jews and Judaizing Christians either laid stress upon birth privilege or said that a man was right in the sight of God if he performed the whole moral law. The first claim has obvious and fatal objections against it; for example, it would limit the extension of the Gospel. Against the second it must be said that it entirely ignores the motive of an action and lays stress on self; whereas faith lifts motive to the highest level and throws stress upon God. In concluding his lucid exposition of this doctrine Dr. Lock shows how entirely the language of St. Paul may be reconciled with that of St. James by remembering that faith is the root and works the fruit of the Christian life, and he adds that this principle of St. Paul was embedded in the main teaching of the Old Testament prophets. There remains, of course, the examination of St. Paul's teaching about the binding force of law upon the Christian's conscience, and this is the subject of the last lecture.

Christianity shifted the centre of morality and placed it in a Person. The Christian is no longer a slave under the law, but the ally, the friend of law. *Non est sub lege, sed cum lege.* Dr. Lock illustrates this very well by the analogy of what takes place at the time of marriage, when the centre of life and duty shifts from the parental to the connubial roof, and he gives an account of the various objections which have been urged against St. Paul's doctrine of Christian freedom and morality. From each group of the Epistles Dr. Lock shows how it is possible to illustrate the way in which the Apostle brings all sides of the Christian's life under the control of law.

'A morality which is not as that of the heathen, not as that of the Jew; a morality which is that of sons of daylight, with nothing to hide, of sons of God, of children of His love, of grown-up men, of members of the body of Christ; a morality which draws within its sway the personal life of the Christian, his family relations, his acts as a citizen, his relation to other members of the Church and to those outside the Church;

Digitized by Google

a morality which grows through self-discipline and control into an attractive beauty. This is what St. Paul lays down as his ideal; such good works are not inconsistent with justification by faith; they are the natural outcome of an allegiance to such a Master' (pp. 121–2).

Dr. Lock concludes with two pregnant thoughts: one is the tendency of the Christian life to pass from enthusiastic impulse into regulated and disciplined movement;[1] and the other is the constructive genius of St. Paul, whom, 'though he was in his own estimate less than the least of all saints, history has proved to be as great as the greatest of them, the wisest of all the master-builders of Christendom, both in the way in which he laid the foundation and in the structure which he reared upon it' (p. 124).[2] There are many who have known for a long time that Dr. Lock is the greatest expositor of St. Paul which modern Oxford has produced since Dr. Liddon sat in Dean Ireland's chair, and those who do not already know it will find it easily credible when they have read these most excellent lectures.

The Spirit and the Incarnation in the Light of Scripture, Science, and Practical Need. By the Rev. W. L. WALKER. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899.)

THE introductory chapter of this work upon the Holy Spirit and the Incarnation excites that interest which always surrounds the history, simply told, of any human soul. It is necessary to Mr. Walker's purpose that he should tell his readers how he departed from and returned to 'Evangelical Christianity,' so far as belief in the Incarnation and the Holy Spirit is concerned, and so far as he understands those doctrines. He does not clearly tell us what that Evangelical faith was which he left, and in some fundamental matters his Christology and some other parts of his belief are still very far from the Gospel. But we recognize in Mr. Walker such an honest desire to reach the full truth that we can advise discriminating readers to study his book, and we can hopefully recommend him

[1] It is natural here to refer to Newman's sermon on 'The Religious Use of Excited Feelings' (*Sermons*, i. 112).

[2] The following references illustrate the eulogy which successive generations of Christians have pronounced upon St. Paul:—St. Polycarp, *Phil.* iii.; St. Cyprian *On Patience*, 8; St. Vincent, *Commonitorium*, ix. (he ascribes five epithets to St. Paul: 'that vessel of election, that master of the Gentiles, that trumpet of the Apostles, that herald of the earth, that seer of the things of heaven'); Newman's *Sermons*, ii. 96, 123, 383; *ib.* viii. 229; Liddon's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 138 (ed. 8); *ib. Church Troubles*, p. 65, and *Sermons on some Words of St. Paul*, passim; *Lyra Apostolica*, Nos. 40, 59, 72, 74, 80, his virgin course 13, his strife 18, his girdle 29, his friends 40, his angel heart 40, in the third heaven 47, seen in a dream 59, his work 72, his mantle falling on St. Athanasius 91, his fervour for his brethren 106, seeing the Lord in glory 145, with Simon the tanner 169, in prison 170; *The Christian Year*, 'Poem for St. Mark,' stanza 5 (St. Paul the great soldier), St. Luke, stanzas 9 and 11 (St. Paul in prison), Holy Communion, stanza 10 (St. Paul as love's herald); Bede (*History*, i. 27) calls St. Paul 'Cœlestis exercitus præcipuus miles.'

Digitized by Google

to study for himself the great argument by which Hooker shows 'how God is in Christ, how Christ is in us, and how the Sacraments do serve to make us partakers of Christ.'[1] The difficulty which once proved too much for Mr. Walker was how to reconcile the need of a Mediator with the doctrine of a heavenly Father ever desiring the return of His erring children, a difficulty which must always be expected when sound teaching about mutual reconciliation is not recognized.[2] Mr. Walker, being unable to solve this difficulty, adopted a Christian Theistic position, and as a Unitarian minister preached about the Fatherhood of God and looked on Christ as 'the truest human Son of God.' He was deeply in earnest, but confesses that the results of this teaching were 'in the main extremely disappointing.' He could not satisfy or uplift others. Still less could he satisfy himself. He therefore took an honest step, and in a humble spirit began to read the New Testament all over again. He found, or rather we must say he is still finding, that He was faithful Who promised that those who 'seek' aright 'shall find,' and he names two principal means of help which led him to the desired haven. The first was 'a correct apprehension of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, especially with respect to the use of the word person,' and the second was a 'conception of the Incarnation as being at once the result of a long-continued process and, at the same time, a real new personal entrance of God into the world.' The caution and the explanation of terms here necessary are obvious, and Mr. Walker frequently supplies illustrations of the extreme difficulty of avoiding ambiguous and misleading modes of speech about the central doctrines of the Christian faith, unless we protect ourselves by the language of recognized theological formularies. We are bound to say as much as this, and we could say much more, but we desire to let Mr. Walker have as much opportunity as possible of fulfilling his hope, that his experience may have led him to write a book which will render some service 'to the Church at large.' We believe that his book may greatly help men who have trodden a path like his, and we should be glad to know that the author had reached that fulness of the truth which our Lord has entrusted to His Church.

In the first and very brief part of his treatise Mr. Walker asks, 'What is the distinctive power of Christianity?' And after examining the New Testament writings, he answers that the power of Christianity 'lay in "the Spirit," which through Christ went forth into the world and made its abode in the hearts of believers' (p. 34). Here, of course, we come to the crucial inquiry what Mr. Walker means by 'the Spirit,' and the materials for the answer are to be found in the second or 'explanatory' part of the work. In the Old Testament, Mr. Walker thinks that the Holy Spirit is regarded as a Power rather than as a Person, and he is disposed, we consider, to attach too little importance to the traces of personality in the writings of the older dispensation. In the New Testament he sees

[1] *Eccl. Pol.* v. 40–3.

[2] On 'The Scriptural Truth of God's Reconciliation with Us,' see the *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 95, p. 154.

Digitized by Google

not only impersonal influences, but 'something more than these, even a Divine personal presence and power' (p. 59). When, however, we ask further whether the personality of the Holy Ghost is distinct from that of the Father and the Son in the eternal life of the ever-blessed and undivided Trinity, we are met by vague answers (p. 75) which seem to imply that the Holy Ghost is only personal because He, or, as Mr. Walker says, it accomplishes the presence of the Father and of the Son. This is not satisfactory, and we feel that we are moving forward on uncertain ground when, from this base, Mr. Walker proceeds to discuss the important truth that Christ Jesus is made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption. Only after this does the discussion of the doctrine of the Person of Christ and His Incarnation come, and we believe that we put our finger upon the chief flaw in Mr. Walker's treatise when we say that this order of discussion is unscriptural, is not according to the teaching of the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles. The doctrine of the Holy Ghost rises out of the doctrine of the Incarnation, and Mr. Walker would have gained much in clearness of belief and expression if he had borne that in mind. However, we take him as he is, and proceeding we find that thus far he admits that we are in a vague and undefined position about the Person of Christ, only able to affirm, as Mr. Walker strangely says, 'that in Christ the Spirit has been incarnated in its fulness' (p. 179), or that 'Christ was a personal Incarnation of the Spirit' (p. 188). These statements and many other loose phrases alarm us; but then again we read Mr. Walker's declarations that in the Gospels and in St. Paul 'the Christ that was preached as loving men and living and dying for them was not only a man, but also the divine and eternal Son of God' (p. 202), that he repudiates both Sabellianism and Tritheism (pp. 215-16), and says that in Christ 'we see God as Son, yet standing in relation to God as Father' (p. 226). Then, again, we could quote language which seems to be tinged with Nestorian and Eutychian tendencies —examples of both may be found on pp. 249, 308; but other passages might be quoted which plainly exclude such heresies. It is interesting to observe that Mr. Walker in his honest gropings after the truth has not been at all drawn towards the errors of the Kenotic theory (p. 257). When he deals with the important question of the mode of the Incarnation, Mr. Walker occupies much space by speaking first of the Incarnation as a process, by which he seems to mean the climax of the process of preparation and the pre-Incarnate presence of the eternal Logos in the world. His own personal difficulties have also led him to look at the Incarnation from a scientific standpoint, a position which has led him on 'infallibly to the ultimate Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ' (p. 297). We approach the treatment of the miraculous birth, and are again baffled by strange varieties of language. The Gospel narrative, Mr. Walker says, directly affirms 'a new creative act of God, an act of God through the Holy Spirit, which is also the creative Spirit, in the physical sphere, in virtue of which a child enters the world without human paternity, and so that "the Holy thing" thus born should be

Digitized by Google

called "the Son of God"' (pp. 301–2). But then, again, Mr. Walker says that the Gospel narratives 'most assuredly' do 'not teach' that the Son of God at a certain moment of time took flesh in the womb of the Virgin Mary (p. 307), and 'there can be no such thing as a human nature apart from a human person, who is at least potential' (p. 308); and as to the sinlessness of Christ, it consisted in 'the entire predominance of the spirit over the flesh' (p. 315), and 'we have no means of knowing with certainty what was the actual condition of the flesh, as affected by inheritance, in Christ' (p. 316). Mr. Walker's views about the Incarnation as 'at once a process and a direct new entrance of God as Son into the forms of the world's life' (p. 306) are apparently the cause of this double stream of language. He speaks of the 'gradual' Incarnation in Christ, and says that 'while at no moment of His life was He other than a true, Divine-human person, the complete realization and development of the Divine life in unison with, or through, His Humanity was necessarily progressive' (p. 321). We need not quote some ambiguous passages about the Atonement (pp. 133, 326), or an unhappily inconclusive paragraph upon the Resurrection (p. 327), as we have said enough for our purpose. We desire to show that Mr. Walker has been searching, and painfully searching, for the truth. He has expressed himself in varieties of terms which we find difficult to reconcile with each other, and he has not apparently had the benefit of scientific training in the use of dogmatic phrases. Perhaps the composition of this treatise will have helped him on the way towards a full acceptance of the Catholic Faith, and what he has written may help others also in a similar position. At any rate, his peculiar work is deeply interesting for those who study the history of souls and who know that God has made us for Himself, and that we cannot rest till we rest in Him. When Mr. Walker has re-studied the doctrine of the Incarnation in the writings of St. Athanasius, the doctrine of Grace in the writings of St. Augustine, and the doctrine of the Christian Ministry and the Sacraments, let us say, in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, we hope that he will give us another book more scriptural than this. Such earnest seeking surely will end in a perfect finding, and we should like to read the narrative of that happy conclusion.

Six Lectures on the Oxford Movement and its Results on the Church of England. By C. T. CRUTTWELL, M.A., Rector of Kibworth, &c. (Skeffington, 1899.)

CANON CRUTTWELL speaks modestly of this series of popular lectures, composed primarily for a Communicants' guild. He does not pretend to have brought any new facts to light, nor to have travelled in any respect outside the beaten track. He has endeavoured to place in a clear light, and with all the fairness of which he is capable, the principles which underlay the Movement, the designs of its originators, and the broad results of their work. In sketching the characters of the principal agents he has striven to be sympathetic even where he could not agree. His object was to provide

Digitized by Google

'a plain, easily grasped survey of the great Church revival, which may help the average Churchman to form a correct judgment on the issues, vast and often perplexing, which it has bequeathed to our religious life' (Pref. p. vi.). The *Church Quarterly Review* has a special right to pronounce upon the merits of such a work as this, not only in virtue of its Tractarian ancestry, reaching back to the days of the *Christian Remembrancer* and the *British Critic*, but also because it has remained thoroughly loyal to Tractarian principles, and has not abandoned them in favour of new critical views of the Bible or of Kenotic theories upon the doctrine of the Incarnation. And in our opinion Canon Cruttwell's lectures may be favourably mentioned as being, with some limitations, a useful source of popular information on the Movement and its results. The book probably gives as good an account of Tractarianism as could be given to a popular audience by one who was not himself a Tractarian, and Canon Cruttwell more than once expressly dissociates himself from some of the principles which he is describing. He tries to do justice to the leaders of the Movement, not to blacken them by covert allusions to 'secret history,' and we trust that his book may counteract some of the harm done by the work of Mr. Walsh.

The first lecture is devoted to the origin of the Movement, and, in addition to allusions to Keble's Assize Sermon in 1833 and the Hadleigh Conference, contains the text of the addresses of the clergy and laity to the Primate in 1834, and the remarkable prophecy of Mr. Sikes, who said that, although there was no account given anywhere, as far as he could see, of the One Holy Catholic Church in 1833, yet the younger men would live to see that truth take its proper place as an article of the Creed. In the second lecture Canon Cruttwell describes the progress of the Movement in Oxford from 1833 to 1841, and gives an account of the *Tracts for the Times*, together with the adherence of Dr. Pusey to the Movement, the case of Hampden, and the special excitement about Isaac Williams's tract on Reserve. It is worthy of remembrance as a matter of fact that, of the fourteen writers who contributed to the *Tracts*, only one joined the Church of Rome, and that one was Newman (p. 38). The third lecture, devoted to his secession and the collapse of the Movement in Oxford, covers the years from 1841 to 1845. The story is told of *Tract XC.*, of the condemnation of Dr. Pusey's sermon, of the miserable Jerusalem bishopric, and of Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church*—and very well told too. Canon Cruttwell then passes away from Oxford, and traces the spread of Church principles in the country at large when Liberalism had its time of triumph at Oxford. He describes the Gorham controversy, and selects some typical propagators of early Tractarian principles for remark, such as Dr. Hook, Archdeacon Denison, Dean Butler, and Bishop Wilberforce. The fifth lecture, on the organization of the Anglican communion, traces the results of the Movement into more remote regions—in the revival of Convocation, in the formation of congresses and conferences in the colonial parts of the Church, and in the treatment of the Colenso trouble. Lastly, some remarks are made on the matters of cere-

Digitized by Google

monial and discipline, and when Canon Cruttwell has passed from Mr. Keble's sermon on National Apostasy to Mr. Kensit's vulgar brawling, he may well claim that he has gone from the top to the bottom of his subject. We shall not waste space in enumerating passages with which we cannot heartily agree, but there is a considerable number of them, and one or two must serve as samples of the rest. It is curious that Canon Cruttwell should speak of 'a doctrine of the Eucharist undistinguishable, except for the dogma of Transubstantiation, from that of the Roman Church' (p. 153), when Transubstantiation is the very word marked out by the Articles as summing up such a large part of the Roman doctrine of the Eucharist. The subject of Confession is not really satisfactorily covered by saying that the Church of England prescribes it 'as a medicine, not as a food' (p. 164), unless we remember what Hooker says, that 'God in Christ is generally the medicine which doth cure the world, and Christ in us is that receipt of the same medicine whereby we are every one particularly cured.'[1] And Canon Cruttwell is speaking loosely when he says that he 'grants that some of the principles advocated by the Tractarian school have no genuine place within the reformed Church of England' (p. 167), for he apparently means to say 'some of the principles advocated by some individual members of the Tractarian school.' If any one has been deceived by Mr. Walsh's narrative, let him first read Canon Cruttwell's Lectures, and then study the Tractarians themselves.

Texts Explained, or Helps to understand the New Testament. By the Very Rev. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Canterbury, and Deputy Clerk of the Closet to the Queen. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, 1899.)

SAD evidence of ignorance in candidates for Holy Orders led the Dean of Canterbury to think that a book of this kind might be widely useful. We are sorry to say that we could produce a vast amount of corroborating testimony to the same fact from our own long experience, if this were the place to give it. All that we can now say is that the necessity for such an explanatory work certainly exists. And we can add that the plan of the book is excellent. The Dean goes through the New Testament in order, and selects such texts as seem to him, or as experience has shown to him, to require explanation, either because the common reading of the Greek text is at fault, or because the English does not accurately represent the original passage, or because the meaning of the English word has become obsolete, or because the passage is itself difficult to the general reader. We may frankly say, and we do say heartily, that the scholar, the Ordination candidate, and the ordinary English reader who does not know Greek, will receive real assistance in his efforts to understand the New Testament from the explanations given of numerous passages in this volume. But—we will try to say what must be said as kindly as we can, so as to be both just to the Dean and fair to our readers and ourselves—there are many explanations

[1] *Eccl. Pol.* v. 55. 1.

Digitized by Google

given which make us say, 'That is exactly what we should expect Dr. Farrar to say.' The Dean will not resent this criticism, for no man takes it amiss to be told that he is true to himself; and our readers, who know very well on which side of the Christian shield the Dean is wont to gaze, will understand what sort of limitations we must place on our recommendation of the volume. For ourselves we could only put it in the hands of a well-trained theologian or divinity student—a discriminating man who would understand what we meant when we said, 'You know what the merits and the defects of Dr. Farrar's literary productions are, and how to use the first and avoid the second.' Examples of both will be found in the characteristic introduction on the history of new versions, and abundant further illustrations in the treatment of passages from every book in the New Testament.

We will comment first upon some texts selected from the Gospels. On St. Matt. v. 22 we miss a much-needed explanation why the utterance of 'Thou fool' is so severely reproved, and in the same verse the present easy-going notions and the well nigh total silence of the clergy on the subject of hell seem to us to demand much clearer teaching than Dr. Farrar gives on the fact that our Lord was pleased to use a phrase which was 'to the Jewish imagination a hideous type of future retribution.' It would be better to dwell further upon the truth which underlay our Lord's metaphor and not only to add that 'mediæval and modern theology have introduced into the phrase a mass of alien associations.' Still more unbalanced are Dr. Farrar's remarks about fasting and asceticism. On St. Matt. ix. 15 and St. Mark ix. 29 we are told that fasting has never been made for us an obligatory ordinance, and that the ascetic bias was not an original element of Christianity, and this by the clergyman of a Church that appoints the forty days of Lent in memory of our Lord's fasting and temptation in the wilderness and has her 'Table of the Vigils, Fasts, and Days of Abstinence to be observed in the year.' On the other hand, in the comment on 1 Cor. ix. 25, 27 Dr. Farrar does not allude to fasting and abstinence at all, as the Septuagesima Epistle and the Collect for the first Sunday in Lent should lead him to do. His nearest approach to breaking this silence is his remark that 'to contend in the games with any hope or prospect of success required a long course of resolute training, and temperance of the utmost severity.' But the Christian parallel does not seem to strike him, even although he is well known as an eloquent champion of the need of true Christian asceticism in the use of intoxicating liquor (see p. 239). There is no explanation of St. Mark xiii. 32 ('neither the Son except the Father'); and a most meagre comment on xv. 34 (Eloi, Eloi) does not touch the dogmatic import of the passage. The note on the final verses of St. Mark's Gospel gives the arguments against their reception into the text, but omits all evidence on the other side. Hardly more satisfactory is the marshalling of manuscript evidence upon 'goodwill towards men' (p. 65). The remark that 'St. Luke is our sole authority for the *ordinary conception* of the Ascension' (p. 82) needs much qualification unless we are to say

Digitized by Google

that St. Mark's concluding verses, three allusions in St. John, and several more definite passages in St. Paul have no authority at all. No allusion is made to Baptism in the notes on the third chapter of St. John, and on the sixth chapter we are told that 'it seems certain that in this discourse our Lord was not making any direct allusion to the Holy Communion of the Lord's Supper' (p. 97). In the comment on the text 'Jesus wept,' we regret to see no reference to Heb. v. 7. On St. John xx. 23 we wonder in what sense the words 'Whosesoever sins ye remit' can be used in the Ordinal, if it 'is a complete perversion of the words' to quote them as giving 'to the priesthood exclusively the power of remitting and retaining sins.'

The Dean has 'only touched upon matters of controversy where the truth of Scripture compelled' him to do so (p. xviii). This sounds fair enough, but we observe in the explanations of texts in the Acts of the Apostles that, while next to nothing is said about many passages which convey very definite Church teaching, two whole pages are devoted to an eloquent outburst against 'petty accuracies of ritual' and the like (pp. 135–6). A much longer explanation of Acts xx. 28 (the Church of God which He purchased with His own blood) would have made this disproportion less glaring.

St. Paul's Epistles are taken in chronological order, with a short and excellent note by way of preface on the groups, leading thoughts, order, and dates of them. Here, again, we find no explanation of the notable antithesis of the words 'crucified the Lord of glory,' but space occupied by comments on St. Paul's 'utter contempt for the feeble, fallible, malicious ignorance and opinionated infallibility of incompetent human criticisms' (p. 179). The comment on 'self-emptying' (p. 245) contains the unfortunate phrase 'Divine Humanity of Christ,' and the still unhappier explanation that the self-emptying 'consisted in an absolute laying aside, for the time, of the attributes of Omniscience and Omnipotence.' Again, in the comments on passages in the Epistle to the Colossians the Dean is unable to resist the temptation to expand his remarks about 'pure artificialities of dogma and ritual,' 'the will-worship of dangerous and unnatural self-mortification,' and to employ other characteristic verbosities which endear him to many Nonconformist readers. When they read his emphatic assurance that 'for auricular confession and confession to priests there is not the ghost of the shadow of any authority in the whole New Testament, nor in the writings of primitive Christianity' they will be ready to bestow upon him so much canonization as the Nonconformist conscience allows. We could greatly multiply these unsatisfactory quotations, but it is not necessary. Nor need we enquire why the Dean is so ready to hurl blame upon attempts to find Prayer Book doctrine in the Bible. It is sufficient to say that he has spoiled an admirably conceived work by looking at too many passages through his own highly coloured spectacles.

Digitized by Google

Unity in Diversity. Five Addresses delivered in the Cathedral Church of Christ, Oxford, during Lent, 1899. With Introduction. By CHARLES BIGG, D.D., of Christ Church, Oxford. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899.)

ANY book by Dr. Bigg is sure to be full of stimulating thought. The addresses and introduction which make up the volume which he has published under the title *Unity in Diversity* deal with a subject which is always of interest and is perhaps of some special importance in the Church of England at the present time—the question to what extent wide differences of opinion are compatible with a central agreement and are even valuable in their action upon one another. 'They are an attempt,' the author himself says, 'not to solve, but to alleviate, our present religious difficulties' (p. 1).

Dr. Bigg maintains the opinion that

'the course of the Church's life seems necessarily to be swayed by the action and reaction of the two great elements of religious belief, Grace and Freewill' (p. 3).

Corresponding to these 'two great elements' are the lines of thought which he describes as those of the 'mystic' and the 'disciplinarian.' Many of the controversies of the present, as of the past, are, in his judgment, really part of the struggle which is always going on between 'mysticism' and 'discipline.'

The words 'mystic' and 'mysticism' are used by Dr. Bigg, as it seems to us, in a somewhat different sense from that usually attached to them; and it may, therefore, be well that we should quote the description of 'mysticism' which he gives in the introduction to his addresses.

'Mysticism,' it is there said, 'is a word of evil sound in English ears. Carlyle, who was himself a kind of mystic, complains that the name in its popular use means only "a man whom we do not understand, and, in self-defence, reckon, or would fain reckon, a dunce." Otherwise it is applied to extravagants like Jacob Behmen, or Madame de Guyon, or John of the Cross. But those who have read the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, or the *De Imitatione*, or the *Theologia Germanica*, or the *Sermons* of Tauler . . . will know better what to think. And if they are not familiar with any of these books, Wordsworth or Coleridge, or the *Christian Year*, or any great type of devotion, will explain what is meant by the mystic spirit. It is "the spirit that giveth life," as distinguished from "the letter that killeth." It is infinitely various, and has its aberrations, but it is the life-blood of religion.

'It may be said that all to whom religion is more than a decent form are mystics. A mystic is one who believes in mysteries. The three great mysteries are God, the Soul, and Revelation.

'The proper antithesis to Mysticism is not Materialism, which is in its perverted way equally mystical, but Scepticism or Agnosticism, the enemy of all religion, the Turk who stands waiting at the gates of our Constantinople to gather in the spoils of our fratricidal dissensions' (pp. 5–7).

Of the 'disciplinarian' Dr. Bigg says, a little further on,

Digitized by Google

'The disciplinarian sees the Spirit in everything, in little things as in great, and he may fail to perceive that there is, notwithstanding, a difference between the little and the great. Hence arise hairsplitting, casuistry, sophistry, intense scrupulosity. The disciplinarian has felt in himself the need of help, and he may cumber other people by forcing upon them help which they do not need and would be better without. He may forget that, in the case of ordinances, sacred is not the same as fixed and unalterable; he may be too reverent of the past, and needlessly fearful of thoughts and ways which are not his own' (p. 20).

Using the words in the senses suggested by these quotations, Dr. Bigg traces the true underlying principles which are found in the 'mystic' and the 'disciplinarian' to the teaching of our Lord (pp. 22–37); explains the positions of St. Paul and St. Peter as those of the 'mystic' and the 'disciplinarian' respectively, and that of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews as showing 'a third type of the Christian life, in which the mystic is combined with the disciplinarian' (pp. 38–85); and, in the last address, deduces the 'lesson of history' as to the two lines of thought (pp. 86–103).

'Always in history,' he says, 'you will find St. Paul following St. Peter, and St. Peter again following St. Paul. Mysticism succeeds Discipline, and Discipline succeeds Mysticism. Training ends in Formalism, and Formalism is corrected by the Inner Light' (pp. 92–3).

Dr. Bigg appears to us to exaggerate not a little in some statements which he makes. He does not, we think, sufficiently allow for the existence of principles in a writer other than those which are most prominent in his teaching and on which, through the circumstances with which he has to deal, he lays most emphasis. He is not always quite fair in his references to facts.[1] We do not agree with all that he says. But we wish that his book might be read and

[1] He says that 'some of the apostles, notably St. James, were anxious to retain the ceremonial law as binding on those Christians who had been born Jews;' and that 'St. Paul dissented' from the 'new ceremonial law' 'imposed upon Gentiles' by 'the Council of Jerusalem' (pp. 40–41). There is no evidence what the full standpoint of St. James and others at Jerusalem on the subject of the ceremonial law in relation to the Jewish Christians was; Acts xxi. 17–25 does not show more than that they were not opposed to Jewish Christians keeping the ceremonial law: it does not show that they 'were anxious to retain' it 'as binding.' The 'new ceremonial law' of the Council of Jerusalem was not necessarily intended for all places and circumstances; and St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians is rather dealing freshly with the question of meats without any regard to what has been done in a different place and under other circumstances than dissenting from it. And on p. 71 Dr. Bigg says that 'the Council of Trent, with characteristic positiveness, asserted' that St. Paul was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Any one unacquainted with the proceedings and decisions of the Council of Trent would naturally infer from this statement that some express declaration of the Pauline authorship of the Epistle had been made by the Council which, as a matter of fact, merely referred to the Epistle in its list of canonical books as one of the 'quatuordecim epistolæ beati Pauli apostoli.'

Digitized by Google

pondered by all who can understand it who have any part to play in the controversies which are now vexing the Church of England. It might help them to see, in the first place, that their opponents may often be under the influence of a line of thought which, however exaggerated, has a truth behind it; and, in the second place, that they may themselves be sometimes in danger of perverting truth by exaggeration or isolation, and so opening the way, by the natural course of reaction, for the future rejection by many of what they hold very dear.

University Sermons. Preached before the University of Glasgow, 1873–1898. By JOHN CAIRD, D.D., LL.D., late Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. (Glasgow: MacLehose and Sons, 1898.)

THESE powerful sermons by the late Principal of the University of Glasgow have been published with a 'prefatory note' by his brother, the Master of Balliol. They make great demands on the attention of readers, not because there is any want of clearness or vigour in the language or any want of skill in the arrangement of the matter, but because of their fulness and depth. While the general teaching of each sermon would be plain to an attentive listener at the time when it was delivered, there could be few listeners who would not gain much by a subsequent perusal, and very many would do well to read the sermons more than once. The sermons are nineteen in number and deal with very various subjects. Those entitled 'Can righteousness be imputed?' and 'The guilt and guiltlessness of unbelief' will seem to many readers to be the most weighty and valuable as whole compositions. But a few pages towards the end of the second sermon, 'The likeness and unlikeness of God's ways and man's ways,' seem to us the finest in the book. To quote a part of them is to do them injustice; yet we will venture to do so, as giving some idea of their force.

'Conceive a man looking on all insults, wrongs, offences, with absolute, passionless indifference as regards his own personality, and contemplating them only with the pain and grief due to their moral culpability. Suppose, further, that with a mind thus no longer agitated by personal feeling, no longer biassed by wounded self-love, he could see in the wrong or injury an evil inflicted on the wronger's own nature far greater than any inflicted on himself, the exhibition of a morally diseased spiritual state so deplorable as to swallow up every other emotion than that of profoundest sorrow and pity for his wretchedness: and so, that instead of retaliating or inflicting fresh evil upon him, or never resting till the offence should be worked out in his misery, there should arise in the injured man's breast an intense longing to cure the diseased spirit, to save him from himself and win him back to goodness—conceive such a state of mind, and though, as we depict it, it seems to imply a magnanimity and self-forgetfulness almost impossible in a being of flesh and blood, yet is it an exact representation of the heart and life of Him who was God manifest in the flesh, and therefore of the relation of God to all sinful and guilty men' (pp. 43-4).

Then, after a striking description of the entire absence of resent-

Digitized by Google

ment or vindictiveness in the life of our Lord, and consequently in the thoughts of God, the Principal goes on to ask

'Is there not another kind of anger, the anger of justice, moral indignation, the condemnation and hatred of sin which a good and holy nature must feel; is there not such a thing as retributive justice, the demand of outraged law for the punishment of transgressors, and the satisfaction of righteousness in seeing crime get its due?' (p. 46).

This question is answered in the affirmative, with a distinction between the 'two kinds of satisfaction which justice or righteousness seeks,' the 'satisfaction of punishment' 'so long as a man remains in his sins' and the 'deeper satisfaction' when 'infinite justice' sees a sinner's 'hardness softened, his impenitence passing away, and yielding to the tenderness, the love, the purity, the peace of a nature restored to goodness and to God' (p. 46).

'In God there is an immitigable abhorrence and hatred of evil, to which, in our keenest moments of aggrieved sensibility, we only faintly approximate. The easy, good-natured divinity who makes everything comfortable is not the God of the Bible. There He has a frowning as well as a smiling face, an aspect, not of feeble benignity, but of terror and wrath and relentless hostility to evil and evil doers. If mercy mean foregoing just indignation and letting off from punishment, then there is no mercy with God. He is the most merciless, relentless, inexorable of all beings. If sin and misery were disconnected, if in all the universe one selfish soul could ever escape wretchedness and live on at peace, it would be a universe over which God had ceased to rule' (p. 48).

'There is another and higher satisfaction than punishment which it' (*i.e.* justice) 'more eagerly seeks. . . . To make a sinner righteous is an infinitely greater triumph of righteousness than to make a sinner wretched. . . . The tear of penitence, the prayer of faith, the sighs of a contrite spirit, the love and hope that will not let go its hold on God, the confiding trust that from the depths of despair sends forth the cry, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and before Thee;" the yearning after a purer, better life that finds utterance in the prayer "Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from Thy presence, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me"—yes, I make answer, that is the sacrifice dearest to Him who despiseth not the sighing of a contrite spirit' (pp. 50–1).

In these passages, Principal Caird has accomplished the difficult task of emphatically asserting the mercy of God without impairing, as too many writers have impaired, His righteousness. Doubtless, if he had gone beyond the general principles to which the sermon gives eloquent expression, we should not have been able to agree with all he might have said. Of this, indeed, there are indications in the sermon as it stands. But it is much that so powerful a thinker and impressive a writer should have laid down as he has here done the correlative truths, neither of which can be left aside without serious loss to vital elements in religion.

By one of the strange slips which very able men sometimes make, the verse Hebrews xii. 17 is quoted and alluded to throughout the seventh sermon 'Is repentance ever impossible?' as if the word 'it' referred to 'the place of repentance,' not, as it clearly does, to

Digitized by Google

'the blessing.' We fear that the interpretation of St. John iii. 7 as if it did not refer to Holy Baptism, which marks the fourth sermon, 'The new birth,' is more deliberate.

The Doctrine of the Real Presence. By THOMAS B. STRONG, B.D., Student and Censor of Christ Church, Oxford; Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Durham. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899.)

THE preface to Mr. Strong's new book tells us that it 'is an expansion of a dissertation written for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity' (p. v); and we are constrained to say that the treatment of theology which it contains is of that character which is sometimes described as 'academical.' It certainly shows many signs of reading and thought. It could not have been written by anyone who had not been a student of philosophy. In many respects it is not unworthy of a thinker who has a high reputation at his university. But, when all this has been said, the book can only be described as disappointing, as failing to meet the real needs of theological thought and religious life.

Mr. Strong's essay is evidently intended as, to some extent, an eirenicon. It has been his aim 'to explain as clearly as may be' 'the original character of the Eucharist as it appears in Holy Scripture;' he allows that 'a development which is not provided for in the Scriptural presentation of the Sacrament is suspicious from the first;' and declares that 'it is of the greatest importance to define, if it can be done, the sense of the decisive passages in Holy Scripture' (p. v). And his investigations lead him to the conclusion that 'a comprehensive view' 'will certainly' 'maintain the true spiritual reality of the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist' (p. 111).

We have very much sympathy with Mr. Strong's wish to elicit fully the true meaning of the passages in Holy Scripture which concern the Eucharist; with his protest against the identification of theological truth with any particular system of philosophy; and with his desire to present the doctrine of the Eucharist in such a form as to be in harmony with other Christian experience. Yet his discussion of the meaning of Holy Scripture is incomplete and unsatisfactory because he endeavours to treat Holy Scripture in isolation from the teaching of the Church; he does not appear to have fully thought out what is and what is not involved in the Tridentine affirmation of Transubstantiation; and a confusion between the reception of the Body and Blood of Christ and the beneficial receiving of the sacramental grace appears to pervade the book.

We greatly distrust the part of the fourth chapter in which, on the ground that 'logic is a precarious tool in matters of theology,' certain 'logical inferences' from the fact of the Real Presence are questioned. Mr. Strong there says:

'The question of adoration of the reserved Sacrament, or of the effect of attendance without communion, are questions the solution of which can only come from the logical exposition of the normal act of worship. What is certain is that in the Eucharist, when it is duly performed, the

Digitized by Google

promise of Christ is adequately fulfilled. Moreover, this is not a mere result of the individual efforts or of the individual faith ; Christ is present in response primarily to the faith of the Church, to which the minister so commissioned gives voice ; He is received or excluded by each individual, the normal method of so doing being to receive the sacramental elements. It may be questioned whether precise decisions can be given beyond this. If they are given, it must be in view of logical inferences from that which is certain, or assumed to be certain ; and it is well known that logic is a precarious tool in matters of theology' (pp. 95–6).

We have two criticisms to make on this passage. The first is that Mr. Strong appears to us to underestimate the value of logic in theology and in religious practice. There are, of course, great limitations to the province of logic, and logic always needs to be controlled by the recollection of other considerations ; at the same time, it is true that logic has a very important part to play both in theology itself and in the application of theology to religious practice. Thus, for instance, it is a logical inference from the fact that our Lord unites the two natures of God and Man in a personal union so as to be personally God the Son that He is to be worshipped and adored with the worship and adoration which are due to God alone. But it is a logical inference which we cannot imagine any believing Christian denying. It is a logical inference in the same order of thought to say that, if the Body and Blood of Christ, which He has permanently united to His Godhead by an indissoluble personal union, are present in the consecrated elements in the Holy Eucharist, our Lord Himself in the Sacrament is to be worshipped and adored with the worship and adoration which are due to God alone, wherever the Sacrament may be. We can understand devout believers in the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the consecrated elements holding more opinions than one as to the rightfulness and advisability of the reservation of the Sacrament. We cannot imagine such a believer, on entering a church where the Sacrament is reserved, thinking anything else than, In the Sacrament here reserved my Lord and God is present ; and therefore I must worship and adore Him. In the words of Bishop Andrewes, 'Christ Himself, the Substance of the Sacrament, in and with the Sacrament, out of and without the Sacrament, wheresoever He is, is to be adored.'[1] Or, as Dr. Pusey wrote, not indeed with reference to the reserved Sacrament, but on a principle which applies to the Sacrament under all circumstances, 'Himself, wheresoever or howsoever He is present, we are bound to adore.'[2] Or, to quote Mr. Keble's comment on the well-known words of St. Ambrose, 'the flesh of Christ which to this day we adore in the mysteries,'[3]

'that great theologian and confessor' 'clearly sets out the principle and reason of such worship, according to the analogy of the faith. The Body

[1] Andrewes, *Responsio ad apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini*, cap. viii. (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, viii. 266).

[2] Pusey, *The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ the Doctrine of the English Church*, p. 337.

[3] St. Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto*, III. xi. 79.

Digitized by Google

present in the Eucharist is to be adored on the same ground which made it right for St. Mary Magdalen and the apostles to adore our risen Lord; and it follows from the unity of His Person that to refuse It adoration is to act as if Christ were divided, and not One.'[1]

In his slighting references to 'logical inferences' Mr. Strong has, we think, paid too little attention to what Mr. Keble well called the 'analogy of the faith.'

Our second criticism is that the true safeguard to logic is to be found in the mind of the Catholic Church. As Mr. Strong's treatment of Holy Scripture is incomplete because he isolates Holy Scripture from the teaching of the Church, so his statements about logic are unsatisfactory because he does not even attempt to view what he calls 'logical inferences' in the light of historical belief and practice within the Church. We do not say that the Universal Church has an answer ready to every detailed inquiry about the Eucharist. Such a statement certainly could not be supported by facts. But there are general lines of belief and practice which can be ascertained; and Mr. Strong's book, in its want of any attempt to ascertain them, misses altogether one of the most important factors in the inquiry which he has undertaken.

We have thought it better to point out the general ways in which Mr. Strong fails to grapple with his great subject than to criticize particular expressions which he uses. But we must mention our surprise that a philosophical writer should have been so careless of the duty of avoiding confusions of thought as to use the words 'locally' and 'local' (pp. 92–3) in a popular, not in their technical theological, sense without any note or word of warning.

Altogether, we can but regret that a thinker and writer of the ability which Mr. Strong possesses should so greatly have limited the range of his book, with the necessary result that it supplies an inadequate treatment of its very important subject.

The Angels of God considered in the Light of the Divine Unity, and in their relation to the Incarnate Son of God. By the Rev. J. B. JOHNSON, M.A., Author of *The Church and the Sacraments*, &c. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1899.)

THERE is a good deal of merit in this little book. It is marked by a reverent spirit and shows signs of the study of Holy Scripture and patristic theology. In spite of slight inaccuracies and occasional unwise statements, we should be able to commend it generally if it were not for the very grave blemish that the author advocates the theory of the future restoration to holiness and blessedness of the devil and the evil angels. He does not appear to realize the very serious objections—Scriptural, patristic, theological, and philosophical—which there are to such a view. We are not surprised that he should quote St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Gregory of Nazianzus to support his opinion (p. 58), although it has often been pointed out that, while there are universalistic passages in St. Gregory of Nyssa, there are also other passages in his writings inconsistent with Uni-

[1] Keble, *On Eucharistical Adoration*, p. 101.

Digitized by Google

versalism ; and that St. Gregory of Nazianzus either taught differently at different times or consistently maintained the ordinary doctrine of future retribution. It occasions us a little, but not much, surprise that he should claim St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom also (*ibid.*) It is a well-known fact that, though the whole drift and tone and very many express statements in these two Fathers are opposed to Universalism, here and there a sentence in their writings may be found which, viewed in isolation, might seem to support it. But we confess that we have been surprised by two passages in Mr. Johnson's book. The first is that in which he claims that the words of the Creeds 'the life everlasting' and 'the life of the world to come' make the 'doctrine (and nothing less)' 'of the perfect restoration of all fallen angels and men, and of the whole creation' to be 'the Catholic Faith' (pp. 58-60). The second is that in which he asserts that St. Jerome held this belief (pp. 56-7). As to the words of the Creeds, we should have thought it abundantly clear that, firstly, the words in themselves are reasonably interpreted as asserting the truth of 'everlasting life' as the lot of the faithful ; and, secondly, they must be interpreted as the Church has always explained them, a method of interpretation which would certainly exclude the dogmatic assertion of Universalism. The passage about St. Jerome is so extra-ordinary that we will quote it at length :

'The creation of man was ultimately to effect the restoration of the fallen angels. If such an assertion seems foreign to modern notions, yet it is no new doctrine. That great Catholic doctor, St. Jerome, emphatically taught the restoration of the fallen angels and of the whole creation. He teaches that even the "prince of this world" (*i.e.* Satan) and the fallen angels shall find blessing at last *through the saints* ; and that the fallen angels will be restored. It has become the fashion to call this teaching *Origenism*. But nothing could be more absurd. If Origen taught it, he was only teaching what saints had taught before him, and continued to teach after him. . . . St. Jerome was an opponent of Origen in much that he taught, but never in the teaching of the restoration of Satan and his angels. To call this doctrine *Origenism* is, therefore, either to show an ignorance of facts or a culpable lack of fairness and honesty' (pp. 56-7).

We have said that we have been surprised at this expression of opinion. The reason of our surprise has been that we are acquainted —as we suppose all students of the Fathers are acquainted—with a number of passages in which St. Jerome asserts, with the greatest possible definiteness, the eternity of the punishment of the devil and his angels, and, moreover, makes this assertion with evident reference to the opinion ascribed to Origen that it was possible for the devil and his angels to be eventually saved.[1] Mr. Johnson does not mention any of these passages, well known as they are ; but he refers to two passages in St. Jerome's commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians[2] to support his statement that 'St. Jerome emphati-

[1] See St. Jerome, *In Isa.* xxvii. 1 ; *In Dan.* iii. 96 ; *In Jonam*, iii. 6-7 ; *Dial. c. Pelag.* 28.

[2] *Idem*, *In Eph.* ii. 7, iv. 16.

Digitized by Google

cally taught the restoration of the fallen angels and of the whole creation.' This commentary was written in the year 388. If it was the case that Mr. Johnson's view of the two passages he mentions was correct, and that St. Jerome therefore in this commentary 'taught the restoration of the fallen angels and of the whole creation,' we should be confronted with the facts that St. Jerome held this opinion in the year 388, and in a number of writings composed in the first twenty years of the fifth century, asserted very clearly the contrary opinion of the eternity of the punishment of the devil. Even if this was so, Mr. Johnson's statement 'St. Jerome was' 'never' 'an opponent of Origen' 'in the teaching of the restoration of Satan and his angels' would not be true. But the actual state of the case is much less favourable to Mr. Johnson's position even than this would be. For St. Jerome himself, writing in the year 402, expressly said that in the second of the two passages on which Mr. Johnson relies he was describing not his own belief, but an heretical opinion which he rejected;[1] and it is not unreasonable to suppose that, if he had spoken of the earlier similar passage in the same commentary, he would similarly have explained it. It cannot therefore rightly be said that 'St. Jerome emphatically taught the restoration of the fallen angels;' and it is absolutely untrue to say that 'St. Jerome was' 'never' 'an opponent of Origen' 'in the teaching of the restoration of Satan and his angels.' It is not unfair, we think, to point out that the whole paragraph which we have quoted from Mr. Johnson's book is most unjustifiable. If Mr. Johnson did not know from his own reading the passages in which St. Jerome asserts the eternity of the punishment of the devil, they are given in so accessible a book as Dr. Pusey's *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?*;[2] and, though Dr. Pusey does not mention either the passages in the commentary to the Epistle to the Ephesians or St. Jerome's later explanation, the passages and the explanation are both referred to by Petavius,[3] who, while he thinks St. Jerome did not always teach the same on this and connected subjects, treats the whole question, in spite of his well-known delight in finding unorthodox statements in the Fathers, in a manner entirely different from that adopted by Mr. Johnson. Or, the materials for a sounder treatment of the subject might have been found in the article on St. Jerome by one so little prejudiced in favour of orthodox beliefs as the Dean of Ripon.[4] Mr. Johnson

[1] St. Jerome, *C. Ruff.* i. 27.

[2] Pusey, *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* pp. 232–6.

[3] Petavius, *De Angelis*, III. vii. 11.

[4] Fremantle, in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iii. 40, 42–3, 'He quoted without blame in his commentaries even such statements as that about the possible restoration of Satan; but he never gave his personal assent to them;' 'He declares that even in such passages as that in his commentary on Eph. iv. 16, where he gives as an instance of the restitution which may be expected, "Ut angelus refuga id incipiat esse quod creatus est," he did not intend to adopt Origen's views as his own.'

Digitized by Google

must allow us to adopt his own words and say that to describe St. Jerome as 'never' 'an opponent of Origen' 'in the teaching of the restoration of Satan and his angels' is 'either to show an ignorance of facts or a culpable lack of fairness and honesty.' It is not as if the point were a new one. The facts about it are very familiar to patristic scholars.

It is saddening to find one who is evidently in most respects an extreme High Churchman departing so far from the fidelity to Catholic doctrine which was a characteristic of the Tractarian leaders as is involved in the acceptance of this eccentric belief.

New Testament Churchmanship and the Principles upon which it was Founded. By the Right Rev. HENRY Y. SATTERLEE, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Washington, Author of *A Creedless Gospel and the Gospel Creed*, etc. (New York, London, and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899.)

THE main line of thought in this very interesting book is the need of maintaining the outward and inward parts of religion without exaggeration in either direction. This is clearly expressed in the preface, where the Bishop of Washington writes:

'This' [*i.e.* the 'true balance' 'between the inward or subjective and the outward or objective'] 'is a fundamental principle of the religion of Christ. The inward and outward are so bound together in His Incarnation that they are mutually dependent upon one another; nor can the highest spiritual life, which is life in Christ, be fully attained save through their union. Each, without the other, gives rise to an abnormal, one-sided development of religion; and this has been the error into which the Roman Church has fallen. By unduly exaggerating the outward at the expense of the inward, she not only lost that which St. Paul calls "the proportion or analogy of the Faith," but also acquired an untrue, unspiritualized conception of the outward' (pp. vii–viii).

'If the Roman Church has gone too far in one direction, Protestantism, not even excepting the Anglican Communion, has gone too far in the other. The Roman Church gradually lost the spirit of Apostolic truth, while she preserved the letter of formal orthodoxy. Losing the spirit, she lost also those things which are especially revealed by the Spirit of God; and then followed, naturally, the corruption of those truths which were unspiritually held. The Protestants, on the other hand, in their intense desire to recover the spiritual, lost the true meaning of the outward in relation to the inward, and then fell into the error of making their own subjective impressions the ultimate criterion of the objective truths of Revelation' (pp. ix–x).

The book consists of eleven chapters entitled 'The Virgin Birth of Christ,' 'The Virgin Birth and the New Adam,' 'The Gospel of Immortality,' 'Holy Baptism and the Risen Life,' 'The Holy Eucharist and the Ascension,' 'The Church the Body of Christ,' 'The Vicar of Christ on Earth,' 'The Apostolic Succession,' 'Christian Sacerdotalism,' 'The Bible in the Church,' and 'Public Worship in New Testament Days.' They contain a course of very valuable instruction in Christian doctrine.

We do not think Bishop Satterlee sufficiently allows for freedom

Digitized by Google

in many persons belonging to particular systems from the exaggerations to which those systems are liable, and he suffers generally from a tendency to make statements of too sweeping a character. Thus, it cannot be questioned that there have been and are very many persons in the Church of Rome whose religion is of a most spiritual kind, who in using the care for the outward which characterizes that communion are by no means neglectful of what is inward. He is too sweeping, again, when he says that the 'Anglican Communion' 'has gone too far' in the opposite direction. It is true that, at times, there has been very great neglect of outward ordinances and of external religion altogether in the Anglican Church. But the Church herself, whether in England or in America, has never ceased to lay stress, in her authorised formularies, on the benefit and need of that which is outward. The Bishop's statements on this subject need to be more cautiously expressed. There are detailed points, also, where his language does not seem to us to have been chosen with sufficient care. To mention three instances: the phraseology he uses on the important subject of the absence of an independent centre of human personality in our Lord (pp. 37–46) needs guarding; he fails to distinguish between the natural immortality of man and the gift of eternal life by Christ (pp. 58–9); and he appears to make a confusion between Transubstantiation and the belief in a carnal Presence in the Eucharist (p. 101; *cf.* p. 107). And, for our own part, we shrink from applying the term 'Vicar of Christ' (pp. 134–66) to the Holy Ghost, admirable as is the teaching which the Bishop gives in the chapter which is so headed.

Some practical questions are dealt with in the course of the volume. It may be doubted whether any scholar, adequately acquainted with the history and literature of the early Church, would support the contention that the fast before Communion in the fourth century may not have involved more than 'partial' 'abstinence from food,' or that it was only in the same century that the 'idea of abstaining wholly from food before receiving the Eucharist began to prevail' (p. 275). The suggestion that in the Sunday morning worship the Holy Eucharist should be celebrated as 'the chief service of the Lord's Day' at nine or ten o'clock, and that 'at the noontide hour, or shortly before,' there should be 'the usual service of Morning Prayer and Litany, with music and with a sermon for the ordinary class of church-goers' (pp. 279–80), is no doubt the outcome of a recognition of practical difficulties and a desire to meet actual needs; but it is open to the serious disadvantage that this reversal of the order intended by the Prayer Book destroys the special character of the Morning Prayer and Litany as the Church's appointed preparation for the Eucharistic offering, and acquiesces in those who, we fear in most places, would be the majority of the church-goers being deprived of a constant witness to the claims of the Eucharist and of the distinctive teaching provided by the Church for each week in the year. Most of the Bishop's practical advice, however, is valuable; and we hope, especially, that his words on the subject of Scriptural preaching may be duly weighed:

Digitized by Google

'The mere delivery of a sermon,' he says, in commenting on the Ordination Offices, 'upon some Scripture topic, the thoughts of which have been culled from historical, literary, or scientific sources on the one hand, or evolved from the active brain of the preacher on the other, is aside from the Church's purpose. However captivating in literary style, finished in oratorical delivery, or original in treatment such a sermon may be, it is poverty-stricken and thin, according to this high standard, if it does not draw from the unsearchable riches of Christ. Its polished elegance is but a makeshift to cover up the preacher's ignorance of the treasures stored away in the Word of God. Before her bishops and priests can be true ministers of the Word, they must know the Scriptures through and through. They must make the Bible their daily study. They must "be diligent in reading and learning the Scriptures." They must "draw all their studies this way." They must "think of the things contained in this Book, that the increase coming thereby may be made manifest to all men." Laying aside as far as possible all worldly cares and studies, they must get at the inner spiritual meaning of Christ's words, so that "by daily reading and weighing the Scriptures they may wax riper and stronger in their ministry"' (pp. 238–9).

In a few respects we think the Bishop of Washington's *New Testament Churchmanship* open to respectful criticism. As a whole, it is certainly likely to do good service to the truth.

The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews. With a critical Introduction. By GEORGE MILLIGAN, B.D., Minister of Caputh, Perthshire. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1899.)

THE 'critical introduction' to this book, dealing with authorship, date, destination, aim, and characteristics, is very clear and accurate. Mr. Milligan leaves the question of authorship an unsolved problem; inclines to 63 or 64 A.D. as the most likely date; thinks it probable the Epistle was addressed to a small Christian community at Rome 'with an older origin still' than 'the great Roman Church, as it meets us for example in St. Paul's Epistle' (p. 49); sums up the aim of the writer as being 'to unfold the true meaning of Christianity' (p. 57); and mentions as the 'general characteristics' that 'the outstanding facts of the Christian revelation are throughout taken for granted,' the 'use made of the Old Testament,' the 'practical character of the Epistle,' and the 'method' which, while 'doctrine and appeal are' 'closely intermingled,' is marked by 'a definite conception of the course' followed, a 'general progress of' 'thought,' and 'a true literary instinct' (pp. 58–60).

The greater part of the book, as its title indicates, is taken up with the theology of the Epistle. It is valuable, and, we may add, very remarkable when it is remembered that the author is a Presbyterian. There is a clear and thoughtful exposition of the teaching of the Epistle not only about the deity and humanity of our Lord, but also about His high priestly office and work. Mr. Milligan does not shrink from the truth emphasized in the Epistle of the continuous character of the offering of Christ. Without depreciating the value of the death upon the Cross,[1] he brings out with much force that the heavenly offering is of the life which has passed through death.

[1] Care should, however, be taken to show that the priestly work of Christ did not *begin* with the Ascension.

Digitized by Google

'So long as we think of death as the offering, we can speak only of the efficacy of the death stretching forward into the future. As soon as we substitute life, the true Biblical idea of offering, for death, the thought of the life offered (the life of one who dieth no more) involves in its own nature the element of *continuousness*. He who in the earliest stages of His offering presented His life in its deepest, never-ending essence to the Father, must from the very necessity of the case continue to present it in the same character and in the same way for ever. And as His people stand in His life, they are accepted of God, not simply as reaping the fruits of an act long since performed, but coming before the Judge of all in an offering as true and living now as it was two thousand years ago' (pp. 144–5).

Mr. Milligan has dedicated his work 'in piam memoriam patris carissimi.' The book is not unworthy of its dedication.

The Epistle to the Hebrews the first Apology for Christianity. An Exegetical Study. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow; Author of *The Kingdom of God*, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, *The Training of the Twelve*, *The Humiliation of Christ*, *Apologetics; or, Christianity defensively stated*, etc. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1899.)

THE main thought of this exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews is that the Epistle is an attempt to remove three stumbling-blocks out of the way of the Jewish Christians to whom it was addressed, namely, 'the superseding of an ancient, divinely appointed religion by what appeared to be a novelty and an innovation;' 'the humiliation and sufferings of Jesus regarded as the Christ;' and 'the absence' from Christianity 'of a priesthood, and a sacrificial ritual' (pp. 11–13).

The exposition of the Epistle is pervaded by the unsatisfactory theological tone, and especially the unsatisfactory view of inspiration, with which readers of Dr. Bruce's books are familiar. It is marked by the strange mixture of knowledge and shallowness which is another characteristic of his writings. It is lacking in grasp on the leading thought of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the significance of the present, continuous, high priestly offering of Christ in Heaven. It is sometimes needlessly offensive in language.[1] When these blemishes are allowed for, there is much which is useful in the way of exegesis; and the volume will not be without value for those who are already familiar with the Epistle and well grounded in theology, and are therefore able to use it with discrimination and judgment.

'The greater part of the contents,' it is stated in the preface, 'appeared in the pages of the *Expositor* in 1888, 1889, 1890. All has been carefully revised, some portions have been rewritten, and a chapter on the theological import of the Epistle, entirely new, has been added at the end of the book' (p. ix).

[1] To select two instances out of many: it was possible for Dr. Bruce to deny the Scriptural teaching about the angels without using the expression that 'for modern men the angels are very much a dead theological

Digitized by Google

1. *The Student's Life of Jesus.* By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, Ph.D., D.D., Iowa Professor of New Testament Literature and Interpretation in Chicago Theological Seminary. (New York: the Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Co., 1898.)
2. *The Student's Life of Paul.* By the same. (The same, 1899.)
3. *The Revelation of Jesus: a Study of the Primary Sources of Christianity.* By the same. (The same, 1899.)

THESE are very disappointing books. They contain much which is good and useful, and are at the same time misleading because they leave out of account considerations which cannot rightly be ignored. While here and there rejecting details or expressing doubt as to the accuracy of some particular record, Dr. Gilbert accepts the general trustworthiness of the history contained in the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles of St. Paul. He asserts strongly the general harmony of the portrait of our Lord in the Fourth Gospel with that given by the Synoptists. Though depriving it of much of its significance and saying that the Gospels throw no clear light on its meaning, he affirms the truth of the 'supernatural conception' of our Lord. He treats the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord as historical events. For the most part he accepts the reality of the miracles recorded in the Gospels and the Acts, and, without expressly allowing that the demoniacs were in fact possessed by demons, says that 'the language of the Gospels, if historical, cannot be explained unless this possession was a reality' (i. 199).[1] He represents the 'punishment' of the 'unrighteous,' as well as the 'reward' of the 'righteous,' as being 'endless' (iii. 353–4). The account of the detailed history of our Lord's life, the 'biography' of St. Paul, presented 'entirely apart from' 'his theological teaching' (ii. v), the 'historical investigation' of the 'revelation' of our Lord (iii. vii), are all marked by accuracy and care, and are clearly the outcome of much study and thought. The weak point which vitiates the whole treatment, whether historical or theological, is the inadequate view of the Person of Christ. Dr. Gilbert insists that the titles 'Son of God' and 'Son of Man' alike mean simply the Messiah (i. 166–8, iii. 179–89); he holds the 'traditional view of these titles, which regarded one as a designation of the divine *nature* of Jesus and the other as a designation of His human *nature*,' to be 'fundamentally and entirely wrong' (iii. 189);[2] he describes the 'pre-existence' of our Lord as being 'ideal,' not 'personal,' and as having nothing 'to do with metaphysical relationships' (iii. 212–22);

category' (p. 45); and, if he thinks the phrase 'sacerdotal drudge' (pp. 382, 383, 387) such a brilliant description of the Levitical priest that he could not refrain from using it, he might, at any rate, have been content to employ it once.

[1] We refer to the *Life of Jesus* as 'i,' the *Life of Paul* as 'ii,' the *Revelation of Jesus* as 'iii.'

[2] There are excellent statements on these phrases in Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, pp. 239–50, 288. Dr. Stanton holds that, while both titles denote the office of Messiah, they also show manhood and Godhead.

Digitized by Google

he says that our Lord 'repudiated' equality with God (i. 237) and interprets His 'oneness' with the Father as being that 'of character' (i. 289–90), 'ethical,' 'not metaphysical' (iii. 199); he considers it 'impossible,' 'from the standpoint of Jesus,' 'to predicate of His union with the Father anything which cannot be predicated of the *ideal* union of His disciples' (iii. 200–1); and his assertion that our Lord is 'infinitely worthy of the adoration and worship of all mankind' (iii. 228) is not based upon anything further than that He is 'a being who has perfect fellowship with God, and who lives a sinless life' (i. 48) and is 'the perfect revealer of the Father, the perfect representative of the Father, the perfect redeemer of those who accept Him' (iii. 228). Dr. Gilbert does not say whether he himself does or does not believe in the deity of our Lord. All that can be said on this point, so far as the books before us are concerned, is that he treats our Lord's life and teaching as if he did not. This is sufficient to make them, as we have said, misleading. For even the human acts of our Lord cannot be rightly understood except in view of the truth that He is personally God; and the significance of St. Paul's history must necessarily be missed if it is not remembered that he was first the persecutor,[1] and then the bond-servant,[2] of the One whose eternal Godhead justifies the claims which He makes as Man. To ignore the deity of Christ is necessarily to misunderstand His human life; how far it has led Dr. Gilbert astray, in spite of the thoughtfulness and reverence he habitually shows, may be illustrated by mentioning his contention that our Lord did not institute the Sacrament of Holy Baptism (iii. 127–30), and did not 'command' but only 'invited' 'the observance of the Supper' (iii. 130–1).

The Quest of Faith, being Notes on the Current Philosophy of Religion. By THOMAS BAILEY SAUNDERS. (London: A. and C. Black, 1899.)

THE phrase in the title, 'notes on the current philosophy of religion,' supplies a very good description of the contents of this book. The essays which comprise it are not an attempt to formulate a system of theological belief, or even to determine certain great theological questions. Their main object is to criticize what others have said, and rather to remove out of the way considerations which the author regards as false than to suggest any positive results. From this point of view he deals with published works of great importance: Professor Huxley's *Collected Essays*, Mr. Balfour's *Foundations of Belief*, Dr. Fraser's Gifford Lectures on the *Philosophy of Theism*, the Duke of Argyll's *Philosophy of Belief*, Dr. Drummond's *Ascent of Man*, Mr. Gladstone's *Studies Subsidiary to the Works of Bishop Butler*, Mr. Lilly's *The Great Enigma* and *The Claims of Christianity*, Mr. Wilfrid Ward's *Witnesses to the Unseen*, and Mr. Beattie Crozier's *History of Intellectual Development*. Parts of what is here published, we are told in the 'preliminary' essay, which forms the first chapter, have already appeared in the *Athenæum* (p. 3). It would not be profitable that we should attempt to criticize criticisms, and we must

[1] Acts ix. 4, 'Why persecutest thou *Me?*' [2] *E.g.* Ro. i. 1.

Digitized by Google

be content to say that Mr. Saunders has a keen eye for a weak spot, writes in a clear and interesting style, and has produced a book which may help a good many people to realize better what are the true issues involved in those controversies of the day which have to do with the deeper matters of theology.

A Thousand Years of English Church History from the earliest times to the death of Queen Elizabeth. By L. O. ASPLEN, M.A., late Foundation Scholar of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Assistant Priest at the Parish Church, Weston-super-Mare. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1898.)

THIS is a clear book, likely to be useful to a considerable circle of readers. It does not exhibit so strong a grasp on principles or so great a power of bringing out salient points as the late Mr. Wakeman's *Introduction to the History of the Church of England*; nor does the author possess Mr. Wakeman's literary skill. In the way of mentioning details and giving references to authorities, it has some advantages over Mr. Wakeman's book. It is, as a rule, accurate and fair.

There are a number of small points which need correction, and it may be convenient to our readers that we should mention some instances of these. Mr. Asplen says that the Nicene Creed is 'recited by the Church Universal at every celebration of the Holy Eucharist' (p. 13). It is not recited by the Church of Rome in a very large number of Masses. He asserts without any expression of uncertainty that the concluding clauses of this Creed were added at the Council of Constantinople (pp. 13–14). We do not ourselves agree with the positiveness with which this is denied by many modern writers on the history of the Creeds; but it ought not to be stated without some reference to the doubt whether these clauses were added at Constantinople or at Chalcedon. The 'Theory of Apollinarius' is described as being 'that our Lord had no human soul' (p. 15). The word 'reasonable' or 'higher' needs to be added. The phraseology on page 33 appears to imply that it was the original see of St. Birinus at Dorchester in Oxfordshire which 'after the Norman Conquest was transferred to Lincoln.' This original see was transferred to Winchester in 705; it was the later see, founded in 870, which was transferred to Lincoln in 1085. By a very misleading parallel the Council of Hertford of 673 and the Lambeth Conferences of the present century are alike described as 'Pan-Anglican Synods' (p. 42). The statement that the Seventh Council 'failed to obtain the same universal acceptance' as the first six Councils (p. 46; cf. p. 60) is hardly accurate.[1] In more places than one the author does not appear to realize the difference between the ordination of married men and the marriage of priests (pp. 68, 93). It is not the case that the 'manual acts' at the consecration of the Eucharist were 'restored' in the Prayer Book of 1559 (p. 271). If

[1] We dealt somewhat fully with the history and status of the Seventh Council in our number for July 1896, pp. 448–76.

Digitized by Google

they were unlawful under the Prayer Book of 1552 (which we do not ourselves think) because of the omission of the direction for them, which the Book of 1549 had contained, they remained unlawful under the Book of 1559 and until that of 1662. The use of the word 'therefore' on page 285 naturally suggests that an 'Œcumenical Council' is one which in its constitution is representative of the whole Church, not, as is really the case, one the decisions of which are accepted by the whole Church. We might extend this list; but we have given instances enough to show the kinds of points on which Mr. Asplen is not always accurate.

There is a slight tendency throughout the book to exaggerate the extent to which the Church of England was independent of Rome before the Reformation; and the continually recurring gibes at Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters and at the advocates of disestablishment and disendowment are more likely to annoy readers than to serve any useful purpose.

With careful revision the utility of a book which is already useful could be greatly increased. We do not understand why it should end with the year 1603; and we must protest strongly against the use of the phrase 'The Reformation Settlement' in the title of chapter xvi and the heading of eleven pages to denote the events of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The period of the Reformation, it is important to insist, did not end till 1662.

In Memoriam Crucis. The Daily Sequence of the Holy Week. Written and Compiled by GEORGE DEVEREUX DAVENPORT, M.A., Wadham College, Oxford, Vicar of Kewstoke. With an Introduction by GEORGE BODY, M.A., D.D., St. John's College, Cambridge, Canon Missioner of Durham. (London: Rivingtons, 1899.)

BOTH author and printer are to be congratulated on the production of this very attractive and useful book. It is divided into six parts. The first part consists of devotional thoughts, prayers, intercessions, and acts of praise selected with judgment from various sources. The second part contains two sets of outlines, which will serve for either instructions or private meditations, for the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Easter on 'the preparation for the cross' and 'the experience of the cross.' The third part comprises 'an order of service for meetings of communicants, chiefly intended as a preparation for the Eucharist, or the great Memorial of the Holy Cross,' and a 'preface explaining the order of service.' In the scheme of the book this service is put down for use on the Thursday before Easter;[1] there is a note at the beginning stating that both service and preface 'are formally published with the consent of' 'the Archbishop of Canterbury' 'by whom they have been revised and approved.' The fourth part, entitled 'The Preaching of the Cross. Good-Friday—I,' is 'a brief and humble inquiry, reverently made in the light overflowing the cross, concerning the third and last method

[1] Mr. Davenport calls this day 'Holy Thursday,' a name more often applied, we think, to Ascension Day.

Digitized by Google

of preaching adopted by our Blessed Lord,' the 'third and last method of preaching' being that by 'saying,' as distinct from those by 'parable' or 'discourse.' The fifth part, entitled 'The Preaching of the Cross. Good Friday—II,' is 'a course of nine instructions on the seven sayings from the Holy Cross, originally delivered at the Three Hours Service in Chester Cathedral.' The sixth part supplies a few well-chosen devotional thoughts for Easter Even.

In Memoriam Crucis is evidently intended in the first instance for the clergy with especial reference to their ministry in Holy Week. It will be of use, also, to many devout lay people who need help in their private prayers and meditations at this season. We do not ourselves much care for the 'order of service' provided for the Thursday before Easter; and we are doubtful whether the 'Three Hours Service,' extraordinarily useful as it undoubtedly has been to many souls, is fitted for such general adoption as not a few Churchmen seem to think; but it is only fair to say that the tone, both of the service for the Thursday and of the instructions for Good Friday, is sober and devout, free from exaggerated language and unreal ideas.

In Canon Body's Introduction he calls attention to the recognition in the book of the true place of the cross of Christ in Christian doctrine and of the 'reality of our personal union with Christ Crucified.' This is, perhaps, the most prominent feature in the book, and Mr. Davenport has placed at the beginning of it a quotation from our own pages in which we deprecated the tendency to obscure the significance of the doctrine of the Atonement which may be seen in some theological writers of the day. Another point which we may single out for commendation is the emphasis laid on the need of careful and devout preparation for Communion. This is a matter of such grave importance that we may quote a considerable part of what Mr. Davenport says about it in the 'preface' to the 'order of service' for use on the Thursday before Easter. After quoting some words by Dr. Pusey that

'increased Communions do require increased watchfulness, that we receive not the grace of God in vain,'

he continues—

'Nevertheless, is it not avowedly the case, that a constant attendance is often enforced, which is not always counterbalanced by an urgent inculcation to be ready? Is it not sometimes too easily taken for granted that communicants prepare themselves? For the universal omission to comply with the rubric, which directs all that intend to communicate to signify their names beforehand to the curate—the almost general custom to forego the reading of the exhortation preceding the call to the confession of sin, as well as the two exhortations appointed for use when notice of this Sacrament is given—the occasional neglect to follow the injunctions of the canon, which requires "every minister to give warning to his parishioners publicly in the church at Morning Prayer, the Sunday before every time of his administering that holy Sacrament, for their better preparation of themselves"—the rare and inadequate instruction given before a mixed congregation on Sunday—these are the

Digitized by Google

principal causes which have undoubtedly had the effect of leading at least many communicants to attach less importance to the work of preparation . . . . The greater the number of the Communions made, the greater the preparation required on the part of communicants . . . . Although it is true that there are some souls that are always ready to approach the Eucharist, yet is it equally true that this is not the condition of many of our communicants. For besides this "habitual" there is an "actual" preparation, which for all is beneficial and for most is essential" (pp. 47–8).

We heartily commend this little book to the clergy and to devout lay people in the hope that it may prove of real service in deepening spiritual life.

Instructions on the Revelation of St. John the Divine. Being an Attempt to make this Book more Intelligible to the Ordinary Reader and so to Encourage the Study of it. By Rev. CRESSWELL STRANGE, M.A., late Scholar of Pembroke College, Oxford; Vicar of Edgbaston; and Honorary Canon of Worcester. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899.)

MR. STRANGE has published in this volume a series of fifty-two instructions on the Book of the Revelation. They follow, to a very considerable extent, the lines of interpretation adopted by Dr. Milligan. They show signs of study, thought, and care. They may be useful to some readers in helping them to understand the practical bearing of the Revelation, though we think the study of Dr. Milligan's exposition in the *Popular Commentary on the New Testament*, edited by Dr. Schaff, would, as a rule, be more helpful and not more difficult. The style of the instructions is awkward and at times excessively rhetorical.[1] The author is careful to say that he abstains from entering into 'the question of eternal hope' (*e.g.* p. 296); but, in spite of other less unsatisfactory passages, we must make a protest against his statement about St. Matthew xxv. 46, that αἰώνιος properly means 'age-long,' and κόλασις 'disciplinary and corrective punishment,' and that the meaning of the 'damnatory clauses' in the *Quicunque vult* is ruled by this interpretation (pp. 287–8). If he was not prepared to go into 'the question of eternal hope,' he should have abstained from a comment of this character. If the book should lead any to a better comprehension of the plain practical lessons of which the Revelation is full, it will do a useful work.

[1] One of the worst instances of false rhetoric is on p. 251, where, in denouncing an evil which certainly calls for strong condemnation, Mr. Strange writes, 'before the python is full-grown, before the lion has tasted human blood, before the snowflake has gathered into an avalanche,' etc.

Digitized by Google

TWO EPISCOPAL BIOGRAPHIES.

1. *Bishop John Selwyn.* A Memoir by F. D. How, Author of *Bishop Walsham How: a Memoir, &c.* (London: Isbister and Co., 1899.)
2. *Church Work in British Columbia:* being a Memoir of the Episcopate of Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, D.D., D.C.L., First Bishop of New Westminster, by the Rev. HERBERT H. GOWEN, Author of *The Paradise of the Pacific*, &c., &c. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899.)

THE simultaneous publication of these two episcopal biographies supplies a telling illustration at once of the enormous responsibility laid upon the Church of England and of the generous spirit in which she endeavours to discharge her high office. Melanesia and New Westminster lie more than half the width of the world apart, and to each of them the Church gave devoted sons whose work would have been very precious in the stress of her need at home. But we must speak of their lives separately.

1. John Selwyn, Bishop of Melanesia, son of the first Bishop of New Zealand, inherited more of the physical than of the intellectual qualities of his famous sire. Born in the Bay of Islands, North New Zealand, and accustomed from childhood to the vigorous outdoor life of the Colonies, neither schooldays at Eton nor a Cambridge course, during which he was once stroke of the University boat, had altered his determination to give himself to mission work in the Southern Seas, when his father's translation to the see of Lichfield seemed to put an end to such a purpose. The charge of an exceptionally trying position as vicar of St. George's, Wolverhampton, tested John Selwyn's capabilities and brought into full exercise his chief characteristics of cheerfulness and prayerfulness; and when the death of Bishop Patteson made a vast and mournful gap in the Melanesian Mission staff, John Selwyn, together with his devoted friend John Still,

> 'gave up (not to speak of his prospects in the Church) his place by his father's side in the manifold enterprises and undertakings which were opening among the vast and busy population of the diocese: he gave up the intercourse with his parents, so delightful to a most affectionate son who had been so long separated from them; he gave up the home of married life into which he had just settled, the intercourse with his many friends, and the many attractions and interests of English life' (p. 42).

No small sacrifice for a man of energetic, loving temperament, and only in his twenty-ninth year.

The interest of John Selwyn's life in Melanesia is seriously cramped by his biographer's desire not to trespass on the ground to be occupied by a forthcoming History of the Melanesian Mission. He had only been at work for six months when, despite his earnest protestations, he was recommended by the members of the Mission to the vacant bishopric. Much time was consumed in the necessary preliminaries, but on Sunday, February 18, 1877, he was consecrated, and became one of the youngest members who had ever sat on the

Digitized by Google

episcopal bench of the Anglican communion. There can be no question about the sincerity with which John Selwyn shrank from so responsible a position, the simplicity with which in compliance with trustworthy counsel he accepted it as a Divine call, and his absolute reliance on the power of prayer to secure needful grace under so awful a burden. What further tempering his buoyant and masterful spirit required came in the experience of deep sorrow and of serious sickness. Before the year ended his wife, who had bravely shared his labours and sacrifices, died in childbirth, and shortly after he was himself prostrated with ague. We presume that we must wait for the forthcoming Missionary History for details of Selwyn's episcopal work in Melanesia during the thirteen years which elapsed before he was constrained to resign his charge and landed in England a helpless cripple. His episcopate is but meagrely described in Mr. How's Memoir. It was a bold venture to select a man so terribly disabled physically, and so undistinguished as a scholar, to be the Head of Selwyn College, Cambridge; but the experiment was successful. John Selwyn became a power in the University, and did good service there to the cause of home and foreign missions (pre-eminently in connection with Cambridge House in South London) during the five too short years which passed before his suffering spirit shook off its coil of agony and entered into rest.

Mr. How's book gives a vivid portrait of a very winning personality: a man of exceptionally cheerful and breezy spirit, absolutely simple and unconventional; of genuine faith, of great devotion, and of childlike confidence in the power of prayer: but, as already observed, it leaves us in ignorance of the details of John Selwyn's official work both in Melanesia and at Cambridge. Reading between the lines, we gather that he had the defects of his qualities; that he was somewhat lacking in the gravity that becomes a bishop; perhaps hardly sufficiently conscious of the supreme value of dogmatic truth or of the worth of learning for the pastors of the Church. It is at any rate a singular omission that Canon Cooke's splendid gift of his magnificent library to Selwyn College is not so much as mentioned in these pages.

2. Mr. Gowen's narrative of Church work in British Columbia during the episcopate of the first Bishop of New Westminster is rather heavy reading. The book mainly consists of extracts from letters written by Bishop Sillitoe and his intrepid wife—the invariable companion of his missionary journeys—describing their experiences in travelling over country but recently trodden by the foot of civilized man, and among the Indian tribes. Such adventures, it might be supposed, should afford ample material for a thrilling story, and if relieved with such vivid touches as might bring out the work and character of their subject into high relief should carry the reader unweariedly to the end. The volume before us can lay claim to no such charm. It lacks distinction, force, point. We have, indeed, the account of a man of undoubted piety and energy, who, at the sacrifice of considerable prospects in the Church, obeyed the call to preside over a remote and laborious diocese. With untiring per-

Digitized by Google

sistence, and despite many and serious hindrances from the very inadequate support afforded to his efforts, Bishop Sillitoe worked steadily on, and had the gratification of seeing the steady growth of the Church as the result of his labours. It was a land of no ordinary natural advantage over whose spiritual welfare Bishop Sillitoe was called to watch, and the authors of the preface to his Memoir can find no terms too enthusiastic in its praise. 'There is no country on earth,' they write, 'to equal it for grandeur of scenery and healthy, vigorous life. . . . Who ever lived and worked in British Columbia and did not *love* it?' 'It is easy,' they add, 'to predict a great future for such a country, for, added to its beauty, there is untold wealth of gold and other minerals, inexhaustible forests of valuable timber, vast salmon fisheries, abundant and as yet undeveloped coal fields, and splendid opportunities and attractions for farming, ranching, and fruit culture' (p. xiii). In a land of such promise it was most important that the foundations of the Church should be laid broad and deep; and those who had faith and courage to provide for the future will deservedly reap the benefit of present sacrifices. Bishop Sillitoe had abundant foresight and many other statesmanlike qualities, which became conspicuous when the constitution of the Canadian Church was being determined; but unhappily his action was sorely crippled by need of funds adequately to supply existing necessities, and so some great opportunities were lost. Few things can be more disheartening to those who are fighting the Church's battle at the front than the lack of essential support from Churchmen at home.

In a short notice there is no space for details, but it is well to realize what stamp of men the Church sends forth to its outposts, and it is impossible to read *Church Work in British Columbia* without recognizing that in Acton Windeyer Sillitoe she secured a bishop of deep spiritual character, exceptionally fitted to influence the adventurous spirits who are the first to settle in a new colony. His first letter to the diocese, with its outspoken avowal of 'a very real faith in the efficacy of intercessory prayer;' its longing that all his fellow-labourers might be filled with the spirit of godly union and concord; and its declaration that, whilst prepared for trials and disappointments, they would not be overcome by magnifying them or dwelling too much upon them—struck the right note, which he sustained to the last. It might have been supposed that one who found a peculiar joy in deepening and strengthening the spiritual life of earnest believers would not be the man to cope with rough and godless persons; but Bishop Sillitoe had grace given him to gather in as well as to build up; and his own devout fervour was specially manifest at the seasons of ordination, the preparation for which was arranged on a model of antique simplicity, and was stamped with an impress of loving earnestness and solemnity that was not easily erased.

We should have welcomed some examples of Bishop Sillitoe's teaching, and the scanty extracts given us in the Memoir only serve to whet our appetite for more. At the close of the General Synod held in September, 1893, whereat the consolidation of the whole

Digitized by Google

Church in Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the creation of the Archbishoprics of Canada and Rupertsland were determined on, the Bishop of New Westminster preached in words which must have stirred many, before whom they opened out a magnificent horizon :

'I desire,' he said, 'to inspire your minds with the thought of the insignificance of that which we have accomplished in comparison with the possibilities of the grace and power of the Holy Spirit. It is a fault of our nature to be satisfied in spiritual attainment, and the fault is equivalent to a limiting of Divine grace and power. Search the universe, and you will never find a halting-place. Forward! Onward! is the eternal law, and it is the law of the unseen world as much as of the seen. It is a law of the spiritual world as much as of the natural. It is a law of Christ, it is the law of the individual soul. . . . Myriads of efforts could not exhaust the immeasurable grace of God. "God is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us." What a limitless field is opened to us here! What an expanse of opportunity! How is it possible for the thought of attainment to enter in? Here is association with the Infinite, association with the Omnipotent. We marvel at the achievements of scientific research in the application of steam and electricity to the uses of men. What are these in comparison with the power of Grace which God has given us by the Spirit through the Church?' (pp. 206, 207).

Of that expansion which he described so eloquently the preacher was only to have a very brief earthly vision. The following year, worn out, as his biographer tells us, by pecuniary anxieties even more than by bodily labour, he entered into the rest of Paradise. So, too often, alas! the Church forfeits the full measure of blessing which might be reaped from the toil of her faithful sons on distant shores.

The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri, translated line for line in the Terza Rima of the original, with notes, by FREDERICK K. H. HASELFOOT, M.A., of University College, Oxford. Second edition, revised, corrected, and further annotated. (London: Duckworth and Co., 1899.)

To this new edition—a stately volume of 700 pages—Mr. Haselfoot has affixed a letter in which the late Cardinal Manning states that he accepts as 'fully justified' the very high approval of the work expressed by us at its first appearance, some twelve years ago :[1]

'You have reproduced,' he writes, 'the abruptness and energy of the original in a high degree . . . with a singular closeness and a facility of rhyme which comes often as a surprise. . . . Long passages throughout read off like an original poem of great beauty. And also there are multitudes of single lines which run like Dante's proverbs. . . . The notes are very valuable, and to the point. I hope the book, which stands alone, may be appreciated. But like the Umbrian School of Painters such works are too high.'

As long familiarity with Mr. Haselfoot's work has confirmed our first impression, and as we must confine ourselves on the present

[1] *Church Quarterly Review* for January 1888.

Digitized by Google

occasion to a few of the many revisions and additions contained in this new edition, it may be excusable if we repeat here the words in which formerly we summed up our general estimate, an estimate to which we still adhere, and which accords closely with the contents of Cardinal Manning's letter :

'Whether he undertakes,' we wrote, 'to reproduce in English some lovely description of animal life, or of earthly or celestial scenery, or some quaint simile, or some wondrously-worded confession of faith, he displays a poetic power and a mastery in expression which place his version of the *Divina Commedia*, as a poem, on a level at least with that of Cary, while the most unusual skill that he shows in reproducing, as far as it can be reproduced, the external form of the original, secures him a very high, if not the highest, place among successful imitators.'

In his Introduction Mr. Haselfoot tells us that this second edition is mainly due to his wish to 'attune discords.' He has rewritten many lines, and has entirely recast not a few passages. He has also added some thirty pages to his annotations, drawing largely for the purpose of illustration from Dante's *Convito.*

The chief value of the book consists in its offering a highly readable translation which (as a well-known Italian critic asserts) 'more than any other recalls to the ear the original.' For, although the only advice that one can sincerely give to those desirous of 'knowing something about Dante' is to attack the original—if need be, to hammer it out with grammar and dictionary, like 'poor Robert Hall'—still, not only for those who shrink from such an undertaking, but also for those (and we know not a few) who are *con fatica e con angoscia* gallantly deciphering a daily self-imposed *pensum*, Mr. Haselfoot offers a rare opportunity of getting a general view of the poem, and of reading it, as Cardinal Manning says, 'as it were, at a sitting.'

But, besides a valuable translation, the book offers us annotations 'very valuable, and to the point.' In his notes Mr. Haselfoot gives not merely all information required by the average reader, but a great deal in the way of illustration and interpretation which is highly interesting to Dante students. He expends much space and ingenuity on the 'Time References' in the *Commedia.* Much that he says is exceedingly convincing and suggestive, and his explanations of intricate astronomical and cosmographical puzzles are concise and lucid ; but we feel compelled (though unable here to give all our reasons) to disagree with his fundamental dogma : namely, that when Dante has passed the centre of the earth the clock must be conceived as having been put not *backward* but *forward* twelve hours, and that consequently the poets arrive at the surface of the southern hemisphere on Monday morning, and not on the morning of Easter Sunday. Putting aside several other considerations, the probability that Dante's sojourn in the lower world was meant to be of the same duration as that of Christ seems to us to outweigh all Mr. Haselfoot's arguments. We do not wish to insist on the fact, doubtless known to Dante, that, as Jerusalem lies east from Florence, the antipodes of Jerusalem has, according to astronomers and geographers, a

Digitized by Google

'lesser date,' which is only to be arrived at by putting our clock *back*. But Mr. Haselfoot objects to the putting back of the clock, and the raising of the phantom of a day that was dead, as unworthy of Dante's imagination. What does he say to the following? 'And Hezekiah answered, It is a light thing for the shadow to go down ten degrees: nay, but let the shadow return backward ten degrees.' And is it unimaginative to conceive the dark, blank, phantomlike ascent of the 'hidden way' to the surface of the earth as having been performed in a phantom-like day?

There are, besides this, a few points on which, as he knows,[1] we differ, such as whether the sphere of air ceases at the gate of Purgatory, and such as the question of 'direct creation,' and the meaning of 'vista' (see a long new note, pp. 515–6); and whether Dante, as Milton, did not regard angels as 'Potency with Act,' *i.e.* a supernatural compound of prime form and prime matter (pp. 318, 628); and whether the words of Beatrice (*Par.* vii. 146) refer to the 'immortality' or to the 'resurrection' of the human body. With these few exceptions we welcome unreservedly all his new annotations. In his note on *Par.* ix. 120 he has accepted the division of the planetary heavens suggested in this *Review*, a division which is founded on a motive similar to that which, as explained by Dante himself, underlies the division of Purgatory into two triplets and a central zone (see pp. 312, 484). The view that is taken of the 'golden stair' or 'Jacob's ladder' (*Par.* xxi. 28) is also what we have always believed to be right. But perhaps the most valuable addition is a note on the 'nobile castello' (*Inf.* iv. 106), where we are reminded that in his *Convito* Dante, commenting on a line of his Canzone, likens true nobility to an 'upright tower,' which the distant-flowing torrent of riches cannot overthrow. Mr. Haselfoot most ingeniously interprets the 'bel fiumicello,' which 'defends' the castle, but over which Dante and his companions pass dry-shod, as a symbol of *riches* and not, as it has been hitherto explained, of *eloquence*. The two metaphors do not seem to coincide exactly, for in the *Convito* the river is described as roaring vainly in the distance, and riches[2] are also said 'not to protect (*curare*) nobility'; but we have no doubt that Mr. Haselfoot's view is mainly correct, and would only suggest that the dry-shod passage over the stream 'come terra dura' means that the river of riches offers merely an apparent, not a real, defence to nobility. The seven walls and gates are evidently the seven Virtues and the seven Sciences, which respectively defend and give access to the castle. Another interesting, though less original, note interprets the meaning of the Image of Time, or of Empire, standing within mount Ida in Crete—a Colossus such as that seen in dream by Nebuchadnezzar—down whose sides

[1] See an article 'Studies on the *Paradiso* by Gardner and Haselfoot,' *Church Quarterly Review* for October 1898, in which Mr. Haselfoot's theories about 'direct creation,' &c., as given in his paper in the *Giornale Dantesco*, are discussed.

[2] *Curare* may, however, mean 'procure,' though it is an unusual meaning of the word.

Digitized by Google

stream the tears of humanity to form the river and lakes of the Inferno. Here we would suggest that the 'gran veglio' may be Saturn himself, who, as devouring his own offspring, is a fit image of both Time and Empire. The iron and clay feet doubtless represent military aristocracy and democracy, Ghibelline and Guelf, Empire and Papacy; and, as Mr. Haselfoot remarks, Dante probably sighed when he had to recount the fact that the Colossus rested mainly on his foot of clay.

We have inspected about sixty passages which have been entirely recast, and a great number of single lines which have been attuned to a more perfect harmony. In all cases the change has been for the better, and in many cases the new version has gained indescribably by a simpler diction and a closer adherence to the original. Perhaps the best example of this is to be found in the sublime address of St. Bernard to the Virgin Mother (*Par.* xxxiii.). Another —which alone we can give in full as a specimen—occurs at the end of the 5th canto of the *Inferno.* These well-known lines were originally translated thus:

> 'While the one spirit with these words went through,
> The other wept so, that at pity's call
> I swooned away, as though my death were due,
> And I fell, as with a dead body's fall.'

The following is the new and incomparably better version:

> 'While thus one spirit spoke, the other cried
> So sorely, that through pity in me bred
> I swooned away, as though I should have died,
> And fell, as falls a body that is dead.

In some cases Mr. Haselfoot, while strengthening his fabric at one joint, has weakened it seriously at another. The magnificent line, 'Questi sciaurati, che mai non fur vivi' (*Inf.* iii. 64), which in the first edition was poorly translated by 'These wretched ones who real life never knew,' has now received what is the only possible worthy rendering, viz. 'These wretched ones, who never were alive.' But this change necessitates others, and another grandly simple line of Dante's, 'A Dio spiacenti ed a' nemici sui,' appears, in anything but simple and becoming garb, as 'who contrive, God's favour and his foes' alike to miss.'

The new version of the Inscription over the Gate of Hell is doubtless an improvement. But it is probably quite impossible to give in rhymed verse any satisfactory rendering of these lines, incomparable in their majestic simplicity. That his present version seems to satisfy Mr. Haselfoot, and that he believes it would be impossible 'even in prose to compose a more literal translation,' may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that his amplifications certainly do express the sequence of thought that underlies Dante's words. For instance, the apposition of 'Fattore' and 'Fecemi' shows clearly that what Dante meant was, 'That Maker is revealed to the human mind as the Trinity of Power, Wisdom, and Love.' But Dante did *not* express himself so; and when Mr. Haselfoot gives us 'As

Digitized by Google

Power divine that Maker is defined,' it reads as an explanatory note, or a prose paraphrase, rather than as a successful translation. The amplification of 'il primo Amore' into 'Love first brought to light' also strikes us as not very felicitous. Dante's doctrine is indeed that Love proceeded from Light (*i. e.* the Spirit from the Word); but if, as in his note, Mr. Haselfoot tells us, Love existed 'before sensible light,' how could he be 'brought to light'?

If Dante himself wished for a larger 'stock of rough and strident rhymes' in order more fully to 'press out the juice of his conceit,' it is hardly fair to stringently apply the laws of modern rhymers in cases where Mr. Haselfoot is encountered by what Cardinal Manning well calls the 'Equus Tuticus' dilemma. That he should give us 'for thee try' and 'to weet why' as rhymes to 'Petri,' or 'rally a' to 'Urbisaglia,' is at least as ingenious as when Browning tells us that the motion of the express train to 'Manchester' makes one's 'haunches stir.' But we do not feel so sure as to the legitimacy of such harmonies as 'naught . . . import,' 'court . . . aught,' 'yawn . . . forlorn,' 'dues are . . . infusa'; and still less of such as 'Gaia . . . afire,' 'Idea . . . clear,' 'Lucia . . . tier . . . severe.' Such rhymes, where the *r* is ignored, are offensive to a musical ear.

Here and there also we feel compelled to protest against a rather too violent distortion of a word or phrase from its ordinary meaning, and now and then we have found what seems to us a too audacious violation of ordinary grammar. For instance, we feel scarcely prepared to accept 'in the tomb is lain' (p. 223), although perhaps it does not exceed in audacity Byron's famous 'there let him lay!'

It is in dramatic scenes and in description that Mr. Haselfoot is at his best. The *fracas* with the Malebranche (*Inf.* xxi. xxii.) is related with great vigour. The description of the monster Geryon (p. 93) and of the advent of the angelic pilot at the shore of Purgatory (p. 218) read like passages from 'an original poem of great beauty.' Indeed, wherever one opens the book one is sure to find lines, and sometimes passages of considerable length, which seem to attain the highest success attainable by any translator. We consider that such success is attained (in spite of one little dissonance in rhyme) by the following version of a passage which is known to everyone who knows anything at all of the *Divina Commedia*:

'Soon as a scanty ray had shed its light
Into the dolorous prison, and I saw
In those four faces my own aspect quite,
On both my hands for grief I set my jaw.
And they upraised themselves with suddenness,
Thinking I did this with intent to gnaw,
And said, "Our pain will, Father, be far less
If thou dost eat of us; through thee we have worn,
And do thou strip off, this poor fleshly dress."
I calmed then, not to make them more forlorn;
All dumb through that day and the next we stayed;
Ah! cruel earth, why didst not open yawn?
Soon as the fourth day's light upon us rayed,
My Gaddo at my feet fell stiff and stark,
Crying, "Why, Father, giv'st thou me no aid?"

Digitized by Google

With this he died; and as thou dost me mark,
So did I see the three fall one by one
Between the fifth and sixth day. Blind and dark
I then went groping over every son,
And called them two days after life had flown;
Then grief by hunger was in force outdone.'
(*Inf.* xxxiii. 55–75).

Although, as Cardinal Manning says, such work as Mr. Haselfoot's is too *Umbrian* to gain popularity or the appreciation of latter-day criticism, it will deposit itself as gold-dust (perhaps for future discovery) in the bed of the river of Time, while all but a very minute percentage of our current literature will be swept away down-stream into the sea of Oblivion.

A History of the Origin and Development of the Creeds. By the Rev. C. Callow. (London: Elliot Stock, 1899.)

'Information in a handy and portable form' on the three Creeds, says Mr. Callow, is what he has endeavoured to provide for Ordination candidates. The book is not without elements of considerable value; but, while we recognize Mr. Callow's industry and interest in his subject, we are obliged to say that the result of his labour is a mixed work, not quite up to the level of the better kind of theological scholarship, not corrected for the press with sufficient accuracy, not marked by a proper sense of the proportion of things; and when all references, which are usually placed in footnotes, are incorporated into the text, the gain is not upon the side of lucidity. But for all this Mr. Callow has accumulated some serviceable materials, which may be recommended to beginners in the study of the Creeds and of technical dogmatic theology with much advantage to themselves.

What is roughly the first half of the book is occupied with the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and with general introductory matters, both of dogma and history: such as the titles of the Creeds, varieties of form and usage in East and West, Scripture proofs, Arianism, and some leading dogmatic terms. The remainder of the work is devoted to the *Quicunque vult*, its authorship, age, language, and locality, the early comments upon it and conciliar references to it, its use in Church services, its sources, and its damnatory clauses. The Latin text of the formula and a note on the word 'Trinity' are added.

It is a small matter in itself, but vexatious, that Mr. Callow does not spell Prebendary Ommanney's name correctly; it is of more consequence that he has failed to grasp the true force of Mr. Ommanney's masterly argument and the cumulative strength of his evidence for the earlier, as opposed to Dr. Lumby's, date for the Athanasian Creed. We have never seen any reason to modify the 'very laudatory' manner in which we spoke of Mr. Ommanney's great work, and which Mr. Callow is so kind as to mention on p. 221.[1] The correspondence on the use of the Creed between Lord Halifax and the Bishop of Worcester—whose zeal for orthodoxy

[1] *Church Quarterly Review* for October 1897, pp. 80–94.

Digitized by Google

burns more brightly in his letters than in his treatment of clerical eccentricity—was hardly of sufficient importance to be related in such detail (pp. 134–8). In view of the readers whom Mr. Callow had primarily in mind, we cannot think that he was well advised in speaking of the 'spurious Nicene Creed of our Communion Service' (p. 94), though he gives the historical explanation of his adjective. We should have been glad to see a more comprehensive attempt to grapple with the objections to the damnatory clauses of the *Quicunque vult*. Mr. Callow does not say much that is new, and we are not so sanguine as he is that a new translation would do so much good, while we are conscious of many dangers connected with revision to which Mr. Callow does not seem to be alive. Our criticisms are not intended to dissuade readers from procuring Mr. Callow's book, nor to discourage him from proceeding further in this line of study. We should welcome a second edition in which a few necessary improvements, such as we have indicated, could be introduced.

Studies of the Portrait of Christ. By the Rev. GEORGE MATHESON, M.A., D.D., F.R.S.E., formerly Minister of the Parish of St. Bernard's, Edinburgh. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1899.)

MR. MATHESON calls this a 'semi-devotional' work, and tells us that it is an attempt to trace the 'spiritual development' of our Lord's 'work' exhibited in the Gospel narrative. The present volume is an instalment of the whole design, and ends with the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand. There can be no question about the interest and the power of Mr. Matheson's writing, but it is too bold, too daring, for our sense of what the Gospel narrative demands. The author's special purpose necessarily leads him to fix his attention 'not on the divine or miraculous, but on the human side of Christ.' This is a very dangerous process, and Mr. Matheson has not always successfully avoided its perils. For example, he understands 'St. Luke ii. 19 to mean that Mary, for the sake of the human development of Jesus, concealed the portentous circumstances of His birth' (p. 35). We cannot be too careful how we speak about our Lord's advancement, His consciousness, and the development of His human faculties. The history of Nestorianism and Adoptionism has its clear lessons for us in the use of such phrases, and they must continually be borne in mind by a reader of Mr. Matheson's pages. Only to a well-qualified reader, secure in his hold upon the doctrine of the Incarnation, and able to weigh the precise value of many ambiguous phrases, could we commend these studies. But we should like to add that a discriminating theologian will be able to learn much from them, and we should be sorry to say a word to dissuade Mr. Matheson from the completion of his design.

Digitized by Google

The Gospel of the Future: being Simple Outlines of Unfulfilled Prophecy for the use of Members of the Church. By a Parish Priest. With a Preface by the late Right Rev. Dr. BOWLBY, Bishop of Coventry. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. (London: Skeffington, 1899.)

APOCALYPTIC literature is often marred by eccentricity and over-confidence. But we can speak very differently of this modest little work, which we are glad to see in its second edition. The writer is evidently a patient and devout student of prophecy, and he writes thoughtfully, on the lines of literal interpretation as a general rule, about the great passages of Holy Scripture which bear upon our Lord's Coming, the First Resurrection, Antichrist, and the Millennium. He has carefully revised the new edition, and added chapters upon the false prophet and Babylon. We hope that such a book will encourage the private study of prophecy among the clergy in the devout spirit in which Dr. Pusey and Bishop Wordsworth used to study it, and we should be glad to think that greater attention to the prophetical writings would be the result in Anglican pulpits. The final chapter, on the present condition of the faithful departed, more especially in relation to the coming of the Lord, applies the general arguments of the preceding part of the book to a subject about which we know so little and desire to know so much. The writer is quite conscious that he is only touching the fringe of great subjects.[1]

The Emperor Hadrian. A Picture of the Græco-Roman World in His Time. By FERDINAND GREGOROVIUS. Translated by MARY E. ROBINSON. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1898.)

THERE can be no question that large store of learning and research has been devoted to the making of the bulky volume which Miss M. E. Robinson here presents to us in an English version. With the author's plea that the history of Imperial Rome subsequent to the twelve Cæsars deserves more notice than it has hitherto received, and with Professor Pelham's assertion, in his brief Introduction, that the original is on the whole an adequate account of Hadrian, and the translation done into eminently readable English, we are, moreover, in full accord. And yet we cannot admit that the picture of the Græco-Roman world which Gregorovius has painted is a satisfactory one. His book is one of that numerous class which is so far good that we feel irritated because it is not much better. It contains nearly all the necessary materials for a really complete and interesting history. Its author has gathered in many fields abundant matter for illustrating the life of a period as yet very imperfectly understood. But he does not know how to make the best of it. He lacks both the power to idealize his hero, so as to bring him out in strong individuality of presentation, and the grasp of principles which can seize upon the dominant idea of a great ruler, and trace its influence

[1] See the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1893, p. 230, for our notice of the first edition.

Digitized by Google

in action. The result is that the book lacks unity and homogeneity. It resembles rather a series of slightly connected essays than a well compacted whole. It comprises *mémoires pour servir*, but is not their carefully thought out and well rounded resultant. It is a book we should like to place in the hands of some competent writer gifted with historic imagination and literary finish, and say to him, Reproduce from this the living Hadrian.

The work is divided into two books, the first entitled 'Political History,' the second 'The State and General Culture'; and its fragmentary character is illustrated by the titles of the three opening chapters, which are headed (1) 'An Ancient Portrait of Hadrian,' (2) 'Circumstances in the Life of Hadrian until the Accession of Trajan,' (3) 'Circumstances in the Life of Hadrian during the Reign of Trajan.' Eleven of the remaining twenty-two chapters are occupied with Hadrian's journeys, and with cursory remarks on the various countries he visited. Three more relate the story of the Jewish revolt, the destruction of Judæa, and the founding of Ælia Capitolina. The second book, also divided into twenty-five chapters, ranges (as its title implies) over a wide diversity of subjects, political, legal, and religious, as well as literary and æsthetic; and the reader can judge what opportunity is afforded for their satisfactory treatment when we state that the radical question of slavery—the most important social element in the Roman imperial system—fills just a single page. Indeed, we do not think that we are doing Gregorovius any injustice in saying that there is hardly an item in the entire table of contents which is not more fully expounded in modern dictionaries of classical biography, geography, and antiquity. We admit that it requires no ordinary artistic skill to vivify the dry details of Hadrian's ceaseless wanderings, but at least we might be spared such useless padding as, 'From Coptus the Emperor *could* go to Myus Hormus, the nearest mart for the Indian trade'; followed by the admission, after two pages of description of that port and the quarries on the way to it, that the visit of the Emperor to Myus Hormus and Berenice is only a conjecture, as is the theory that he extended his voyage up the Nile from Thebes to Syene and Philæ. On the next page we read, 'The Emperor returned, *we may suppose*, to Alexandria, but we do not know how long he remained in Egypt.'

The episode of Antinous may serve as a further illustration of the fragmentary character of this work of Gregorovius. The story of his death occurs in the first book; some further remarks on his deification are added to a desultory chapter (xvi.) on oracles and Hadrian's mysticism in Book II.; while in a still later chapter we have an account of the statues which the Emperor erected in his honour. The mystery of his death is treated as follows:

'Was it an accident? Was it a sacrifice? Hadrian's well known humanity forbids the suspicion that he sacrificed his favourite in cold blood, as Tiberius sacrificed the beautiful Hypatus at Capri. Did the enthusiastic youth offer himself voluntarily to the angel of death in order to save the life of the Emperor? Did the Egyptian priests read in the

Digitized by Google

stars some threatened evil to Hadrian, which was only to be averted by the sacrifice of what was dearest to him? Such a fancy would be in accord with the superstition of the time, with the country, and with the mysterious Nile. It would agree, too, with the leaning to astrology of the Emperor himself. Did Antinous feel convinced as he plunged into the waters of the Nile that he would rise again as a god? Hadrian asserts in his memoirs that his favourite fell by accident into the Nile: but it has not been believed. The divine honours which he bestowed on the dead permit us to conjecture that they were a reward for the freely given sacrifice, and that on whatever terms the sacrifice was made, this reward was an acknowledgment to the world at large of a noble deed inspired by heroic self-abnegation. . . . Hadrian bewailed Antinous with unmeasured grief and with "womanish tears." Now he was Achilles by the corpse of Patroclus, now Alexander by the funeral pile of Hephæstion. With great pomp he had the youth buried in Besa—a scene on the Nile of the most refined fantasy, in which the sorrowing Emperor of Rome and the smiling Augusta, with their respective courts, were the actors. This, the most extraordinary episode of any journey on the Nile, gave a new god to the paganism which was fast disappearing, and its last ideal figure to ancient art. Probably during the funeral obsequies sharp-sighted courtiers could discern the star of Antinous in the heavens, and Hadrian then saw it for himself. The star remains. It position is in the Milky Way between the Eagle and the Zodiac, for astronomers have preserved the fabled divinity of Antinous. In Egypt, that land of mystery and wonder, life could be a poem even in the garish day of the Roman empire under Hadrian' (pp. 131–2).

The character of Hadrian presents a psychological problem to the student which Gregorovius only partially attempts to solve; possibly because without the light which revelation casts on human nature it is insoluble. 'The misanthropic hermit Tiberius,' he says, 'alone among the Cæsars affords equal interest, as a foil to the restless, uneasy Hadrian.' The closing years of his reign are in mournful contrast with the promise of its early days, which have been called the happiest period of humanity. He ruled with prudence and strength, was lavish on a great scale, displayed a genuine interest in the welfare of the subjects of imperial Rome, did much to alleviate the sorrows of the world. Across the path of his philosophic and richly endowed nature there come dark shadows of immorality, of suspicion, and finally of indiscriminate wrath which fell heavily alike on innocent and false friends.

'He was,' says Gregorovius, 'a mass of contradictions. On the one hand, we find his delight in the intellect of Greece and in Eastern sensuality, his enthusiastic love for art, his sophistical versatility, his sound judgment, his statesmanship, his humanity and generosity. But there is also the darker side of his capricious temper, his inordinate vanity, his love of irony and of trifles, and his gloomy mysticism' (p. 186).

Yet the enigma of such conflicting qualities, though not often brought into such high relief, is far from uncommon. Neither intellect nor æsthetic taste can uphold the soul weakened by sensual indulgence, corrupted by the deteriorating influence of despotism, and unsustained by the elevating power of the Gospel. From cynicism wielding

Digitized by Google

absolute power to its tyrannical exercise is but a step, and the farce of life concludes with the well known sceptic questioning—

'Animula, vagula, blandula;
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca;
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec ut soles dabis jocos?'

Hubert Hervey, Student and Imperialist. A Memoir. By EARL GREY. (London: Edward Arnold, 1899.)

IT is generally the case that the keynote of a book is struck by the title which it bears, and this is very evident in the *Memoir of Hubert Hervey, Student and Imperialist.* The combination of terms is so original as to be almost startling, yet a perusal of the pages of this gracefully compiled and pathetic Memoir shows that the writer did well to apply them to his subject, for they define with unerring outline the portrait of the man. From early boyhood through youth the refining influence of patient study, often pursued in circumstances of great difficulty, was ever at work upon a mind of no ordinary calibre and a character which was destined for the highest development. Read by the light of after events, it is deeply interesting to see these foreshadowed in the early dreams of boyhood and youth. The refined taste, keenly perceptive of the beautiful side of this earth, which had prompted the botanical rambles of his childhood in the Pyrenees, found in after life relaxation from the arduous duties of his post in South Africa in the enjoyment of the wild beauty of the veldt. The critical faculty, never losing its originality, gained more and more power from constant study, and a naturally calm judgment acquired more and more stability as the basis upon which it rested became more widely extended. Then, as the too short life rapidly develops, we see the enthusiasm which in early boyhood brought tears to his eyes as he gazed on the statue of Bayard take strong hold of his character, and finally centre itself in that form of patriotism which, since England has become an empire, has assumed the name of 'Imperialism.' We find the word and the thing admirably handled by the late Lord Carnarvon in his Essay on Imperial Administration.[1]

Lord Carnarvon was at that time Secretary of State for the Colonies, actively engaged in furthering his large scheme for a South African policy, as bold as it was far-seeing. His words, therefore, read like a prophecy with reference both to the subject of this memoir and to the present state of affairs. Imperialism, he tells us, is *not* 'Cæsarism,' it is *not* 'personal government,' it is *not* 'bulk of territory or subjects.'

'But if Imperialism is none of these—what is it? Clearly its first duty is to recognize that there are duties which we owe beyond the limits of the four seas—its duty is to breathe into the whole of that mighty mass I have described a common unity, to find for it that animating principle which is the nearest approach to the spirit of patriotism that

[1] *Essays, Addresses, and Translations*, iii. 23, 24, 25.

Digitized by Google

you find in an individual. . . . Here in England is the true centre of Imperial life and power, the spring of influence, the fount of all inspiration; here are born and bred up the men who are to maintain, defend, and, still more, to govern this great Empire. England is the heart of the Empire. If that heart be overtaxed and feeble, then the whole body politic is rich and faint—faint to weakness, faint it may be to death; but if the heart be sound and vigorous, then in a right cause, and under the blessing of God, there is no duty which our country need ever decline; there is no burden, however great, which it ever need be afraid to bear.'[1]

Such a man, such an Imperialist, was Hubert Hervey. To the virgin soil of Africa, where his duty led him, as a servant of the British South Africa Company, he brought from the great heart of England hereditary instincts of chivalry and honour. Through that trackless continent, as trackless in its moral code as in its physical configuration, he 'kept the path' of honour, taking

> 'the instant way,
> For honour travels in a strait so narrow
> Where one but goes abreast.'

He brought another gift from that great heart: the refinement of generations of culture and manners, which left an unfading impression upon surroundings no matter how rough or how untutored. Lastly, from the heart of England's heart, the *home*, he brought the special virtues of unselfishness and tender consideration for others. The same delicate intuition, the 'selflessness' which made him relinquish for many a long year the desire of his heart rather than grieve his mother by a separation, accompanied him through the painful marches of the Matabele war, and made him, as his commanding officer writes, the

> 'very first man to offer for a "fatigue" or to volunteer for a guard, the very last to come with complaints, the nicest-mannered and the most pleasant to work with. Never a word of grumbling during the longest and most exhausting night rides; never sulky or bad-tempered, always willing to make some dry witty remark, and always ready to do another man's turn, he got to be known before the troops were disbanded as one of the best, as he was the most conscientious, of the troop.'[2]

The same tender consideration manifests itself in all his letters to his family, and especially to his only sister, with whom, as we learn from the Preface, 'there existed the most inspiring relationship that ever bound brother and sister together.' From her he strove to avert the constant anxieties attending his perilous life. For her were his last thoughts as he lay dying on the field of battle, and few will read those last pages with dry eyes. Since that noble life was freely laid down, as he said himself, 'for the expansion of the Empire' events have rapidly developed themselves in the country of his adoption. In his letter of February 8, 1885, with reference to the death of General Gordon, he writes: 'The only good that may perhaps

[1] *Op. cit.* iii. 29.
[2] *Memoir of Hubert Hervey*, p. 86.

Digitized by Google

spring from the affair is that now possibly a more masculine and energetic policy will be adopted as regards Egypt' (p. 30).

That masculine and energetic policy has had its result in the victory of Omdurman. The fostering of the growing feelings of sympathy between England and the Colonies, for which in his own little sphere at the Colonial Exhibition he patiently worked, has indeed been since 'crystallized,' as he describes it, in the way they have rallied round the Crown and the Mother Country at this crisis in South Africa. With reference to this crisis his words read like a prophecy:

'As regards politics, England is slow to move, and therein has been the one secret of her success. She is not always entangling herself in the intrigues of Continental politics, but when roused she is, and always has been, determined' (p. 122).

In another passage he writes: 'I am confident that sooner or later the whole of South Africa will be federated under British protection' (p. 132). These and many other thoughtful and far-seeing passages in the book show us that it was not only a gallant soldier but an embryo statesman of no mean promise who fell in pitched battle under the shadow of the Matoppo hills. Had it been otherwise ordained, had he not died in the defence of his country, we may fairly draw the inference from the pages of this interesting Memoir that he would most probably have been one of those men destined, as Lord Carnarvon says, to 'govern.' But, as his most intimate friend writes, the one who was with him after he fell, and who received his last messages—

'When the sad news of his having fallen mortally wounded while gallantly leading his men to the charge was signalled to me I knew he had given his life to his country, doing, as was always the case with him, what he considered the best thing at the moment. He was one of the Nelson type of Englishmen who, all over the world, having sacrificed themselves for duty, have made the British Empire what it is to-day. Duty, not self-interest, nor even expediency, was always his incentive to work; and such being the case, it is not surprising that he won the love, respect, and admiration of all who knew him.'

Lord Grey is very much to be congratulated upon the successful compilation of a Memoir calculated at all times to command a respectful admiration, which will be heightened to enthusiasm by the moment selected for its publication.

The Practice of the Interior Life. By the Right Rev. WILLIAM E. MCLAREN, S.T.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Chicago. (Milwaukee, Wis.: The *Young Churchman Co.*, 1897.)

THE substance of these addresses was first delivered at a 'Quiet Day' for the Women's Auxiliary of the Diocese of Chicago. Our Lord's visit to the house of Martha and Mary at Bethany (St. Luke x. 38–42) forms the groundwork of them. We think that the Bishop unnecessarily depreciates the character of Martha, and we do not agree with his inference (in chap. xxiii) that she had been 'converted' before or after the great grief of her brother's death had

Digitized by Google

fallen upon the two sisters (St. John xi.). We do not see any change in Martha's character during the three scenes in which she appears in the Gospels; she is always the same active, busy, devoted woman, though at times (as in St. Luke x. 38 *sqq.*) she mistakes the right occasion for her activity. However, the Bishop's addresses are excellent, being devotional, practical, and full of beautiful thoughts; and not lacking that important groundwork of all spiritual teaching, viz. a sound theology in regard to our Lord's Person and Work. Some of the chapters might with advantage be read at meetings of Church workers in England, for there is quite as much danger among ourselves as among American Churchwomen of what the Bishop calls 'salvation by zeal' and 'exteriority' (pp. 31, 32), and 'the sacramentalizing of work' (p. 173). We should like to quote many passages from this book, because such things need to be said in our day, especially to fussy Church workers, but we must be content with two or three little excerpts, viz.:

(1) 'It is not in disparagement of zeal that our Lord insists upon the precedence of spiritual culture. After everything is said for the busy workers that may be, He says there is but one thing needful. Let all the active Marthas choose first that good part, for it shall not be taken away from them. Let the zealous helpers and servers remember that our first work is to become good, and our second to do good' (p. 28).

(2) 'There is a great deal that goes by the name of "Church work" which God would not miss if it were to cease—all that is done selfishly or self-righteously, from social and secular motives, because it is the fashion, or because nature seeks a vent for its buoyant energies. Alas! it is easier to show zeal than to feel love, than to practise self-denial or lead a life of hidden communion with God; easier to do works that are seen of men than to cultivate secret penitence. "My son, give Me thine heart." It is not your activities that I want. Above all, I do not want your service without your heart. I want you, I want your love' (p. 48).

(3) 'Martha, who stood entrenched behind the tools and traps of her kitchen, thinking to make a feast and take proper care of her Divine Guest, found that her duty lay in precisely the opposite direction. He did not need her care so much as she needed His. She needed to put herself in His mighty keeping, and be guided in the way of holiness. The secret of sanctification lies in our being made holy, not in making ourselves holy. There may be self-made men—there are no self-made saints. . . . Self-guidance is a dangerous experiment' (pp. 60, 61).

We have quoted enough to show the practical character of these addresses; let us point out, in conclusion, the excellent points made in chaps. iv. and v. in tracing the causes of the modern tendency of devotion to outward duty, which is so common among ourselves—viz. (1) reaction from the subjectivity of Protestant teaching; (2) mistaken idea of sin in relation to God as 'Father'; (3) the neglect of the chief end of man—that is, the perfection of character (pp. 45, 46). In chap. vi. the character of Christ is well analyzed, in chap. xi. there are valuable hints as to 'self-scrutiny,' and in chap. xviii. what is taught concerning 'Mediation' as the leading principle of Christianity is excellent. Altogether, we can heartily recommend this volume to the clergy as full of suggestions, especially to those

Digitized by Google

who have to deal with large organizations of lay work. The style often reminds us of Bishop Hall's *Contemplations*, especially by the many striking epigrams and the occasional quaintness of the language.

A Critical Examination of Butler's Analogy. By the Rev. HENRY HUGHES, M.A. (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., Ltd., 1898.)

THE tone of Mr. Hughes's Preface is quite enough to exhibit the conceit and presumption of Bishop Butler's newest critic. There is a patronizing tone about it which is very painful, and to those who have read the late Mr. Gladstone's *Studies Subsidiary to the Works of Bishop Butler* this captious criticism will appear very small beside the reverent admiration which the great statesman had for the great religious thinker. Mr. Hughes begins by remarking :

'A main object of this essay is to assist Butler in a graceful descent from the high position which he has long—sufficiently long—occupied as a trusted leader of religious thought. . . . It seems desirable that as an argument it [the *Analogy*] should now be quite dethroned ; that it should cease to be numbered among authoritative books of evidence of Christianity.'

After reading the Preface we were prepared for any kind of attack upon the argument of Butler, and we were suprised to find what poor and shallow objections were raised by Mr. Hughes. He clearly does not fully understand the Deist position against which the Bishop was contending, nor does he appreciate the temper of Butler's times ; and, like so many others who have ventured to criticize the *Analogy*, he expects to find in it arguments and scientific knowledge which did not belong to the age of its composition, nor were necessary for meeting the objections of those detractors of Christianity. Bishop Butler requires to be studied in connexion with his own times, and then his writings are found to be full of suggestions adaptable to other circumstances. Mr. Hughes's criticism appears to us both futile and foolish ; he gives Butler's arguments fairly enough and in his own words, but his objections are really captious ; he dislikes the argument from analogy and the principle of continuity, upon which Butler lays great weight ; and he argues that the analogy of life leading on to life ought to work backwards as well as forwards, or else the analogy is incomplete (pp. 26–28). He makes the same objection to the principle of continuity—viz. that it ought to work backwards as well as forwards, and that it takes no account of certain material conditions (pp. 30–31). The latter objection (viz. in regard to material conditions) has often been made before, and is reasonable enough in these days when our advance in knowledge has taught us how largely the brain and the heart form part of the living self ; but the former objections as to analogy and continuity 'working both ways' may be discomfited by a little humour instead of being seriously treated.

In *Through the Looking-Glass* will be found the following illustration of Mr. Hughes's theory :

Digitized by Google

'"The rule is, jam to-morrow and jam yesterday—but never jam *to-day*."

"It *must* come sometimes to 'jam to-day,'" Alice objected.

"No, it can't," said the Queen. "It's jam every *other* day: to-day isn't any *other* day, you know."

"I don't understand you," said Alice. "It's dreadfully confusing!"

"That's the effect of living backwards," the Queen said kindly; "it always makes one a little giddy at first."

"Living backwards!" Alice repeated in great astonishment. "I never heard of such a thing!"

"But there's one great advantage in it, that one's memory works both ways."

"I'm sure *mine* only works one way," Alice remarked. "I can't remember things before they happen."

"It's a poor sort of memory that only works backwards," the Queen remarked"' (pp. 58, 59).

It is evident that Mr. Hughes thinks that analogy is valueless unless it works both ways. We need not pursue our study of this 'critical examination' any further, because the man who can impugn Bishop Butler's position as a 'theologian' (chap. xiv.) is not likely to convince anybody. We are glad, however, to remark that Mr. Hughes is very zealous in maintaining the Christian grounds of our belief in a future life and the Mediatorial work of the Saviour.

An Ethical Movement. A Volume of Lectures. By W. L. SHELDON. (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1896).

THIS volume of lectures is very painful reading to a Christian, because all his dearest and noblest thoughts are undermined by a teaching which uses the phraseology of religion and gives it an unhistoric meaning. The lecturer gives us some insight into his own position as one who has given up Christianity and yet desires to be religious without any definite form of religion, and he attempts to show that the Christian's belief in 'Jesus' is scarcely more than an enthusiasm stirred by the record of 'the crucifixion' and the example of the 'human' Christ (pp. 113–15). It is evident that the lecturer has never grasped the essential point of Christianity, viz. that 'Jesus is the Son of God,' and therefore cannot see how the whole system of Christian ethics is bound up with this belief. Had he grasped this truth, he could never have spoken of 'Duty' and 'Conscience' as he has done (ch. iii.), and 'the "Ethical" Christ' could not have formed the subject of a lecture (ch. vi.). We proceed to give a few extracts which will show our readers what sort of teaching they may expect to find in this volume, viz.:

1. 'When a man endowed with a deeply religious nature, and educated in the conventional orthodox faith, is driven gradually to abandon many of the views of his earlier days, naturally he will be compelled to think out all the great issues of life over again. This Ethical Movement met the cravings of my religious nature, and made up to me for what I had lost. It has given me something to live for and believe in' (p. vii).

2 'Have I made it plain what is meant by the Sense of Duty? I do not know. Each man must judge for himself. But to me it is the supreme fact of existence. It is to me what the word "God" has stood

Digitized by Google

for; it represents to me what the phrase "For Christ's sake" has implied; it means to me what I once attributed to the unconditional authority of the Bible. I only express my personal conviction that it comes first in importance. It stands above them and rests underneath them. Without a sense of duty, men could never have appreciated a character like that of Jesus, or have come to believe in a principle of Justice which they now associate with the name of God' (p. 63).

3. 'A great deal is said about the beauty and the value of the ethical teachings of Jesus. But there have been others almost as beautiful. At times we can get as much, if not more, from the sayings of the Stoics or from the Scriptures of Buddhism. Then, too, other men have given up their lives and "gone about doing good." But in the whole range of the world's literature there is only one "Crucifixion." Other men have died on the cross; still others have been martyrs in other ways. But no death scene described to us anywhere in the annals of history begins to compare with the story of the death scene of Jesus' (p. 113).

We are glad to find ourselves in agreement with Mr. Sheldon on this last point, viz. 'the Crucifixion'; but we value it for other reasons than those which he has given. As the death of the Son of God for the propitiation of the sins of the whole world it suggests motives far above those which he alleges. 'The value of the ethical teachings' depends upon our belief in His atonement, and the value of His example is based upon our faith in the Incarnation of a Divine Person. We dare not class together, as the lecturer does, 'Isaiah, Buddha, Thomas à Kempis, St. Augustine, George Eliot, or Emerson,' as united in 'one great brotherhood' (p. 40), because our notion of 'Brotherhood' depends upon our incorporation into Christ by faith and sacramental grace, and our 'sense of duty' springs from our spiritual relationship to God Himself in Christ, which makes us recognize that we owe a 'debt' to Him, and do not admire 'duty for duty's sake.' Our ideas of 'conscience' and 'law' and 'family' are quite different from those of Mr. Sheldon: in the first we acknowledge God's voice in us; in the second we perceive the Lawgiver and Ruler of the world; in the third we look up to the Father, 'from whom every fatherhood is named' (Ephes. iii. 15). We differ fundamentally from this 'Ethical Movement' because to us religion is not a matter of feelings but of a personal relationship to God. We are thankful to find that the London Ethical Society is quite distinct from that founded by Dr. Felix Adler, of New York City, in that here 'members of orthodox churches are working side by side with religious radicals' (p. xiii). We should certainly not care to spend our 'Sunday mornings' (p. x) or 'evenings' (p. xi) listening to discourses presumably meant to be religious, but only so if God Himself can be excluded from religion.

Digitized by Google

SOME S.P.C.K. BOOKS.

1. *Isaac Letterman's Daughter: a Story of the Daggle-Mop.* By the Author of *Earth's Many Voices.* (London: no date.)
2. *The Lips of a Fool: a Story for Mothers' Meetings.* By PHŒBE ALLEN. (London: no date.)
3. *The Children's Plan, and What came of It.* By CATHERINE MARY MACSORLEY. (London: no date.)
4. *A Masterful Man.* By HELEN SHIPTON. (London: no date.)
5. *Jack Webster: a Christian Soldier.* By E. S. B. (or REDNA SCOTT?). (London: no date.)
6. *Thekla Janssen: the Story of a Lonely Girl.* By EDITH COWPER. (London: no date.)
7. *Nancy's Portion; or, The Wiles of Thomas Price.* By ANNETTE LYSTER. (London: no date.)
8. *Matter, Ether, and Motion.* By A. E. DOLBEAR. (London: no date.)

1. THIS was our first choice among the dainty little books before us, because it was said to be by the author of *Earth's Many Voices*, which had been a favourite with us in the days of our childhood. But as those days have unfortunately now passed into ancient history, we think that *Isaac Letterman's Daughter* must be a reprint—although nothing is said about it on the title-page. We found the story scarcely equal either to our expectations or to its picturesque title. The beginning, however, is distinctly good, and we are introduced to a typical English rural village in the early days of railways and penny-postage, when the older inhabitants had hardly become reconciled to the substitution of a postman's uniform for the letterman's smock-frock.

At the opening of the story the present holder of the hereditary office of letterman is the father of two children—a boy, for whom he cares but little, and a girl, upon whom he lavishes all his affection. But when both the children get whooping-cough, Isaac, for some utterly unexplained reason, transfers his love to the boy; and the poor little girl returns to health to find that she has become an object of indifference to her once doting father. After the death of Isaac's wife and son this indifference develops into positive dislike, and the ill-used Lisbeth is driven into seeking a situation at the yearly 'Daggle-Mop,' *i.e.* the last week of the annual village wake, to which servants came from all parts of the country to be hired. We have not space to follow Lisbeth's fortunes in detail, but if our readers care to do so they will find that after some years of service under a good mistress Lisbeth returns home, regains her father's affections, cures him of habits of intemperance, and succeeds in making the letterman's cottage 'as neat and pretty as if a lady lived in it.'

2. This is decidedly an interesting tale, and, although it is docketed 'for Mothers' Meetings,' we think it might be read with pleasure and profit by many other classes of people. The title refers to the verse in Ecclesiastes (x. 12), 'The lips of a fool will

Digitized by Google

swallow up himself' ; and the fool in the story is a pretty, merry girl, who is brought by foolish and untruthful talk into the direst trouble, which only just failed to swallow up not only herself but her home and her husband. The way in which the tangled web of deceit gradually imprisons her is well and vividly described, and we are sure that many a girl who prides herself upon 'making a good story' without regard to accuracy might be warned of the dangers which accompany such a habit by reading the history of Lucy Long.

3. 'The Children' lived in one of the 'stately homes of England' sung of by dear Felicia Hemans, and their 'plan' was to have a poor little girl from some grim alley in London to stay at their lodge for a few months. The experienced reader will not be surprised to hear that 'what came of it' was the discovery that the London child was the grand-daughter of a cross old woman in the village, and the consequent restoration of the child's mother to her home ; but the young people for whom this pretty little tale is written will, we hope, be less sophisticated, and even those who are prepared for the *dénouement* cannot fail to read with interest and emotion of the finding of 'Granny Stubbs's little girl.'

4. We can recommend this story as that much sought-after article —a thoroughly good 'love tale'—suitable for the Parochial Library. It is sentimental without being mawkish, and improving without being dull.

Tom Forshaw, 'the masterful man,' who has been in the habit of relying entirely upon his own strength and endurance, and expecting always to get his own way, is brought gradually by his deep and real love for Alma Revill to a truer knowledge of himself and of the Divine Power which shapes our lives. The scene in which he entreats Alma to marry him, and assures her that he will never interfere with her religious habits, is very powerfully written, and any girl who is thinking of marriage will do well to consider Alma's answer : 'Please God, if ever I have a husband, I'll care for him enough to want to go where he goes ; so, if he isn't shaping to get ready for heaven, I'll leave you to judge whether I can look to be happy.' After some troubles the story ends happily with Tom and Alma in a home of their own, and, as Tom puts it, 'started to walk on the same road.'

5. Why is the author of *Jack Webster* called *E. S. B.* inside the book, and *Redna Scott* outside? We cannot make these names and initials agree anyhow, and should like to know the solution of the enigma. *Jack Webster* is curiously old-fashioned in its style, and we doubt whether the frivolous youth of the present day will put up with such perpetual 'improving of the occasion.' But any boy or lad who is wise enough not to be deterred by the good advice so lavishly given will find plenty of interest and amusement in the adventures of Jack Webster, first in a little stationer's shop in a country town and afterwards in a large 'dry store' in New York.

6. The 'lonely girl,' as her name indicates, was a Norwegian by birth, and one of the large army of foreigners who make their home in our cosmopolitan city of London. Her father was captain of a

Digitized by Google

steamboat running between Hull and Christiania, and was seldom sober during his brief intervals on shore, and her mother was dead, so poor Thekla was truly lonely. The story tells of her rescue from a fire in her lodging at Notting Hill by a gallant young fireman who, finding that she was without home or friends, took her to his mother to be tended during the long illness which resulted from the shock. After some misunderstanding, caused by the reappearance of her ne'er-do-well father, Thekla marries her fireman, and ceases to be 'a lonely girl.'

7. We felt sure of an interesting story when we saw Annette Lyster's name on the title-page, and we were not disappointed in this instance. Nancy Gray was the only child of an honest Scotchman, called by his brother 'Solid Peter,' and a beautiful gipsy-girl. When the latter died in giving birth to her child Peter belied his nickname by becoming distraught with grief, and wandering away from his native country, with his motherless infant, till he found a shelter near an old Norman castle in Monmouthshire. Here Peter and his daughter lived for many years, earning a scanty living by keeping goats and escorting parties of tourists on donkeys to visit the castle. But when Nancy had grown up to beautiful womanhood, her father, who had never rightly recovered his mind's balance, was told by his neighbour, Thomas Price, that she could not hope to get a husband without a portion. By Thomas Price's advice Peter therefore joined a party of hop-pickers, and travelled into Kent, where in a month he earned enough to make a nest-egg for Nancy's dower. After this the excursion to Kent became an annual affair, and Nancy accompanied her father, and made acquaintance with a good clergyman and his sisters, from whom she received some much-needed religious instruction. Meanwhile her 'portion' increased till it attracted the greedy notice of Thomas Price, and he formed a project to get possession of it by marrying his son Owen to Nancy. Many were 'the wiles' which Thomas Price employed to attain this object —including the marrying of poor feeble-minded Peter to a red-headed tramp girl, whom Nancy had taken in and sheltered, in the hope that the latter would be driven to accept Owen as a means of escape from her home. But Nancy, instead, made an expedition into Kent to ask advice from her good friends there, and returned just in time to find her father dead and her step-mother left with twin babies.

It would take too long to tell of all Nancy's labours on behalf of 'them twins,' as she called her poor little step-brothers, whose mother deserted them before they could run alone, and of her adventures with the gipsy cousins she met on her wanderings. But, in spite of Thomas Price's worst 'wile' in intercepting a letter from Nancy to her clergyman friend, all ends happily at last. Thomas and his son are completely defeated, and Nancy obtains possession of her 'portion,' which amounted to the substantial sum of £48 7*s.* 6½*d.* There is as yet no sound of marriage bells, but Nancy is only twenty-one, and has plenty of time before her to find a suitor more to her mind than Owen Price.

Digitized by Google

8. 'The text-books,' says Professor Dolbear, 'have not kept pace with the advance of knowledge;' and it is difficult to see how it can be otherwise if text-books confine themselves, as seems desirable, to those doctrines on which authorities are for the moment in more or less complete agreement. Professor Dolbear does not confine himself within these limits, and his book—which attempts a new definition of 'matter,' suggests that 'matter itself is alive,' points out that 'every physical phenomenon runs into an inexplicable, into an ether, question,' and supposes that this inexplicable ether may contain the explanation of telepathy and other 'such occurrences as have been called miracles'—is certainly, as its English editor says, 'full of suggestion,' and may, we think, be taken as giving a fair account of the trend of modern natural philosophy; though perhaps readers of the class he seems to expect may sometimes be a little puzzled to decide whether, for instance, the vortex-ring theory of matter is to be taken as approving itself to physicists generally or to Professor Dolbear personally. As he somewhat quaintly says, 'some of the modern questions of philosophy and psychology are now so woven in with physical details that a knowledge of matter and its possibilities has become to them imperative'; and certainly his book will do good service should it convince its readers that 'philosophy' and 'science,' if they could ever be kept apart, can no longer be so. Professor Dolbear cannot bring himself to believe that the atomic theories of the modern physicists have anything in common with those of the ancient philosophers. But he will perhaps admit that among the dreams of ancient philosophers there were some not wholly unlike this saying of his own:

'If it could be shown that life itself and the mind of man were in some way associated with atoms, and that this association was of such a nature that the permanence of the one carried with it the permanence of the other, the universal aspirations of mankind for immortality would have a physical basis.'

ERRATUM.

C.Q.R. for October 1899, p. 78, l. 22: *for* second century *read* second century B.C.

Digitized by Google

INDEX TO VOL. XLIX.

AGE

AGE of Doubt, An, and a World of Sin (review of works by Dr. Van Dyke), 369 *sqq.*: prevalence of sin and scepticism, 369; the author's ideal of the needed message to overcome these, 370; his notion that the growth of dogma has robbed us of Christ, 371; that the Manhood of Christ has been obscured, 373; Dr. Van Dyke's kenotic theory criticized, 374; a restatement of the orthodox doctrine, 376; the author's teaching on the Atonement, 378; on 'the Bible without Christ,' 379

Allen, Phœbe, *The Lips of a Fool*, 533

Asplen, Rev. L. O., *A Thousand Years of English Church History*, &c., 509

Authority and Archæology, Sacred and Profane (edited by David G. Hogarth), 167 *sqq.*: importance and scope of the book, 167; tone of the writers, 169; position taken by Professor Driver, 171; the method of the volume, 172; its subjects: (1) what is meant by Authority, 173; (2) connotations of Archæology: warnings as to its study, 176; its pioneers, 177; archæological conclusions affecting the Holy Scriptures: (1) the cosmogony of Genesis, 179; (2) the history of Joseph, 181; (3) the case of Manasseh, 182; (4) the capture of Babylon, 183; (5) the accuracy of St. Luke as a historian, 185; (6) the Church in Phrygia during the second century, 187; (7) the teaching of the primitive Church: Mr. Headlam on 'The Catacombs at Rome,' 188

CHR

BEAVEN, Mr. E. W., *Remnancy, or Evolution's Missing Link*, 258

Brigg, Rev. Dr., *Unity in Diversity*, 494

Browning, Robert, and Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, The Letters of, 153 *sqq.*: the question of the propriety of publishing such correspondence as this, 153; general characteristics of the letters, 154; the medium of the correspondence: the beginning of the intimacy, 155; practicalness and shrewdness exhibited in the letters, 156; wide range of literary knowledge, *ib.*; their religious views, 157; Miss Barrett's relations with her father, 159; the relationship of a real poet and poetess, *ib.*; Miss Barrett's treatment of Browning's obscurity, 160; meaning of the title *Bells and Pomegranates*, 161; the sketch the letters give of literary England of the period, 162; the reception of *Paracelsus*, 164; Mr. Kenyon's estimate of Browning, 165; the incident of the painter Haydon, 166; contrasts between 1846 and 1899, *ib.*; Mrs. Jameson's comment on the marriage of the two poets, 167

Bruce, Rev. Dr., *The Epistle to the Hebrews the first Apology for Christianity*, 506

CAIRD, Rev. Dr., *University Sermons* (Glasgow), 496

Callow, Rev. C., *A History of the Origin and Development of the Creeds*, 521

Chrétien ou Agnostique (review of the Abbé Picard's work and its English translation), 380 *sqq.*;

Digitized by Google

CHR

the ecclesiastical auspices under which the work appeared at Lyons and in England, 381; badly constructed, 380; the translator's wretched work and gross blunders, 383; examples of his dense ignorance, 386; M. Picard's treatment of the groundless dogmatism of scientific sceptics, 388; the supernatural side of Christianity, 389; admissions made by unbelievers, 391; their demolition of each other's theories, 392; the Abbé's argument for the 'Catholic' Church always means the Church of Rome, 395; his utter ignorance of matters concerning the Church of England, *ib.*; he charges 'Protestantism' with sterility: the statistical reply, 396; his claim of absolute unity in his own Church, 397; his charges against our missionaries refuted, *ib.*; the Abbé has missed a great opportunity, 399

Christian Mysticism (Mr. Inge's Bampton Lectures for 1899), 333 *sqq.*: scope of the work, 334; the objections charged against Mysticism, 335; its chief characteristics, 337; steps in the Mystic's life, 338; the ecstatic state, 339; two classes of Mysticism, 341; the Mystical element in the Bible, 342; in the New Testament: St. John's Mysticism, 344; St. Paul's, 345; Platonism, the Gnostics, and Neoplatonism, 346; Plotinus, 347; the system of Pseudo-Dionysius, 348; St. Augustine, 350; John Scotus Erigena, *ib.*; the monks of St. Victor, 351: Eckhart, *ib.*; devotional Mystics: Juliana of Norwich, 352; Tauler, 353; persecution of Mystics, 354; the Spanish Mystics: St. Teresa, St. Juan, Molinos, *ib.*; French Mystics, 355; Symbolism, *ib.*; Allegorism, 356; Nature Mysticism, *ib.*; Wordsworth and Tennyson, 357; Mr. Inge's position as to Christian Mysticism, 358

DAN

Consecrated churches, The Loan of, in India, 441 *sqq.*; the Rules of the late Viceroy placing consecrated churches at the service of any and all denominations, 442; meaning of 'Government churches,' *ib.*; origin of the present movement, 444; history of the consecration process in India, 445; why there are no trust deeds, 446; the Government guarantee of inviolability, 448; these churches have been mainly erected at the cost of Churchmen, 452; Presbyterians have not contributed a farthing, 455; origin of the Presbyterian claim, 457; Bishop Cotton's policy, 458; the Rules of 1898 superseded, 461; fury of the Scotch General Assembly, 462; the Public Works Code of Lord Ripon, 465

Cowper, Edith, *Thekla Janssen*, 534

Cruttwell, Rev. C. T., *Six Lectures on the Oxford Movement and its Results*, &c., 489

DANTE'S Earthly Paradise (review of Professor Earle's Introduction to Part II. of Dr. Shadwell's translation of the *Purgatorio*), 129 *sqq.*; Professor Earle's desire to make the *Divina Commedia* quadripartite, viz.: Hell, Purgatory, Earthly Paradise, Heavenly Paradise, 130; his exegesis of Matilda in Canto xxviii., 131; of the Gryphon in Canto xxix., as symbolizing the general body of the Faithful, 132; arguments against this interpretation, 133; explanation of *Purg.* xxxii. 25–27 and 43–51 (the Gryphon's treatment of the tree of Knowledge), 135; *Purg.* xxxii. 85–90 (the ascension of the Gryphon), 137; the Professor's treatment of the mystical procession of the personified Scriptures, 138; his tendency to see symbolism in all colours, 139; some ingenious suppositions: Dante's liking for the number seven, 140

Digitized by Google

DAV

Davenport, Rev. G. D., *In Memoriam Crucis*, 510
Dolbear, Professor, *Matter, Ether, and Motion*, 536

EDUCATION Question, The, from a Churchman's point of view (the Report on Elementary Education addressed to the Leeds Ruri-Decanal Chapter, 1899), 426 *sqq.*; original intention of the Education Act of 1870, 426; the discussion of the 'Cowper Temple' clause, 427; Mr. Gladstone's view on Mr. Jacob Bright's amendment, 428; Lord Selborne's denunciation of it, 429; how the clause came to be misinterpreted, *ib.*; growth of the cost of elementary education and consequent increased difficulties of Voluntary schools, 430; Free Education (1891): an 'intolerable strain,' 431; a Committee of inquiry appointed: its Report shelved, 432; deputation to Lord Salisbury (1895): its proposals, *ib.*; the Government's reply in the Bill of 1896: reasons why the Bill was withdrawn, 433; another Committee: the 'Aid Grant' rejected in favour of aid from the rates, 434; the Act of 1897 (giving a grant-in-aid from the Imperial Exchequer), 435; a policy for the future: various alternative schemes stated, 436; what we are justified in claiming for ourselves, 438; the direction in which to look for an ultimate settlement, 440

FARRAR, Very Rev. Dean, *Texts Explained*, 491

GARDNER, Professor, on the Basis and Origin of Christian Belief (his *Exploratio Evangelica*), 305 *sqq.*: his professed object, 305; treatment of our Lord's life: indifference to matters of fact as a part of a true religion, 306; criticism of his views: that Christianity is to be relegated to the domain of psychology, 308; neglect of evidence outside the New Testament, 309; the virgin-birth, 310; the resurrection, 312; miracles, 314; detailed criticism of his opinion that the Acts of the Apostles is an untrustworthy book, 315; the three accounts of St. Paul's conversion, 320; the author's critical argument on the Gospel narratives of our Lord's birth, 321; his view of the object of the 'Logos doctrine' of St. John, 326; the miracles of our Lord's ministry, 328; arbitrary way of treating the Gospels, 329; the fundamental fault of *Exploratio Evangelica*, 331; the book is very ably written, but must be pronounced a failure, 332
Gilbert, Rev. Dr., *The Student's Life of Jesus, The Student's Life of Paul, The Revelation of Jesus*, 507
Gospel of the Future, The (Anon.), 523
Gowen, Rev. H. H., *Church Work in British Columbia* (Memoir of Bishop Sillitoe), 514
Gregorovius, Ferdinand, *The Emperor Hadrian* (trans. Mary E. Robinson), 523
Grey, Earl, *Hubert Hervey, Student and Imperialist*, 526
Grosseteste, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln (Mr. F. S. Stevenson's work), 412 *sqq.*: great men from 'silly' Suffolk: a comparison of Grosseteste, Wolsey, Sancroft, 413; Mr. Stevenson's high estimate of Grosseteste, *ib.*; authorities corroborating it, 414; his work as a reformer, 415; as a teacher and a scholar, 416; as statesman, *ib.*; sketch of what is known of his early life, 417; commendation of him by Giraldus Cambrensis, 419; a leading man at Oxford: the first 'Chancellor of the University,' 419; his learning, *ib.*; elected Bishop of Lincoln, *ib.*; details of the work of his episcopate, 420; Visitations, 421; relations with

Digitized by Google

monastic institutions, *ib.*; literary work, 422; relations with the king, 423; firmness in resisting Papal tyranny: Papal 'Provisions,' 424; lasting influence of Grosseteste, 426

Gwynn, Mr. S., *Highways and Byways in Donegal and Antrim*, 262

HASELFOOT, Mr. F. K. H., *The Divina Commedia* (second edition of the translation), 516

Hawkins, Rev. Sir J. C., *Horæ Synopticæ*, 265

Holy Scripture, General Introduction to the Study of (Dr. C. A. Briggs's work), 69 *sqq.*: assumption in proof of hypothesis and hypothesis as the basis of assumption, 70; specimens: the 'Ten Words' and the 'Hexateuch', 71; the test of the authority of any document, 73; the book found by Hilkiah, 74; the assumption that the 'word of God' is only that which can establish its claim to the individual conscience, 75; St. John's Gospel and Deuteronomy, 76; the Higher Critics evade the question What is the objective authority of Scripture? 78; the wave of destructive criticism will be followed by something that is constructive, 80; value of the internal evidence in favour of books of Scripture as we have them, 82; criticism of some of Dr. Briggs's positions: that 'the study of Holy Scripture is altogether scientific, 85; the four canons of the Higher Criticism, 87; treatment of the ascription of books to definite authors, 89; the witness of Jewish literature to the Mosaic authorship of Genesis, 91; Dr. Briggs's view of 'pseudonymes,' 92; random conjectures, 93; the Church's opinion in regard to the inerrancy of Holy Scripture, 95; the true way to obtain satisfactory results from the study of Scripture, 97

Hooker and the Puritans (review of Dean Paget's *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*), 116 *sqq.*: the character of Hooker's writings and work, 116; the Elizabethan age and 'the Puritan position,' 117; the conception of Hooker's great work, 118; account of some writings illustrative of Puritan principles, 119; Dean Paget's estimate of Hooker's *Opuscula*, 120; some parts of Hooker's treatment of the charges made by Puritans against the Church, 121; his Eucharistic teaching, 123; the 'four points' of the 'fully developed Puritan position,' 125; the firm basis of Hooker's appeal in things spiritual, 126; bearing of the controversy with the Elizabethan Puritans on some present day controversies, 127

How, Mr. F. D., *Bishop John Selwyn*, 513

Hughes, Rev. H., *A Critical Examination of Butler's Analogy*, 530

Hutton, Rev. W. H., *An Elementary History of the Church in Great Britain* ('Oxford Church Text Books'), 245; *The English Reformation*, 249

INCENSE, the Decision on, and the Hearing on Reservation, 210 *sqq.*: the Archbishops' decision morally binding, 211; the reasons given for the decision: the Ornaments rubric, 213; the Act of Uniformity, 214; objections considered, 215; 'the thin edge of the wedge,' 217; probable effects of the decision, 218; Lord Halifax's address, 219; Dr. Sanday's pamphlet, *The Catholic Movement and the Archbishops' Decision*, 220 [*see also* 233].—The Hearing on Reservation, 221; three aspects of Reservation: the legal, 222; the rubrics that affect the subject, 225; Mr. Lacey's contentions,

Digitized by Google

226; Mr. Green-Armytage's pamphlet, 227; the arguments against Reservation, 228; the crucial point depends on Article XXVIII., 229; doctrinal aspect, 230; practical question, 232
Incense, the Decision on: Some Recent Pronouncements, 468 *sqq.*; a protest, 469; Mr. Franey's reprint of *The Case against Incense*, 470; Chancellor Dibdin's *The Conditions of Loyal Churchmanship*, &c., 471; Prof. Sanday's *The Obedience of the Clergy*, &c., 474; Mr. Baring Gould's *The Present Crisis*, 477; Mr. Green-Armytage's refusal to conform, *ib.*; Bishop of Rochester's Visitation Charge, 478; Archbishop of York's *Advent Pastoral Letter*, 480; the question of coercion, 481; Bishop of London's New Year's message, 482
Isaac Letterman's Daughter (Anon)., 533

JACK WEBSTER (Anonymous), 534
Johnson, Rev. J. B., *The Angels of God considered in the Light of the Divine Unity*, &c., 500
Jones, Mr. E. G., *The Ascent through Christ*, 255

LIDDELL, HENRY GEORGE, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford (the Memoir by Rev. H. L. Thompson), 190 *sqq.*: sketch of the Dean's early life, 190; his private life, 191; some humorous elements, *ib.*; his inscription for the statue of Dean Fell, 192; his rule as Headmaster of Westminster, *ib.*; his teaching power, 193; the preparation of 'Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon,' *ib.*; Ruskin's opinion of Liddell, 194; the Dean's theological opinions, 195; his character: 'inflexible justice' and 'grand and rare impartiality,' 196; his policy at Christ Church and in the University, 197; his work on the Oxford University Commission (1850): views of Dean Gaisford and Dr. Pusey thereon, 199; comparison of Dean Liddell with some of his predecessors, 200
Little, Rev. W. J. Knox, *Sketches and Studies in South Africa*, 271
Lock, Dr. Walter, *St. Paul the Master-Builder*, 483
Lyall, Sir A. C., *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*, 251
Lyster, Annette, *Nancy's Portion*, 535

MACSORLEY, CATHERINE M., *The Children's Plan*, &c., 534
McLaren, Bishop (Chicago), *The Practice of the Interior Life*, 528
Matheson, Rev. G., *Studies of the Portrait of Christ*, 522
Maude, Rev. J. H., *The History of the Book of Common Prayer* ('Oxford Church Text Books'), 247
Mediæval Ceremonial, 399 *sqq.*: the meaning of 'mediæval,' 400; the *English Altars* of Mr. St. John Hope: their value to the student of mediæval ceremonial, *ib.*; extreme unlikeness to those erected by modern ecclesiologists: no flowers nor candlesticks, *ib.*; the mediæval altar frontal, 402; altar crosses, and the reredos, 403; altar steps, 404; Mr. Comper's *The English Altar and its Surroundings*, 404; candles a late custom, not used as an altar decoration, 405; long existence of mediæval simplicity, 406; the Psalter took up the greater part of services for the people, *ib.*; little authority for 'exact ceremonial,' 407; Mr. Bishop's *The Genius of the Roman Rite*: accretions of late introduction, 408; 'sensuousness' had no place there, 409; misconceptions of those who condemn mediæval ceremonies, 410; the call to greater severity and simplification of our services, 411
Message and Position of the Church of England, The (Rev. A. Gal-

Digitized by Google

MIL

ton's work), 201 *sqq.*: the author formerly a priest in the Church of Rome, 201; Mr. J. H. Shorthouse's violent Preface, *ib.*; some good points in Mr. Galton's work, 202; his perverted idea of the history of the early Church, 203; his approval of the trial of ecclesiastical cases in civil courts, 204; enmity to the Oxford Movement, 206; his opinion of the services rendered to the Church by Queen Elizabeth, 207; the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, 208; position of Mr. Galton: he believes Roman Orders are invalid, but ministers on the strength of his former ordination, 209

Milligan, Rev. G., *The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 505

Morris, Rev. W. B., *The Divinity of Our Lord Jesus Christ from Pascal*, 259

OLIPHANT, Mrs., the Life and Letters of (review of Mrs. Coghill's work), 140 *sqq.*: Mrs. Oliphant's early life, 141; family troubles: her brother, 142; her first work (*Margaret Maitland*), praised by Jeffrey, *ib.*; her marriage, and early troubles, *ib.*; her husband's death (in Rome): a 'convalescence of sorrow,' 143; close connexion with the Blackwoods, *ib.*; acquaintance with the Carlyles and with Principal and Mrs. Tulloch, 144; death of her daughter (in Rome): the bitter cry of a mother's heart, *ib.*; incidents of Continental life, 145; Mrs. Oliphant's 'carelessness in pecuniary matters,' *ib.*; her dominant motive: the welfare of her sons, 146; mischievous results, 147; death of her sons, 148; and of her nephew: 'pain ever, for ever,' 149; her Christian spirit of bearing her trials, *ib.*; her passing away, 150; snatches of insight into her intellectual character, 151; her powers in other areas than that of fiction, 152

PRA

PENNINGTON, Rev. Canon, *The Counter-Reformation in Europe*, 243

Perowne, Bishop (Worcester), *The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper cleared from certain Misconceptions*, 268

Philosophical Theory of the State, The (Mr. B. Bosanquet's work), 42 *sqq.*: Plato and Aristotle in terms of modern life, 42; the teachings of Rousseau and Hegel, 43; Hegel's theories of Religion and the State, 44; Mr. Bosanquet's ideal of true Patriotism criticized: the Ideal and the Actual, 45; a confusion of two Ideals, 46; Man in the Greek philosopher's 'Polity' or City State, 47; the passage from 'political liberty' to 'individual liberty,' 48; the conceptions of Society and the Individual: Society an ambiguous term, *ib.*; the modern view of a State, 49; Mr. Bosanquet's problem: that the actual has always in it the essential moments of the perfect, 51; discussion of his arguments, 51 *sqq.*; consideration of the conditions of self-government in a modern constitutional State, 53; the two selves, Jekyll and Hyde: which is the true self? 54; the idea of the 'self-governed,' 55: the 'Real Will,' 56; the 'Reformatory theory' of punishment, 57; 'Reformations by the General Will,' 58; political liberty and public duty, 59; Mr. Bosanquet's definition of a State discussed, 60; interests that cut across locality in States, 61; the part played by locality in the theory, 63; the theory does not fit the great complex actuality, 64; it has not the strength of its convictions, 65; does not go the length of its logic, 66; Mr. Bosanquet on the relation of the Philosophy of Society to the sciences, 67; general estimate of the author's work, 68

Prayer Book, The, as a Rule of Life, 292 *sqq.*; signs of increased

Digitized by Google

QUE

study of the Book, 292; Mr. Moody's *Prayer Book Commentaries*, 293; Canon Page Roberts's *Our Prayer Book*, 294; Archdeacon Tiffany's *The Prayer Book and the Christian Life*, 295; instances of neglect of the Prayer Book, 296; its practical teaching: Baptism, 297; the Catechism, 298; Confirmation, 299; the arrangement of the Christian year, and the regular use of Holy Scripture, *ib.*; fast days and Saints' days, 301; provisions for all occasions through life, 301 *sq.*; Holy Communion, 303; benefit of putting the Prayer Book in practice, 304

QUETTEVILLE, Rev. P. W. de, *Short Studies on Vital Subjects*, 261

RASHDALL, Mr. Hastings, *Doctrine and Development*, 266

Roman Primacy, A.D. 430–451, The (review of the late Rev. L. Rivington's work), 1 *sqq.*: what the author means by 'primacy,' 1; criticism of his disclaimer of the notion of an 'autocratic' power in the Pope, 2 *sqq.*; the terms of the Vatican decree, 4 *n.*; the Third General Council: the bearing of Nestorius towards Pope Celestine, 5 *sqq.*; what Cyril asked of the Pope, 6; Celestine's synodical letter in reply, 7; his letters to the Eastern bishops and to Nestorius, 8; Cyril's action, 9; a General Council summoned, of his own act, by Theodosius II., *ib.*; did Cyril act in the Council as legate of Celestine? 10 *sq.*; criticism of Dr. Rivington's interpretation of the Council's sentence, 12; its reference to Celestine's letter, 13; the position of the Roman legates in the Council, 14; the words used by Firmus, Primate of Pontus, 15; the speech of the Roman legates, 16; the prohibition of any other Creed than

SWE

the Nicene, 18; the Council's decree in the case of Cyprus *v.* Antioch, a witness against the spirit of Papal domination, 19 *sq.*; Flavian's letters to Leo, 21; the Sardican canons, 23; Leo's successes in the Eutychian struggle: Dr. Rivington's view criticized, 24; relations of Leo with Pulcheria and Marcian, 26; Theodoret's appeal to Leo against the sentence of the 'Latrocinium,' 27; the Alexandrian memorials against Dioscorus: meaning of Leo being styled 'œcumenical archbishop,' 29; who deposed Dioscorus—Leo's legates or the Council? 31; Leo's 'Tome': what is meant by its 'acceptance,' 32; the meaning of 'exposition' (*ecthesis*) of the faith, 33; the Council, after inquiry, accepts the Tome as 'agreeing with the Creed,' 34; Dr. Rivington's conclusions, 35; his account of the 28th canon (on Constantinople's claim to quasi-patriarchal authority), 36; the discrepancy of the Latin and Greek versions of the 6th Nicene canon, 37; the language of the Synod's letter to Leo, 39; estimate of the grounds of Leo's refusal, 40; Dr. Rivington's work and its methods, 41

SANDAY, Rev. Dr., *The Catholic Movement and the Archbishops' Decision*, 220, 233

Satterlee, Bishop (Washington), *New Testament Churchmanship* &c., 503

Saunders, Mr. T. B., *The Quest of Faith*, 508

Sheldon, Mr. W. L., *An Ethical Movement*, 531

Shipton, Helen, *A Masterful Man*, 534

Strange, Rev. C., *Instructions on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 512

Strong, Rev. T. B., *The Doctrine of the Real Presence*, 498

Swete, Rev. H. B., *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 240

Digitized by Google

TES

'TESTAMENT of our Lord, The,' 273 *sqq.*; description of the edition just issued by the Uniate Syrian Patriarch of Antioch (Rahmani), 273; Lagarde's treatment of portions of the work, 274; its date: argument from its contents, 275; probably about 250 A.D., 277; Rahmani's argument for an earlier date, *ib.*; relations of the *Egyptian Heptateuch*, the *Syrian Octateuch*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and the *Canons of Hippolytus*, 278; comparison of their references to the rite and prayer in the ordination of a Bishop, 280; the remarkable claim that a Confessor's 'confession of faith is his ordination,' 283; the position of the Reader in the grades of Orders, 285; references to Subdeacons, to the imposition of hands in the consecration of Virgins, and to the charismata, 286; marriage rules, 287; exorcism, the Confession of Faith, the water of baptism, fasting, 288; peculiarities in the rites of Baptism and Confirmation, 289; references to the gift of tongues, 290; and to the 'mystagogic instruction' (part of the *disciplina arcani*), *ib.*; the *Testament* probably originated in Eastern Syria, 291

UNDERCURRENTS of Church Life in the Eighteenth Century (work by the Author of *Nicholas Ferrier*, &c.), 360 *sqq.*; a type of piety developed in the English Church, 360; the author's work mainly taken up with Nonjurors, 361; their position in regard to the Church: the doctrine of passive obedience and the divine right of kings, 362; the

WIR

difficult task of closing the schism, 363; criticism of the asserted distinction between the first generation of Nonjurors and the second, 364; positions of Bishops Ken, Frampton, and Kettlewell, 365; the Nonjurors' expectation that the storm would soon pass, 366; the able and learned men among them, 367; other persons treated of in the work, 368

Ussher, Mr. R., *Neo-Malthusianism*, 253

WALKER, Rev. W. L., *The Spirit and the Incarnation in the Light of Scripture, Science, and Practical Need*, 486

Watterich, Professor, *The Passover of the New Covenant* (trans. Rev. T. A. S. White), 267

West African Studies (Miss M. H. Kingsley's work), 98 *sqq.*; some of the horrors of the West African coast, 99; the wet season, 101; fishing adventures, 102; Miss Kingsley's studies of Fetish, 103; how it affects the African's view of Christianity, 105; his conceptions of spirit and matter, 106; the character and working of Fetish, 107; theory and practice of African medicine, 108; Miss Kingsley's attack on our Crown Colony system, 109; cause of the success of the Royal Niger Company, 110; the author's desiderata, 111; Negro property law, *ib.*; the 'House system' and secret societies, 112; sources of danger to a man's estate, 113; Miss Kingsley's portrait of and plea for the African race, 115

Wirgman, Rev. A. T., *The Constitutional Authority of Bishops in the Catholic Church*, 269

Spottiswoode & Co. Printers, New-street Square, London.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
3 9015 06927 0075

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google